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Edited by
ISRAR-UD-DIN

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NOTE ON KHOWAR TRANSCRIPTION

For 'Major Themes in Modern Khowar Poetry' by Ismail Wali Akhgar, and in some other cases, the following transcription scheme by Dr Elena Bashir has been followed.

Retroflex consonants are represented by capital letters, except in the case of < L >, which represents the velarized or 'dark l' sound of Khowar. < č > and < j > represent the voiceless and voiced palatal affricates, respectively < š > the voiceless palatal fricative, and < ž > its voiced counterpart. Retroflex counterparts of these sounds are < C >, < J >, < S >, and < Z >. The voiceless velar fricative (Urdu *xe*) is represented by < x >, and the voiced velar fricative, (Urdu *ghain*) is represented by < γ > (Greek gamma). Readers new to the use of Roman transcription should note that this use of capitalization is not to be confused with the English usage of capitalizing the first word of each sentence, and proper nouns.

Vowel length is represented in Khowar words by duplication of the vowel symbol; thus aa represents 'long á,' while a represents 'short a.' Stress is indicated by an acute accent over the vowel of the stressed vowel. In Khowar, the stress mark has two functions. Firstly, for short vowels it simply indicates stress, for example, n hasé 'he, she, it, that.' Secondly, a stress mark on the second symbol of a vowel represented by a doubled symbol is used to indicate tone. For example in žuúr 'daughter,' low tone is indicated by the stress mark on the second < u > of the (long) 'u' sound.

1

INTRODUCTION

*Israr-ud-Din**

The Third International Hindu Kush Cultural Conference was held in Chitral Town from 26–30 August 1995. The objective of the conference was to bring together local and international scholars and researchers on the Hindu Kush region. The conference was multi-disciplinary, aiming at increasing communication not only among local and international scholars, but also among academic disciplines. The conference was a continuation of a tradition of scholarly meetings on the Hindu Kush, Karakoram and western Himalayan regions begun in 1970 in Moesgaard, Denmark, under the leadership of (late) Professor Georg Morgenstierne of Oslo University, Norway. Professor Morgenstierne was the most prominent scholar of the languages of western Pakistan and Afghanistan. The First International Hindu Kush Cultural Conference was held in Moesgaard, Denmark, in 1970 at the University of Aarhus. At that time, the focus of scholarship was on Nuristan (Afghanistan).

After twenty years, the Second International Hindu Kush Cultural Conference was held in 1990 in Chitral. It was organized by the Anjuman-e-Taraqqi Khovar, Chitral, a long-established association of local writers and intellectuals, which has the following institutional objectives:

1. To provide the writers, intellectuals, and artists of Chitral with a platform to work together for the promotion of their language and the nourishment of their creative talent
2. To introduce the poets, writers, and artists of Khovar by arranging seminars, symposia, poetry readings, music concerts, cultural shows, and publication of literature on the language and culture of the area
3. To work for the preservation and promotion of the unique culture of Chitral and projection of its values and characteristics
4. To coordinate and interact with the social scientists of the Western and Eastern world in promoting the cause of Kho culture

The proceedings of the Second International Hindu Kush Cultural Conference were published by Oxford University Press, Karachi, Pakistan, in 1996.

At the time of the second Hindu Kush cultural conference (1990), the focus of Hindu Kush studies had shifted to Chitral and the Pakistan side of the area. The internationally known German scholar, Dr Karl Jettmar, SI, most famous for his work on the rock inscriptions along the Karakoram Highway, was president of the conference; and about seventy-five scholars, both from Pakistan and abroad, participated. Thirty-eight papers were presented at the conference. Important areas of concentration were physical geography, the Kalasha, traditional Kho culture, languages and linguistics, and problems and challenges for the future.

The 1990 conference was planned and held to further the following objectives:

* Dept of Geography, Urban and Regional Planning, University of Peshawar.

1. Promotion of the rich and unique cultural heritage of the Hindu Kush region through extensive research
2. Creating awareness of the importance of the region among the people and government toward the end of preserving valuable cultural knowledge and norms, which are fast being eroded due to the advance of modern civilization
3. Establishment of a highly disciplined forum for Hindu Kush studies, which will be able to attract scholars and institutions from all over the world for conducting coordinated interdisciplinary research on the culture of the region

Two major issues of concern for international scholars of the Hindu Kush region emerged at this conference: firstly, problems concerning environmental preservation and economic development in this area, and secondly, the preservation of its archaeological and historical monuments, together with the protection of living cultures and cultural traditions in diverse societies. Serious concern was expressed about the deteriorating condition of historically valuable archival resources in Chitral. It was proposed that funding be found for employing a trained archivist to sort and catalogue this material and that arrangements be made for proper conditions of storage, including the photocopying of valuable and endangered documents.

The Anjuman-e-Taraqqi Khovar expressed its concern about rapidly deteriorating historical monuments in the Chitral region, including royal palaces, forts, mosques, and ancient domestic buildings. It was proposed that such monuments be listed and preserved as 'sites of outstanding historical importance' and that international funding be found for ensuring their urgent conservation. It was also proposed that exploratory archaeological investigation be urgently encouraged for assessing the value of archaeological sites and establishing a preliminary typology of and chronology for Chitral prehistoric assemblages. Other aspects of material culture that required urgent investigation and preservation included the wood carving, textiles, and embroidery of the Chitral region.

The most important and far-reaching recommendation was for the establishment of a Hindu Kush research institute in Chitral, under the auspices of the Anjuman-e-Taraqqi Khovar, with the aim of providing an interdisciplinary base for further research, together with a library and bibliographical resources to which all participating scholars would contribute. It was also proposed that a museum be established in Chitral under the direction of the institute, where a representative collection of artefacts from the Hindu Kush region would be stored and displayed. This Chitral museum would subsequently encourage local branches in specific localities of Chitral, preferably based in buildings of outstanding historical interest.

Further proposals made by the committee of the Second International Hindu Kush Cultural Conference included:

- a. requests of international funding for assessing the extent of environmental destruction in the Hindu Kush, particularly concerning the Himalayan cedar (deodar) forests of Chitral District;
- b. requests for funding for the preservation of traditional handicrafts and the encouragement of their continuity, particularly of modern buildings incorporating traditional materials and methods of construction. It was proposed that at least a proportion of development funds for new buildings be directed for such purposes;
- c. calls for legislation for the maintenance of traditional place names in Chitral District encouraging;
- d. request for an advisory committee for assessing and reporting on the effects of tourism in Chitral District, working in association with the Pakistan Tourism Development Corporation (PTDC) and government authorities;

Plate 1.1
Inaugural Session



(On the stage) Mr Mohammad Yousaf (deputy commissioner Chitral), Prof. Dr Schuyler Jones (gen. president) Mr Zainul Abidin, MPA (chief guest), and Dr Inayatullah Faizi (president Anjuman-e-Taraqqi Khovar).



Galaxy of participants and other audience members

Plate 1.2
Concluding Session



(Stage) Mr Zainul Abidin, MPA, Prof. S. Jones, Dr Mehboob-ur Rahman, minister of information and culture NWFP (chief guest), and Prof. Israr-ud-Din



A section of the audience



Dr Mehboob-ur Rahman

Dr S. Jones

Dr Elena Bashir

Dr Inayatullah Faizi

- e. a request for the preparation of a special report on the specific problems of the Kalasha (Kalash Kafir) valleys, particularly concerning deforestation and the effects of tourism, by scholars who have conducted research in those valleys, in collaboration with Kalasha representatives.

As scheduled, five years later, in August 1995, the Third International Hindu Kush Cultural Conference was held, again organized by the Anjuman-e-Taraqqi Khwar, in Chitral. Financial support was provided by numerous organizations and individuals. Notable among the institutions supporting the conference were the Government of NWFP; IUCN, Peshawar; the Institute for the Study of Comparative Human Cultures in Oslo, Norway; and the Aga Khan Rural Support Programme (AKRSP) in Chitral. Numerous individual citizens of Chitral also contributed their time and work, as well as materially in kind or cash.

During the course of the current (August 1995) five day conference, a total of fifty-six papers were presented in the general areas of environmental issues, economic and cultural geography, cultural anthropology, development issues, socio-economic issues, languages and literature, economic history, political history, and cultural history. Scholars and researchers presenting papers came from Pakistan, Afghanistan, Germany, Holland, Italy, Denmark, Norway, Austria, Canada, the United Kingdom, and the USA. The general president of the conference was Professor Schuyler Jones, director, Pitt Rivers Museum of Ethnology, Oxford University. Dr Jones is a world-renowned scholar, especially for his works on the ethnology and anthropology of Nuristan, Afghanistan. Importantly, the focus in this conference had shifted almost completely to Pakistan, and a new emphasis was developed on environmental and developmental issues.

The conference was inaugurated by Mr Zainul Abidin, member Provincial Assembly (MPA), at 9 a.m. on 26 August 1995. In his inaugural address Mr Zainul Abidin appreciated the efforts of the Anjuman-e-Taraqqi Khwar for organizing two very successful conferences in 1990 and 1995, despite its meagre resources. He was happy to note, 'The conference attracted so many scholars of world repute who got together here in Chitral Town to deliberate on the different important aspects of the Hindu Kush region...' Emphasizing the geo-political as well as socio-cultural importance of the region under the present scenario, he requested the scholars to use their expertise to make valuable recommendations for the future development of the region. Mr Zainul Abidin, at the end, assured the participants of the full support of his government for implementing the recommendations of the conference.

Dr Schuyler Jones, in his key address, reminded the audience that among those attending the conference, he was the only participant who had had the opportunity of attending both the first and second international Hindu Kush cultural conferences in Moesgaard, Denmark, in 1970 and in Chitral in 1990, respectively. He said,

It's a great pleasure to be in Chitral once again though in this unexpected capacity as president of the conference... I realize fully that this is an indication of the generous hospitality of the people of this wonderful country that they have singled out someone like myself from outside to come here and to serve in some kind of official capacity.

...We have come together in friendship and co-operation and have come here from such distant places as Finland and California. This is a symbol, as it were, of this conference, which is both international and multi-disciplinary.

...It is unfortunate that political events in Afghanistan have prevented research in that country and have also prevented colleagues in Afghanistan from participating to the extent that they might have otherwise done in this Hindu Kush cultural conference. We very much hope that the political situation there will improve for all the people of that wonderful country.

Mentioning various themes of the conference, Dr Jones pointed out, 'I was pleased that one of the themes of this conference has been a focus on the environmental problems and the need to conserve forests and soil erosion, and to deal with other problems which face not just Chitral and Pakistan but nearly every corner of the world.'

Showing his satisfaction on the level of research activities in the region, Dr Jones ended with this note, '...I think we are on the threshold of seeing more results from the efforts of our colleagues and I pay tribute to them and give my thanks.'

Earlier Professor Israr-ud-Din, chief organizer of the conference, welcomed the delegates. Describing the aims and objectives of the conference, he said,

...it was to provide a forum for researchers within the country and abroad to present their works to a body of international scholars of high repute. Moreover, to exchange and promote more research on the Hindu Kush region which offers ample scope of studies in different topics and diverse disciplines, for example archaeology, anthropology, ethnology, sociology, geography, geology, zoology, botany, linguistics, cultural history, etc.

Touching on the main theme of the conference—'The Hindu Kush Region (1895–1995)'—Professor Israr-ud-Din observed,

...The year 1895 has great significance in the history of the region. It was rather a turning point and from here on the next hundred years were to witness a long range of socio-economic, historical and political changes in Chitral and the surrounding regions... The culmination of all such happenings was the achievement of Pakistan in 1947 and the merger of Chitral as a district in 1969...

Dr Inayatullah Faizi, president, Anjuman-e-Taraqqi Khovar thanked the delegates and the chief guest at the end of the inaugural session.

The deliberations of the conference were spread over eleven sessions (see Appendix B). The concluding session was held on 29 August 1995 and was chaired by Dr Mehboob-ur-Rahman, minister of information and culture, Government of NWFP. The minister expressed his pleasure on the successful holding of the Third International Hindu Kush Cultural Conference. He appreciated the good gesture of the delegates who chose to come from distant lands to attend the conference in a far-flung area like Chitral. At the same time he was sure that they must have enjoyed their stay 'because of both the friendly people of the area and the friendly environment.' He also expressed his view of holding more such conferences in tourist attraction areas like Kalam, Mahodand, and even Shandur.

The minister, referring to his government's interest in the region, mentioned different projects for the socio-economic uplift of the area. He pointed out, 'It is our government's earnest desire to bring our backward areas at par with the developed parts of the country as soon as possible.' He discussed in detail the various aspects of environmental problems in the region as well as in other parts of the country and appreciated that the conference also made deliberations on this very important issue.

The minister announced that soon the government will be starting a helicopter-shuttle service on subsidized rate from Dir to Drosh to enable passengers to enter and leave Chitral during winters even when the weather prevents flights from Chitral. He also announced a sanction of Rs 2 million for the establishment of the Hindu Kush Research Centre.

The session was also addressed by Dr Schuyler Jones, president of the conference. Dr Jones said,

...We have all benefited enormously from this conference and I think many of us look forward to a future in which we have a further closer co-operation with so many friends here and abroad. Clearly the conference in 1990, and this present one in 1995, which now has taken place, had it not been for the energy, enthusiasm and the dedication of a large number of people in Chitral, and in Pakistan in general, in particular you all know who they are but I must mention the work...Dr Inayatullah Faizi and Dr Elena Bashir, have put in.

Commenting on some of the papers, Dr Jones specially mentioned his interest on the paper that was presented about the inexpensive use of solar energy and said, '...I think this is a wonderful way forward and a step forward in the direction of controlling the use of energy resources.'

Dr Jones continued to say,

It is clear from the papers that have been presented this week and I don't think any of us doubted, that the foundation for future research have been well laid and it is, I think, a wonderful thought for those who belong to the earlier generation of researchers on this part of the world as they would be pleased to know this work would be continued and in very good hands. So again I pay tribute to the younger generation of scholars who are coming to do research in this most important region. So it is with particular pride, not for any personal efforts of mine, but for the future research in general, that Hindu Kush Research Centre will be established and there will also be set up the International Association for Hindu Kush Studies. I think this is a development which all of us here welcome and it is a practical result of this conference.

Dr Schuyler Jones paid rich tributes to the late Wazir Ali Shah of Chitral for his 'pioneer work on the Hindu Kush region' and said, 'I had the pleasure of meeting him first in 1967 in Chitral and later in 1970 in Moesgaard, Denmark. Actually, he was one of the pioneers of the Hindu Kush studies and I was pleased that a paper paying tribute to this remarkable man was also read in this conference.'

Other speakers of the concluding session included Mr Zainul Abidin (MPA), who welcomed the minister; Professor Israr-ud-Din, who acknowledged the various organizations and individuals who contributed in different ways towards the holding of the conference, and Dr Inayatullah Faizi, who read out the draft resolutions of the conference for the approval of the house. (see Appendix C).

One of the main thrusts of the resolutions was the call for increased awareness of the fact that the natural/physical environments and cultural environments are intimately related. When the natural environment is degraded, the cultural environment is endangered. The conference called for concrete steps for protecting the physical environment in Chitral, specifically to reduce air, stream, and urban pollution and to ensure the development of environment-friendly, renewable energy sources, particularly small hydroelectric projects and solar energy. The conference also called for the identification of plant, animal, and bird species whose range has been restricted during the past fifteen years, and urged legislation to protect such potentially endangered species.

The potential negative environmental and cultural consequences of development projects were also discussed, and development agencies were urged to incorporate a cultural and environmental sensitivity component into their planning process.

The conference concluded with a call for the establishment of a Hindu Kush Research Centre, to be located in Chitral. The centre is envisaged as an institution which will provide an interdisciplinary base for scholars of the Greater Hindu Kush-Karakoram Region from Pakistan and abroad. It will also provide a centre of attraction for young Chitrali researchers,

Plate 1.3
Participants at Birir Rest House (Kalash Valley)



Top: Prof. Dr K. Haserodt, Prof. Nigel Allan, Prof. Israr-ud-Din, and Prof. Dr Erwin Groetzbach
Middle: Group photo of participants
Bottom: Ms Ruth Schmidt with Kalash girls

Plate 1.4
A Working Session in Progress



(Stage) Dr S. Jones (gen. president), Prof. É. Tiffon (sessional president), Maj. (Rtd) A. Saeed (secretary)



A view of the audience



Prof. Nigel Allan

Prof. E. Ehlers

Ms W. Torossian-Brigasky

Plate 1.5
Some of the Participants



Prof. Dr M. Said

Dr Peter Parkes



Prof. K. Kristiansen

Prof. M.Y. Alizai



Ms Birgitte G. Sperber



Prof. Dr K. Haserodt



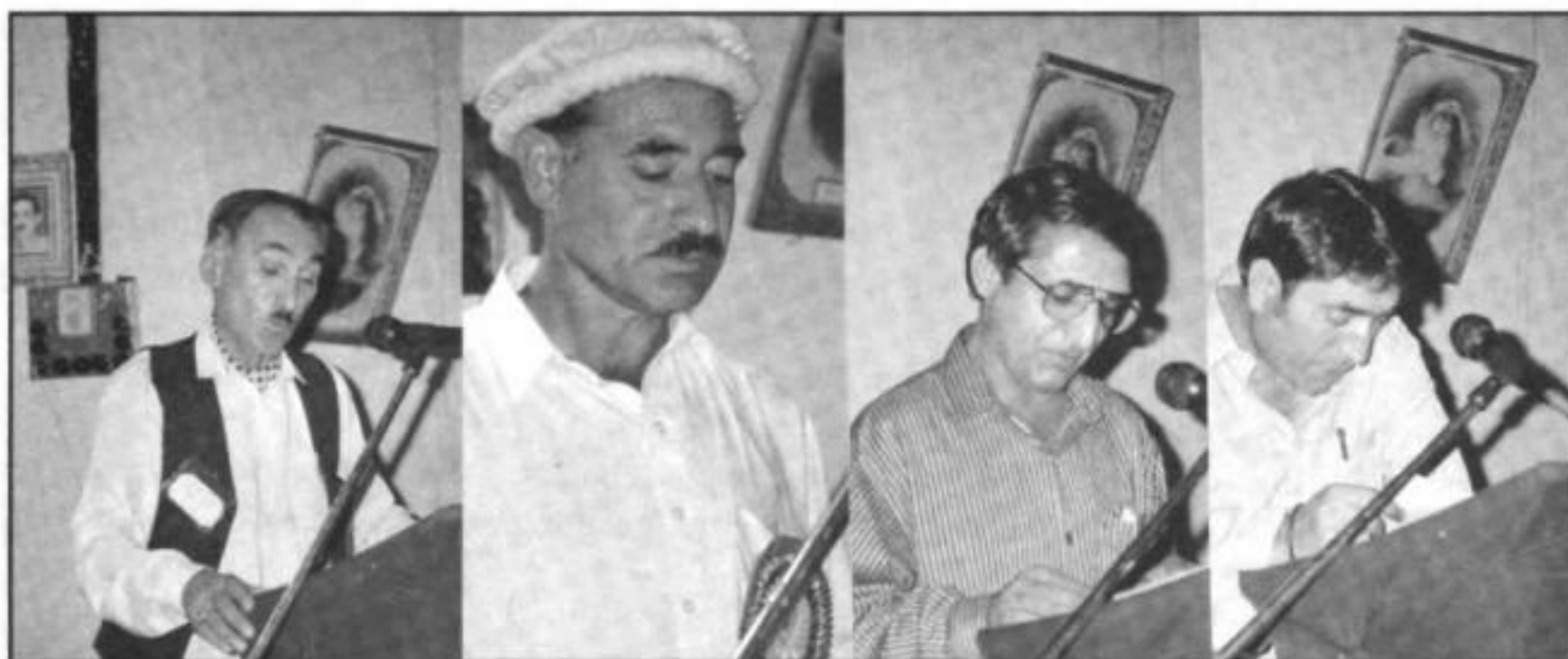
Dr H. Kreutzmann

Plate 1.6
Some Participants from Chitral



Prince Siraj-ul-Mulk

Mr Amir Khan Mir



Mr Rahmat Akbar K. Rahmat

Mr M. Irfan Irfan

Mr Noor Shahidin

Mr Saifullah Jan



Mr Rahmat K. Baig

Mr. M. Yousaf

whose educational careers could be furthered with advanced training in appropriate disciplines. The proposed research centre will house a research library containing local artefacts which will be preserved and catalogued for study. In conjunction with this, an International Association for Hindu Kush Studies will be established, whose membership will include both Pakistani and international scholars.

The stated objectives of the Hindu Kush Research Centre are as follows:

- To increase awareness among local populations of the importance of protecting the local physical and cultural environment
- To establish and maintain archives of:
 - a. books and published materials related to the region (library),
 - b. photographic records (photographic archive),
 - c. physical cultural artefacts (museum),
 - d. examples of local folk art forms (museum), and
 - e. traditional local music and dance forms (tape and video archive),
- To preserve local arts (e.g., music, wood carving, handloom weaving, specific local embroidery styles, folk dances)
- To train local researchers, artists, and craftsmen
- To provide a platform for the development and implementation of the Chitral Conservation Strategy under the framework of the Sarhad Provincial Conservation Strategy
- To function as a research home and information centre for scholars of the region, both from Pakistan and abroad
- To increase international cooperation in research on this environmentally, culturally, and strategically important area of the world by attracting joint international-local research projects
- To provide an institutional base from which to develop research projects based on the perceived needs and interests of the people of the area
- To identify and develop promising young local scholars, who can be sent abroad for further studies in relevant fields and can develop into the next generation of Hindu Kush scholarship.

The conference concluded on 30 August 1995, with the culminating activity of a group field-trip to one of the Kalash valleys, Birir.

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Section I

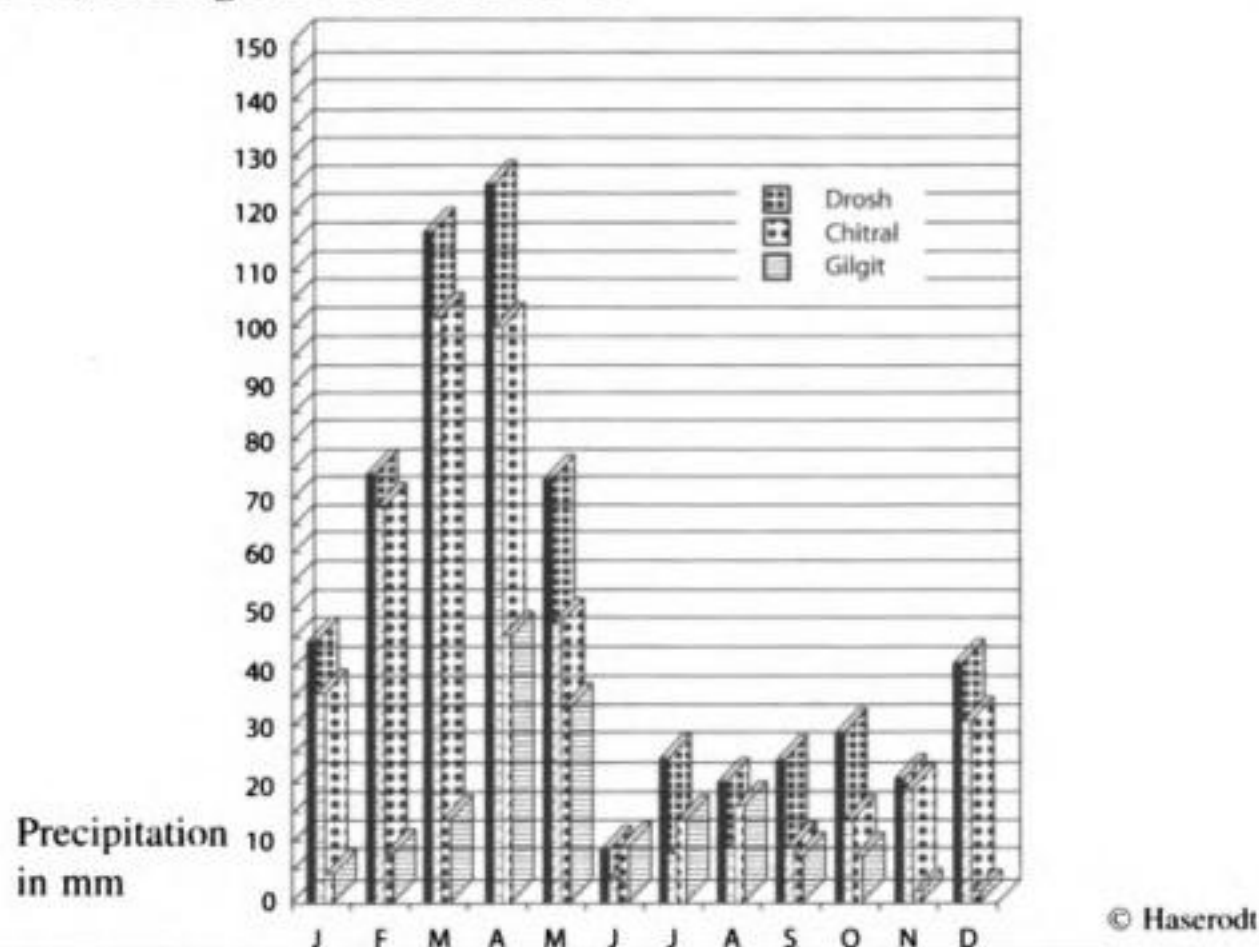
Environmental Issues

CHANGE OF CLIMATE IN THE HINDU KUSH REGION—FACTS, TRENDS, AND NECESSARY OBSERVATIONS OF THE ENVIRONMENT

*K. Haserodt**

During my last visit, at the Second International Hindu Kush Cultural Conference in Chitral in 1990, I gave a brief survey of the feature and the physical geographical conditions of Chitral. Meanwhile, scientific knowledge of the regions east of Chitral has been highly developed, especially in the Gilgit and Karakoram areas and as a result of the Pakistani-German research project 'Culture Area Karakorum.' Recently, we have pursued increasing research into the physical geographical conditions as well as their relation to human activities. In this context, we obtained especially interesting and important results relating to the easterly neighbouring area of Chitral (see references). In regard to the climate, special local stations for short-term meteorological and climatological observations were installed. But we still hold only general data about the region of the Hindu Kush on both sides of the Pakistan-Afghanistan border from the very few official meteorological stations of Pakistan and Afghanistan. Based on this data the figure of the mean monthly precipitation at Drosh and Chitral Town shows the general situation (see Fig. 2.1).

Fig. 2.1 Monthly Mean Precipitation at Drosh (1465 M), Chitral Town (1480 M), and Gilgit (1460 M) during the Period 1965–82



* Professor, Technical University of Berlin, Germany.

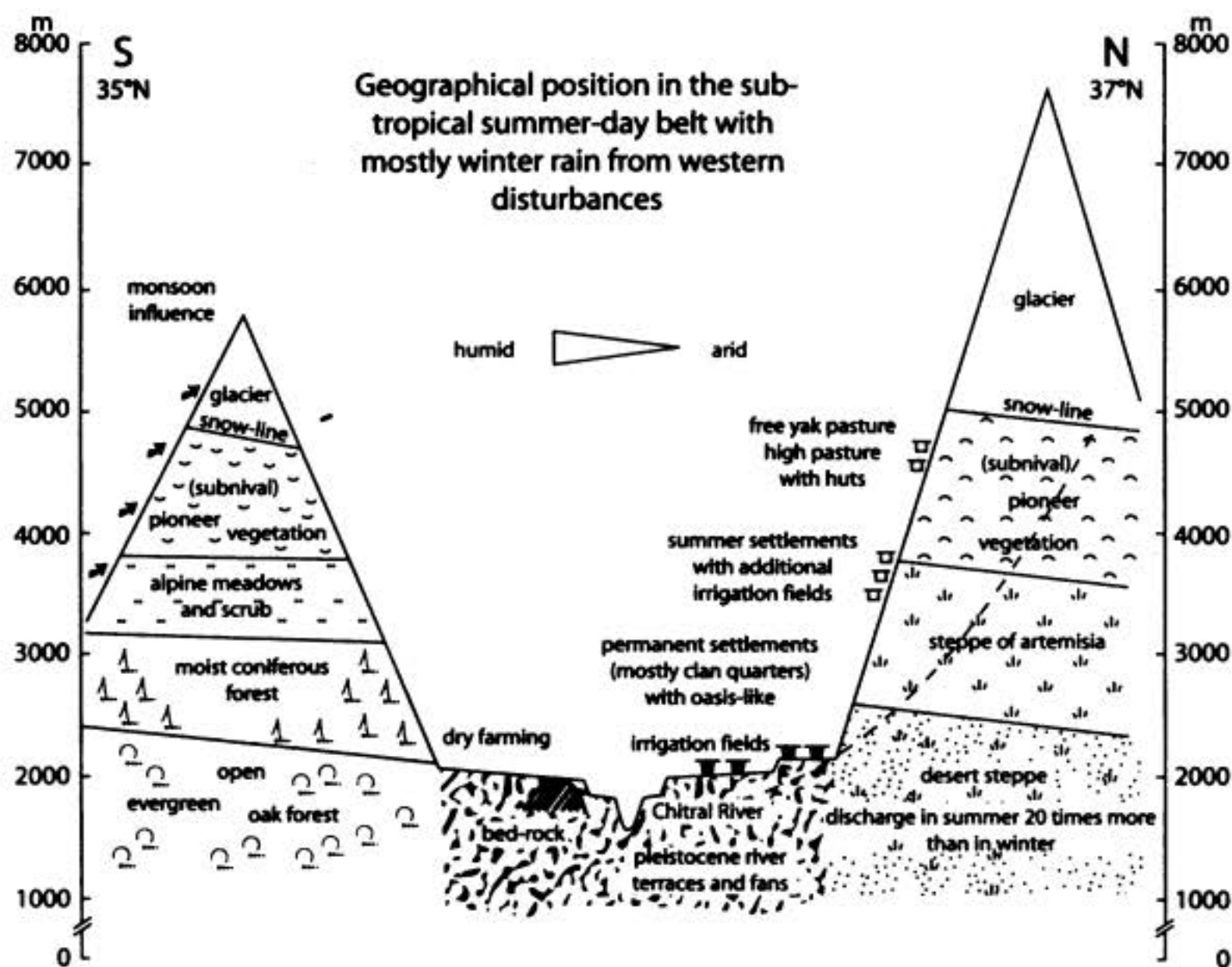
At my university in Berlin we interpreted separately the meteorological station records concerning the regional and long-term variability of precipitation in the high mountainous areas of Northern Pakistan and the bordering regions, and the relationship between climate parameters and river discharge (see Haserodt, Kolb, and Reimers).

With regard to this brief contribution to the conference today about climate changes in the Hindu Kush region, I could only take the recorded period between 1965 and 1987 because of different periods of the available climatic records at the few stations in the Hindu Kush region, some missing values, and the necessity of comparison (see diagrams). In the climatological context, these twenty-three years are very short and this period is not enough for us to draw general conclusions about the long-term trends of change.

Nevertheless, we are able to see a connection between the records of the stations inside Chitral (Drosh and Chitral) and the records of the high-located stations in the Afghan Hindu Kush west of Chitral in this period.

In the area of Chitral we can indirectly recognize very clearly the regional change of climatic conditions by observing the distribution of natural vegetation in the landscape as an indicator (see Fig. 2.2). The change of natural vegetation in a horizontal direction from south to north, from the coniferous forest to the *Artemisia* steppe, and also in a vertical direction in the area of southern Chitral, from the dry, semi-arid valley bottoms like steppes over the evergreen oak trees to the moist coniferous forest, and to the alpine meadows in the high areas results from the influence of climatic conditions, especially annual precipitation (see Fig. 2.2). The influence of humid air currents originates mainly from southern directions, which can be verified by comparing the records of the meteorological stations of Drosh and Chitral (see diagrams).

Fig. 2.2 Profile of the Geographical Structure of Chitral



Both official meteorological stations in the area of the Chitral District, Drosh in the south, and Chitral Town in the centre, are valley stations and therefore generally dry (average yearly precipitations about 640 mm at Drosh and 440 mm at Chitral). Nevertheless, they both represent generally the monthly, yearly, and regional distribution even at the bottom of the valleys. In contrast to the area of Chitral Town the precipitation of the area of Drosh is more widely distributed. But all over the region a small number of synoptic meteorological events often influence the annual rainfall sums decisively. The well-known considerable interannual variability of precipitation is remarkable in the station records.

Both kinds of different topographical locations of meteorological stations in the Hindu Kush region, the valley stations in Drosh (1511 m) and Chitral (1499 m) on the one hand and the two high-located stations in the Afghan Hindu Kush at the Salang Pass (3172 m and 3366 m) on the other, show the same parallel development in their long-term records of yearly precipitation sums (see figs 2.3–2.6):

During the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s the records and their precipitation figures and regression lines extrapolated from the special interannual variability marked a general regression line with a decline of the yearly precipitation sums.

However, the trends of long-term development of climatic factors during the test period at the station Drosh are similar to both the station Chitral and the high-located stations of the Afghan Hindu Kush at Salang North and Salang South. The long-term development of annual sums of precipitation at the valley station Chitral Town shows an average regression rate of yearly 2.2 per cent from the middle of the 1960s until the end of the 1980s. That means that during the twenty-three years a decline of about 45 per cent took place. At the southern valley station Drosh we find the same features during the same period: the rate of average annual regression amounted to 1.5 per cent, which indicates a lesser regression but with the same direction of decline (see figs 2.3 to 2.6).

If we look at the high-located stations in the Afghan Hindu Kush at Salang North (3366 m) and Salang South (3172 m) we have a similar situation during the same period. The rate of average annual regression of precipitation amounted there to 1.4 and 2.8 per cent (see figs 2.5 and 2.6). That means that at these high-located stations in the region of the Afghan Hindu Kush also, during the same test period of twenty-three years between 1965 and 1987, a regression of precipitation with about 51 per cent decline at Salang North and about 64 per cent at Salang South took place.

Fig. 2.3 Long-Term Development of Annual Sum of Precipitation (Mm) Chitral (1499 M)

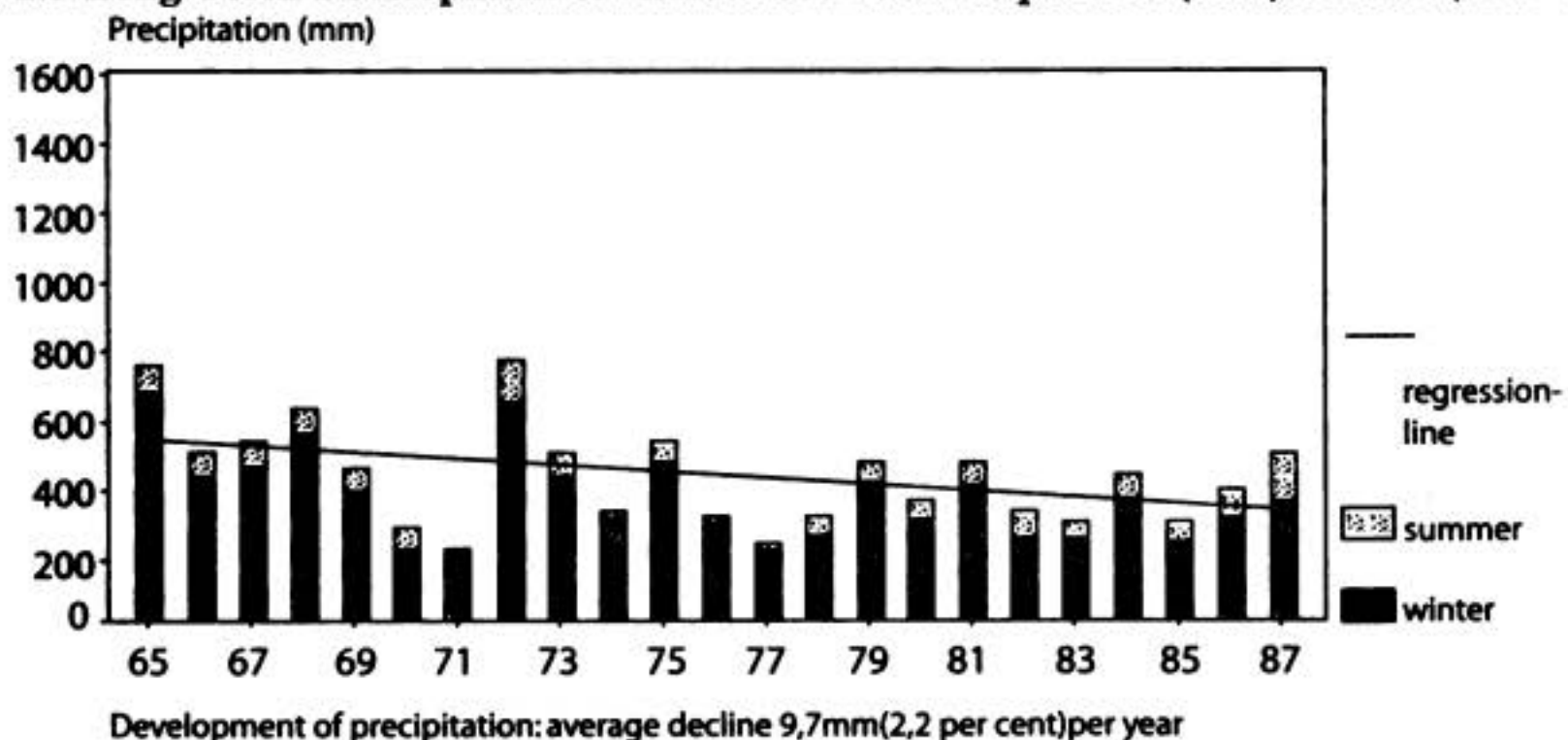


Fig. 2.4 Long-Term Development of Annual Sum of Precipitation (Mm) Drosh (1511 M)

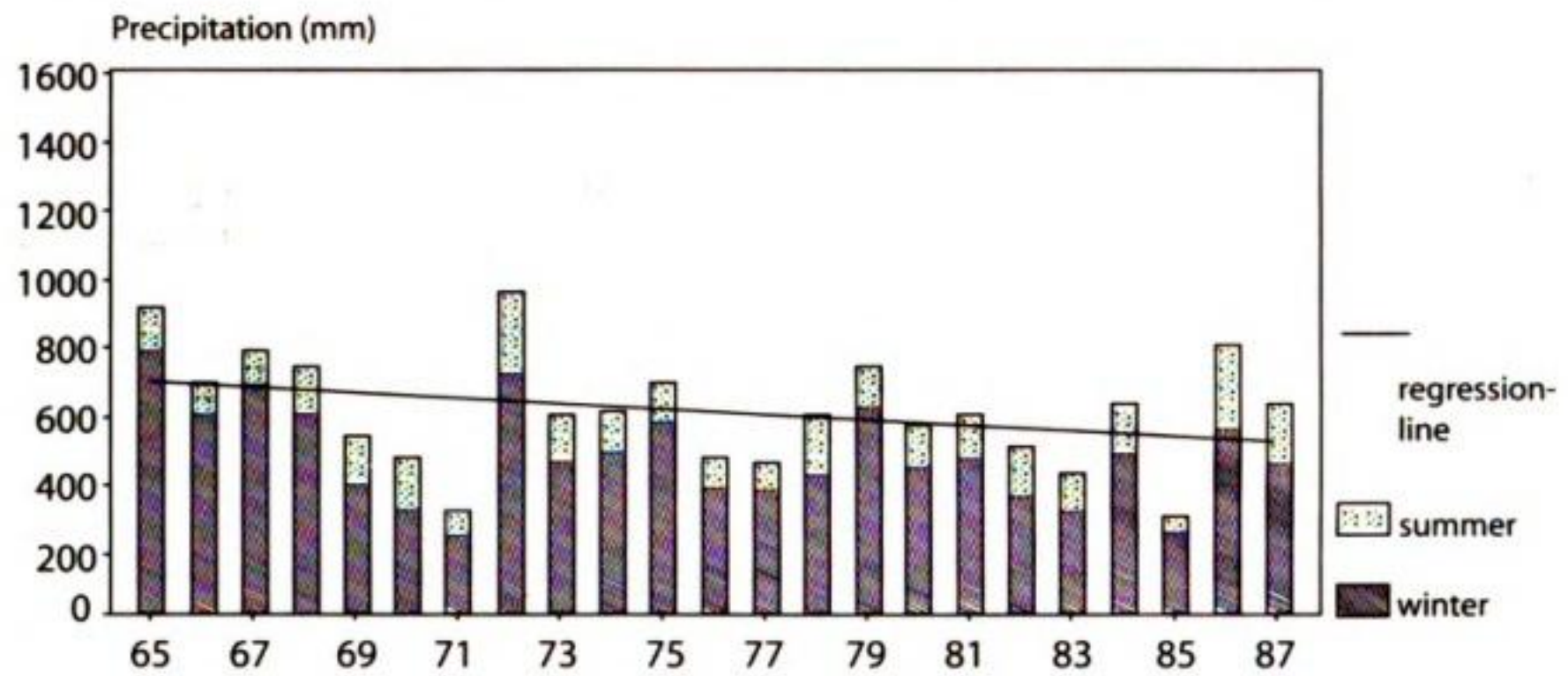


Fig. 2.5 Long-Term Development of Annual Sum of Precipitation (Mm) Salang North (3366 M)

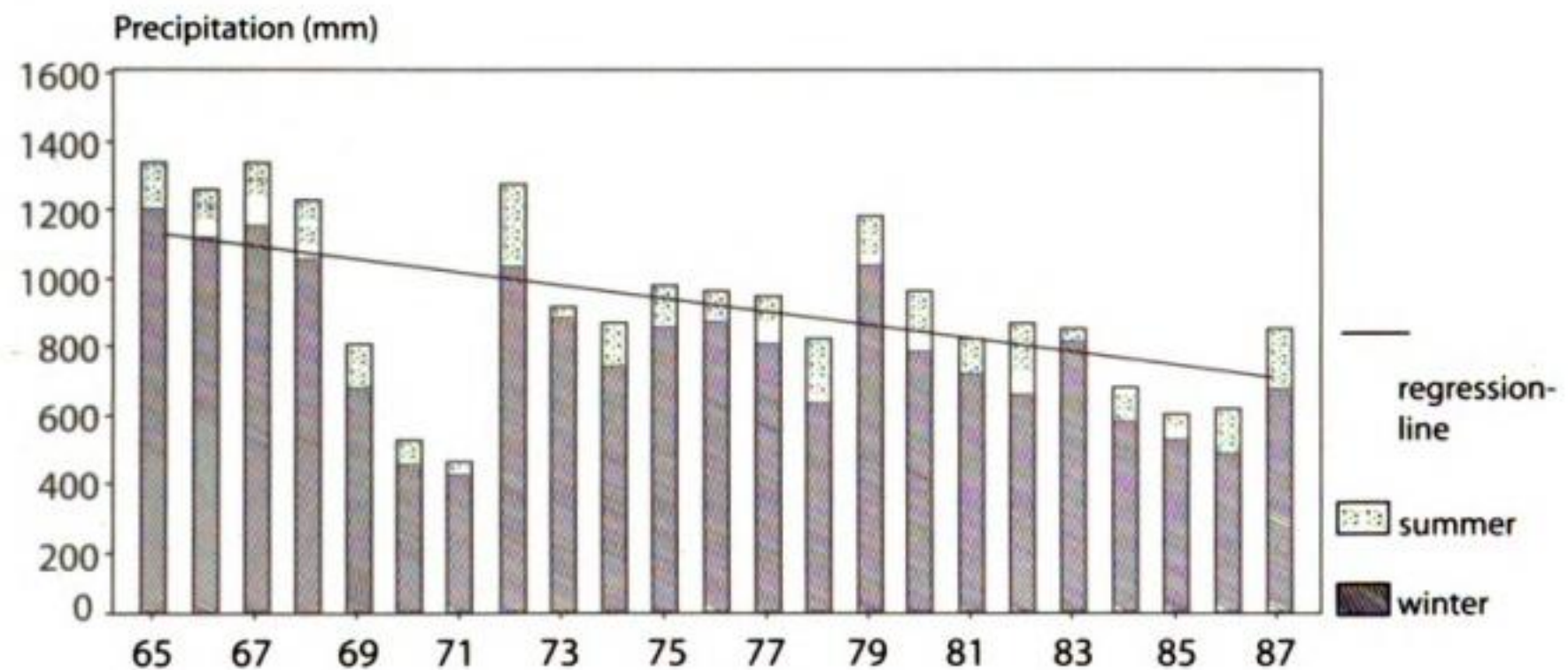
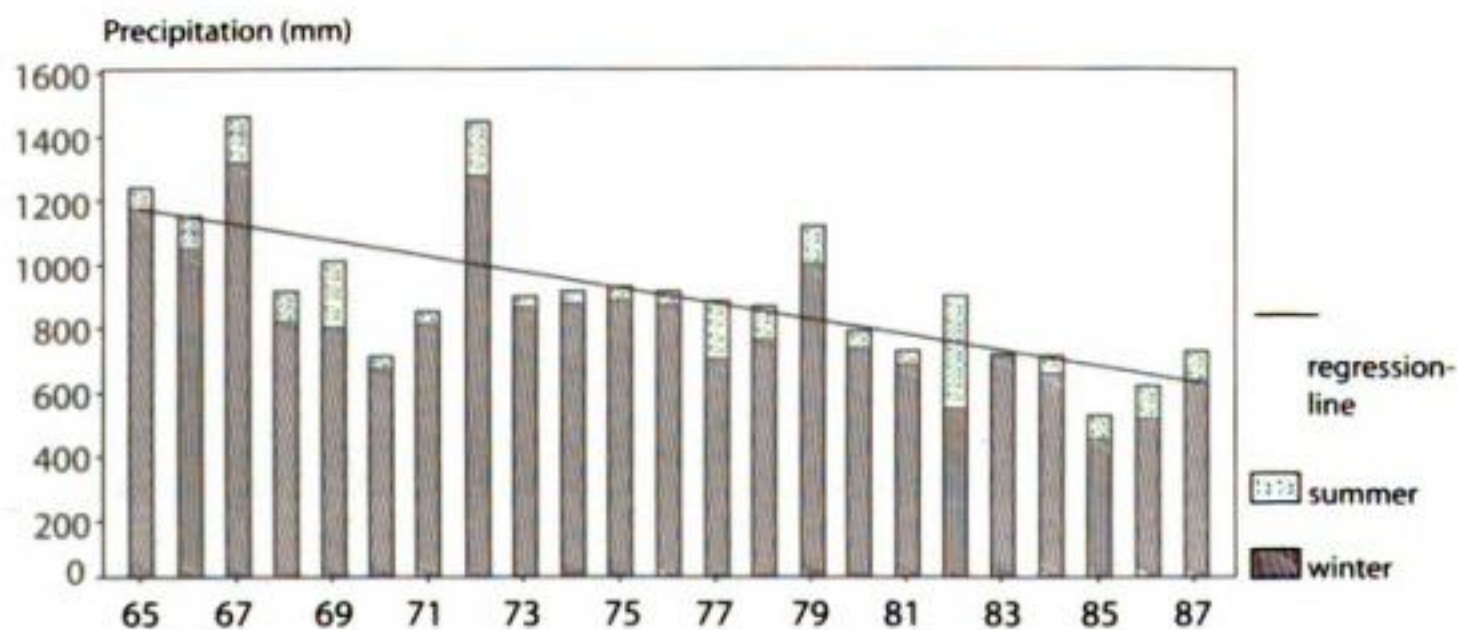


Fig. 2.6 Long-Term Development of Annual Sum of Precipitation (Mm) Salang South (3172 M)



The data and diagrams of the single years at all four stations show remarkably high comparability in the variation of the yearly total amount of precipitation, especially between Chitral, Drosh, and Salang South. This can also be seen regarding the amount of winter/spring precipitation (see diagrams). Generally we can realize: throughout the whole test period and all over the four stations the interannual variations of total amount of precipitation is highly defined by the annual variation of the winter/spring precipitation (December to May).

Trends in the annual mean temperature as seen in the records and figures of the four stations are not so strongly comparable with the remarkable trends and percentages of change of the precipitation sums.

In comparison with the trends of the decline of precipitation in the twenty-three year testing period, we can recognize lightly inverse trends of development of the air temperature at the Salang stations with an increasing line (see figs 2.7 to 2.10). But in the same period, at Drosh and at Chitral, the yearly mean temperature declines lightly in their regression line. The values of most of the single years show that the yearly mean temperatures are lower when the data and figures of precipitation show high precipitation sums.

Fig. 2.7 Long-Term Development of Real Annual Mean Air Temperature (°C) Chitral (1499 M)

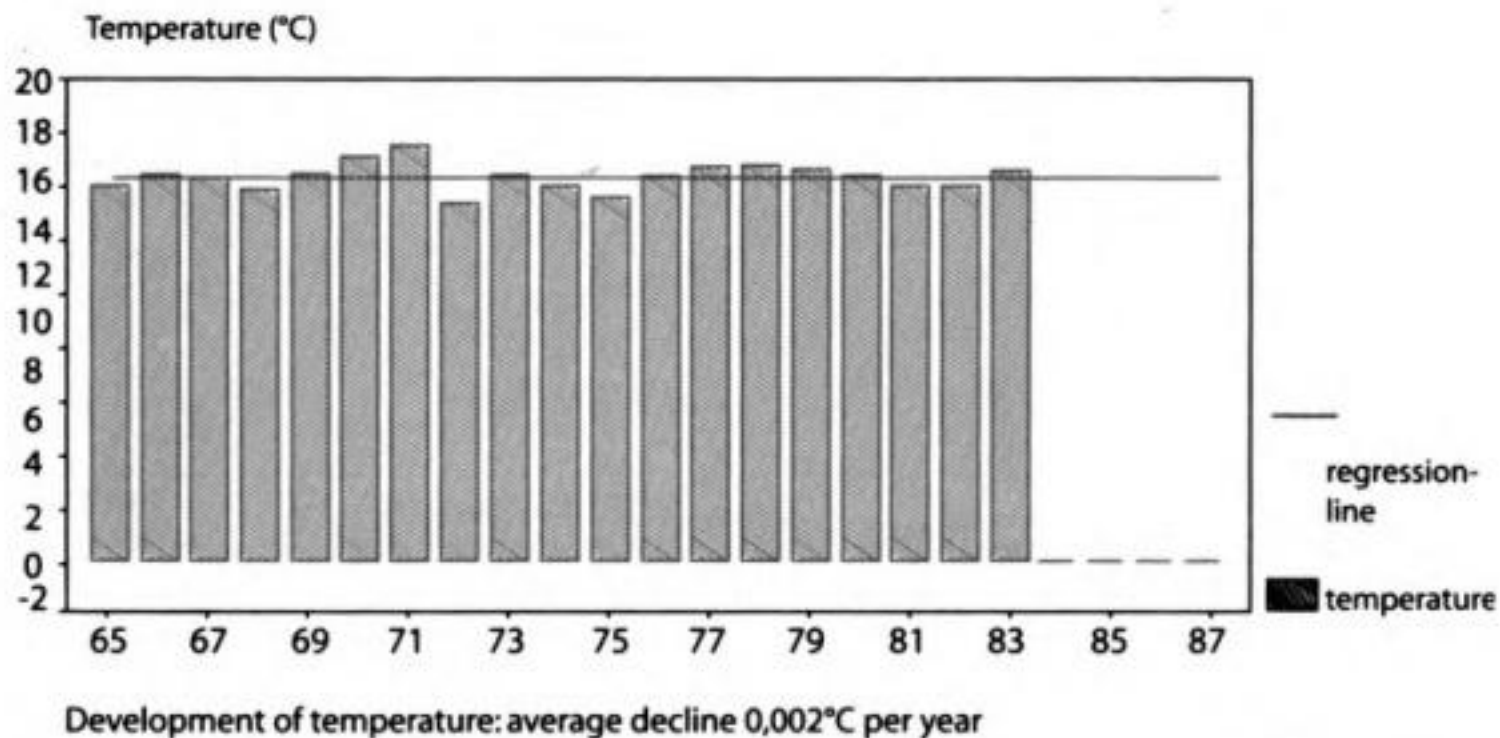


Fig. 2.8 Long-Term Development of Real Annual Mean Air Temperature (°C) Drosh (1511 M)

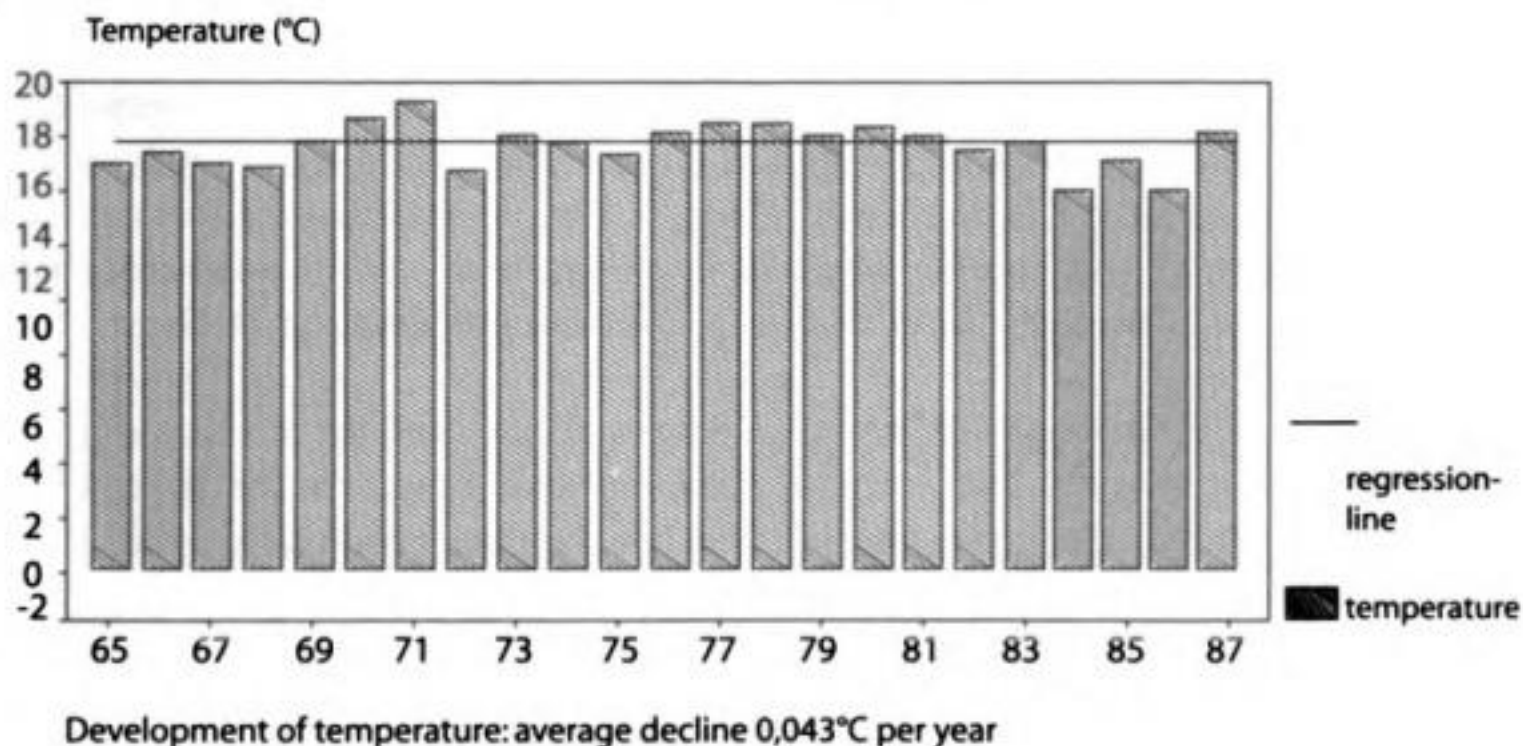
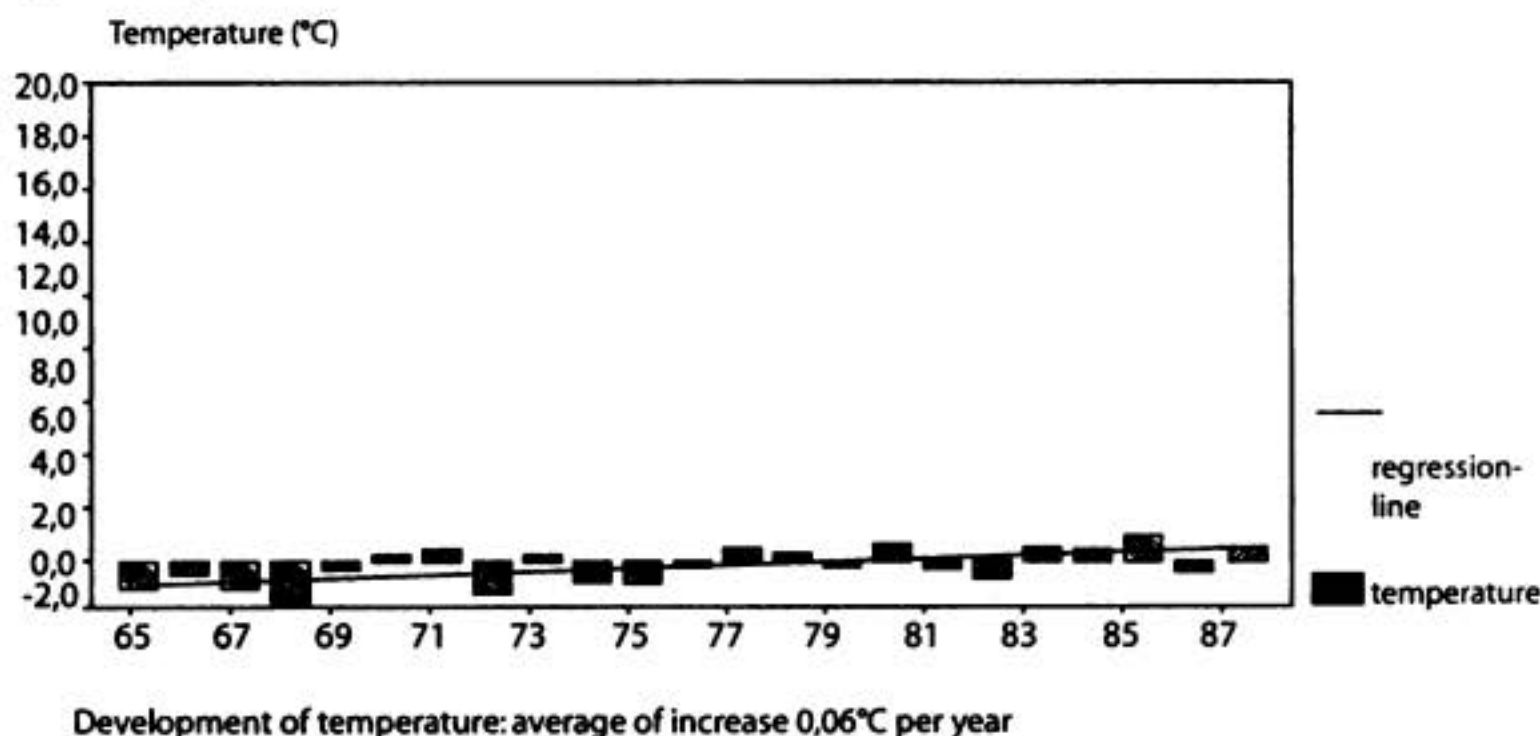
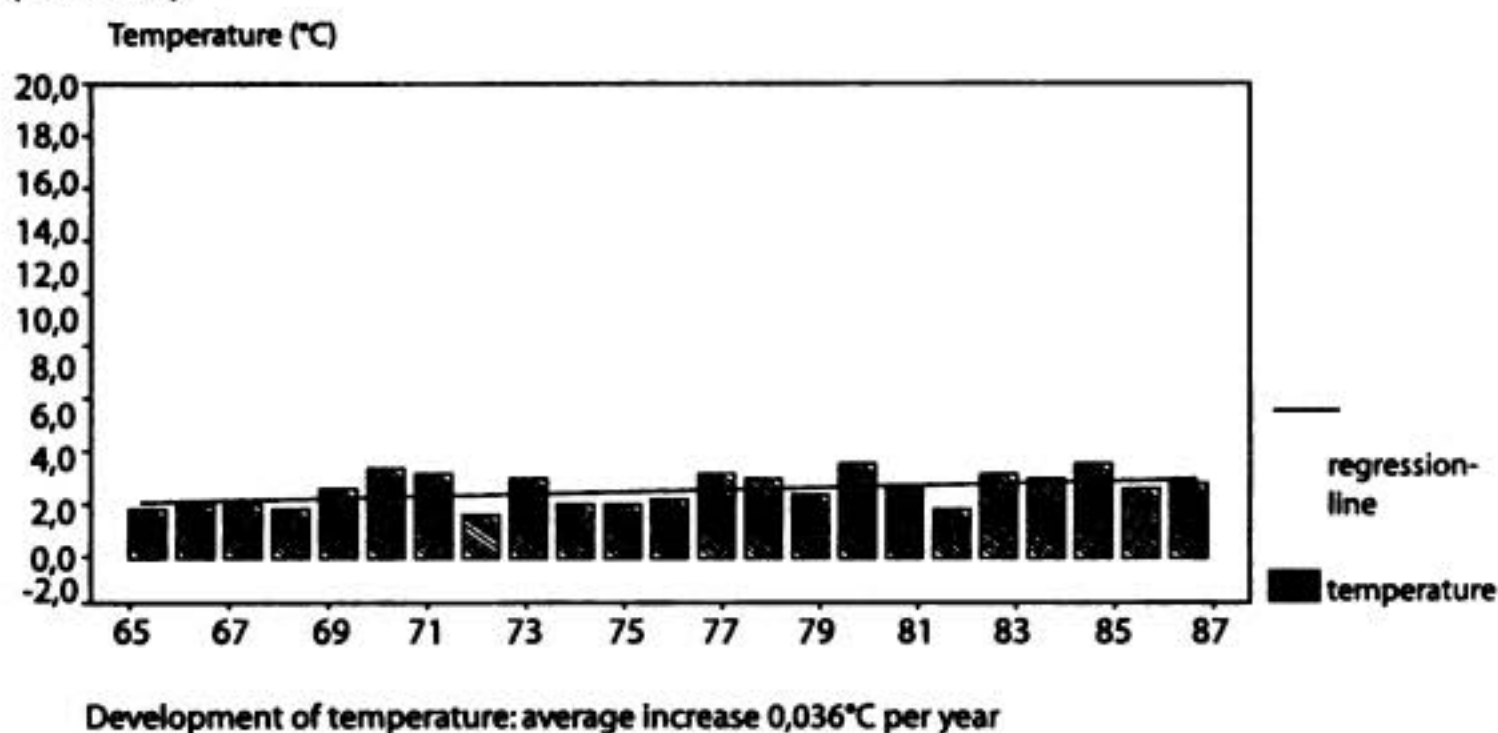


Fig. 2.9 Long-Term Development of Real Annual Mean Air Temperature (°C) Salang North (3366 M)**Fig. 2.10 Long-Term Development of Real Annual Mean Air Temperature (°C) Salang South (3172 M)**

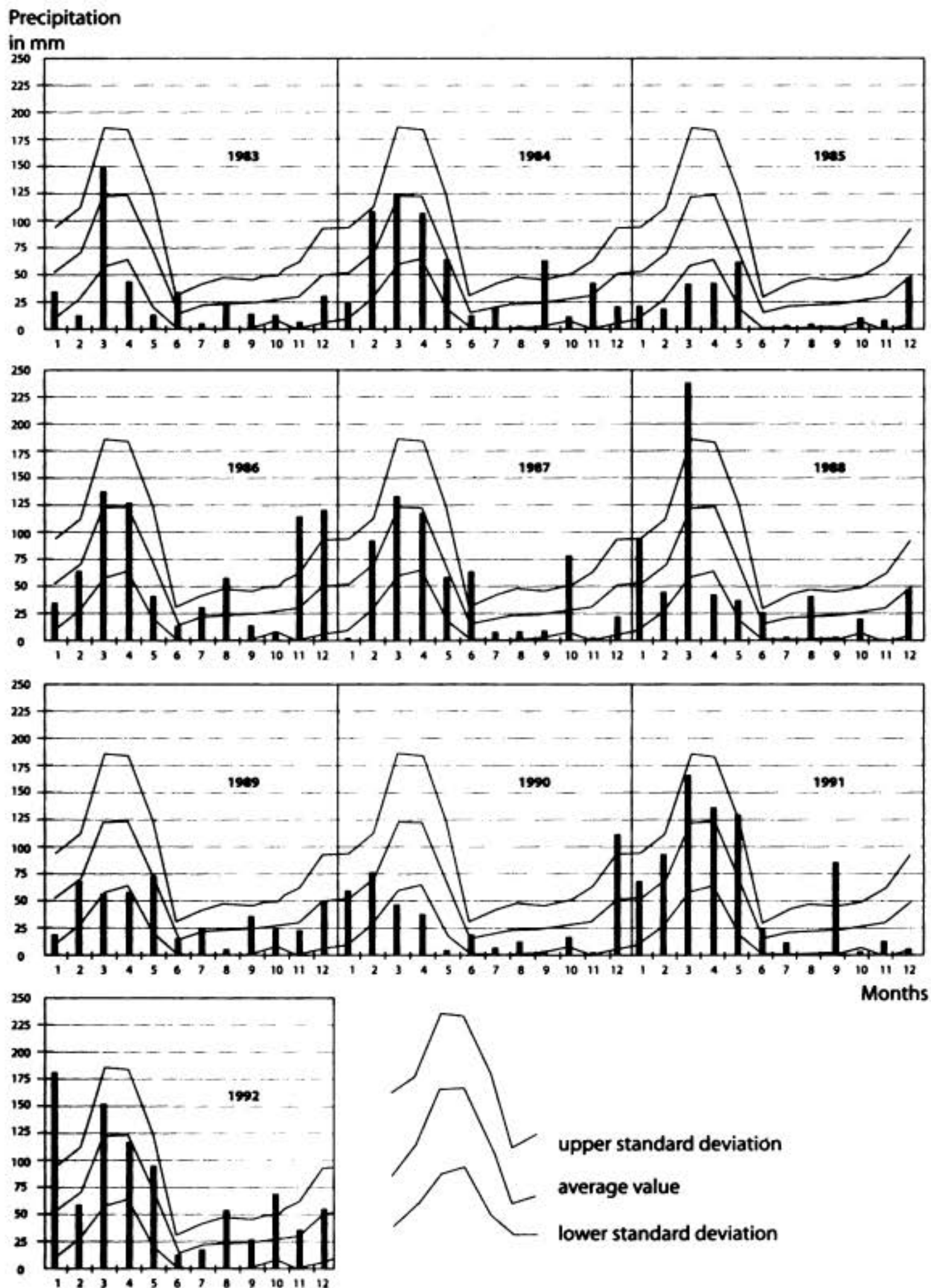
If we compare the discussed station records with the interregional relations to the east we recognize that the data of climate changes are closer between Chitral and the Afghan Hindu Kush than between the Gilgit-Karakoram western Himalaya region.

With respect to the excessive rainfall in Northern Pakistan, causing catastrophic floods and landslides like those in September 1992, and their relation to long-term trends of change in the climatic conditions of the Hindu Kush region, it may be said that such events with such disastrous dimensions all over Northern Pakistan up to the high mountainous area are rare and have little effect in the area of Chitral (see Fig. 2.11 for precipitation at Drosh, September 1992).

Nevertheless, in Chitral, as proved by me, Reimers (1994), and the analysis of the weather and climate records of the last half century, this event only ranges in the series of marginal monsoons which produced extreme summer and late summer precipitation and affected the high mountain area in the Hindu Kush in different years (for example, July 1959, September 1960, July 1964, July and September 1966, August 1968, September 1970, July and September 1972, August 1975, July 1978, August 1979, July 1981, September 1984, August 1986, and

September 1991). It can clearly be seen that in these cases the synoptic meteorological that reason is the superposition between western upper air troughs and monsoon depressions on a lower level also affect the Hindu Kush region.

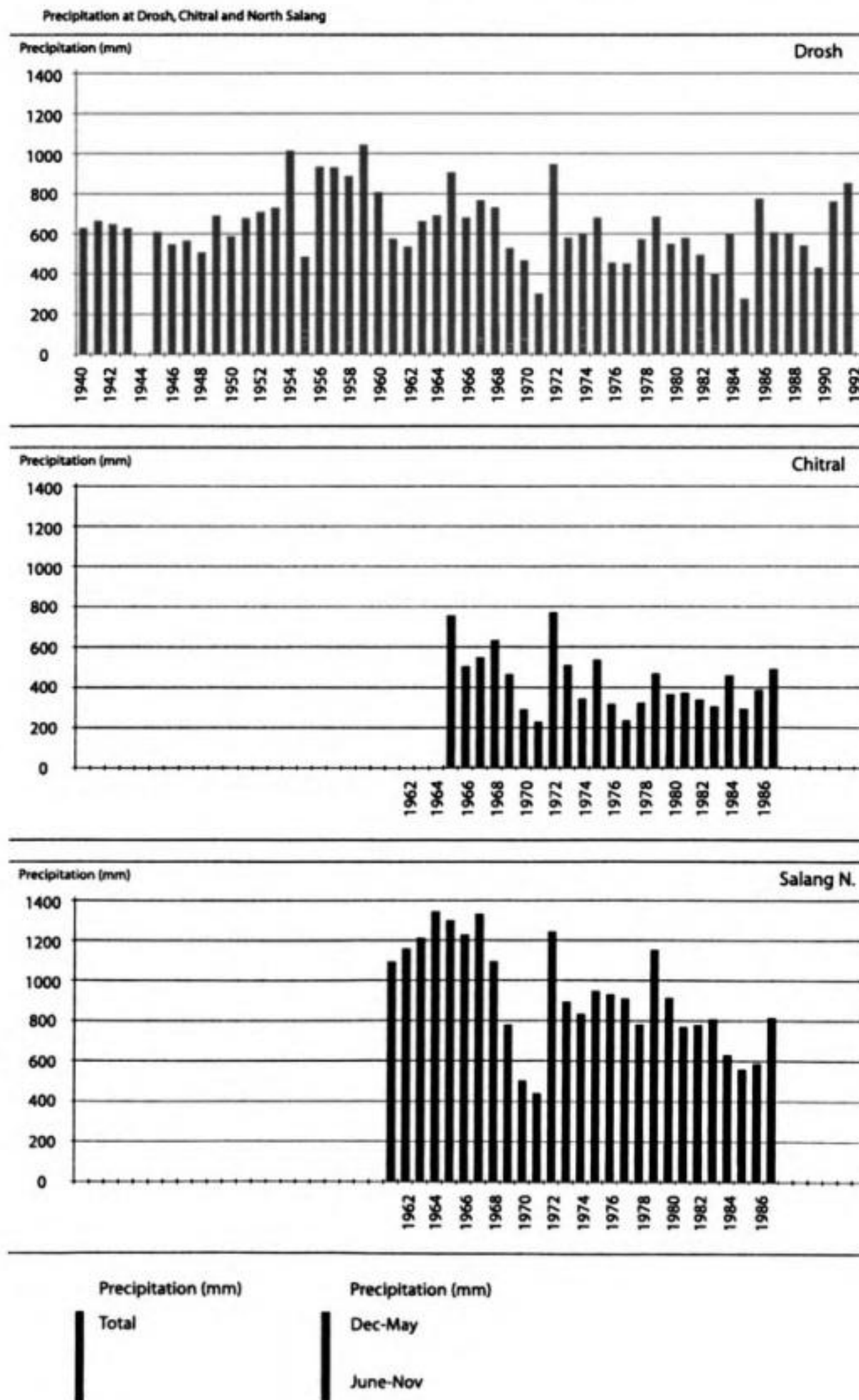
Fig. 2.11 Monthly Sums of Precipitation at the Hindu Kush Valley Station of Drosh between 1983 and 1992 with Mean Annual Changes (1955–92) and the Monthly Standard Deviation



Source: Reimers 1992 and Pak. Met. Dep. 1993b

We should be careful in speculating with respect to more long-term trends of change of climate. If we look at the data and figures of yearly precipitation sums, for example, at Drosh, in the past, we see during the 'forties relatively uniform yearly precipitation sums with a small regression and in the 'fifties remarkably increasing sums of the yearly precipitation (see Fig. 2.12).

Fig. 2.12 Precipitation at Drosh, Chitral, and Salang North

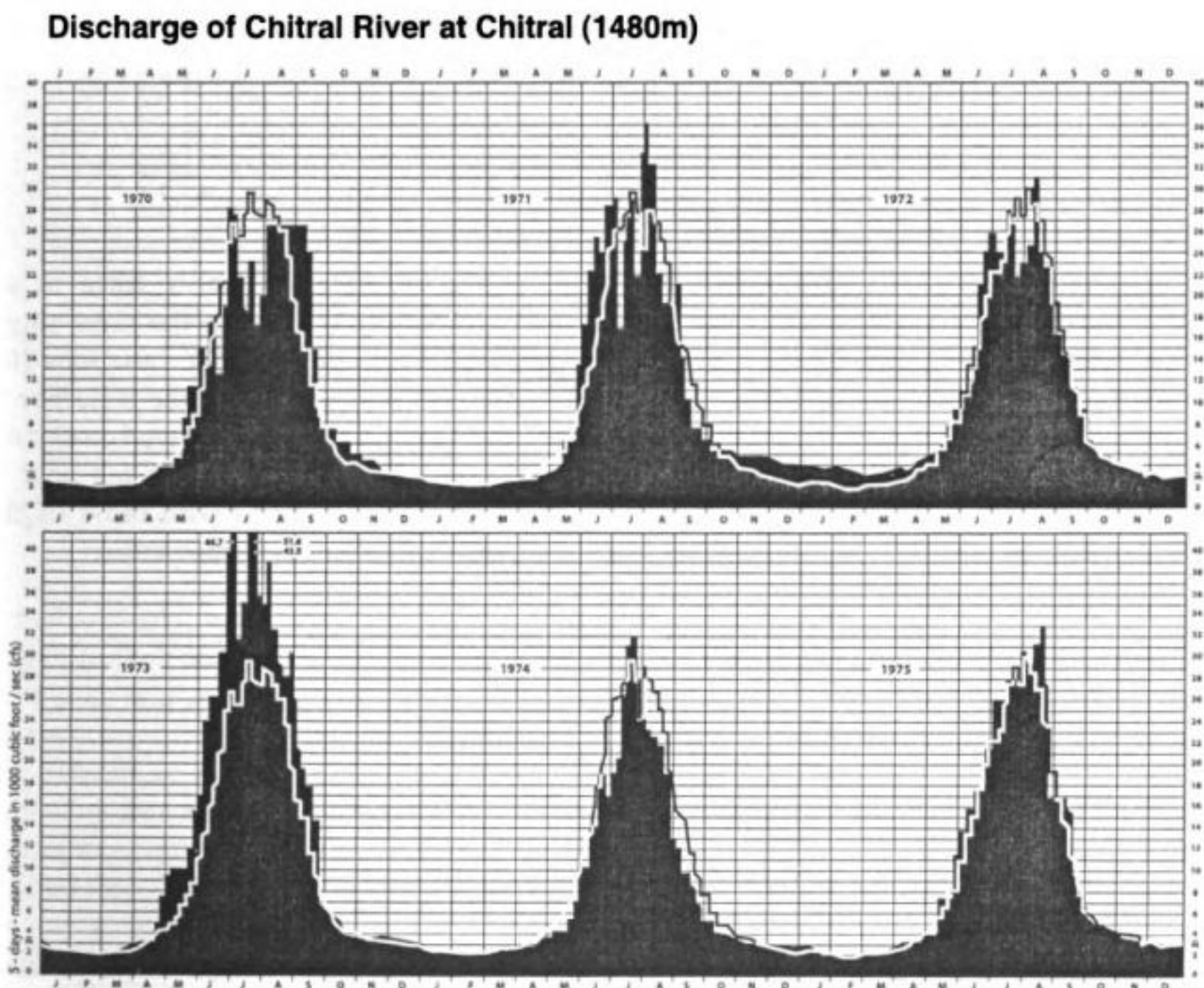


And if we look at the beginning of the nineties (see other figure of Drosh) it seems that in 1991 and 1992 a new period with an increase of precipitation starts.

Unfortunately, comparable data at the other stations of the same period were not available. But I think we would see the same trends as discussed.

The relationship between climatic parameters and the discharge of the Chitral River shown by the figures of daily and monthly data marks generally a high degree of correlation between the sunshine duration with high temperatures and the quantity of discharge because of the influence on glacier melting processes in the catchment area (see figure). We all know that the Chitral River reaches the highest runoff during the summer months from May to September and not during the months of the highest precipitations in winter/spring time between October and April (see Fig. 2.13). So the relationship between the different quantities of runoff because of glacier melting and the percentage of glaciated catchment areas is evident. The catchment area of the Chitral River over the Chitral gorge contains 20 per cent of the glaciated area (Hunza River 40 %, Gilgit River 7 %). Therefore, the average summer runoff between May and September reaches up to 70–80 per cent of the yearly total discharge because of the important yearly melting processes of the glaciers in that time.

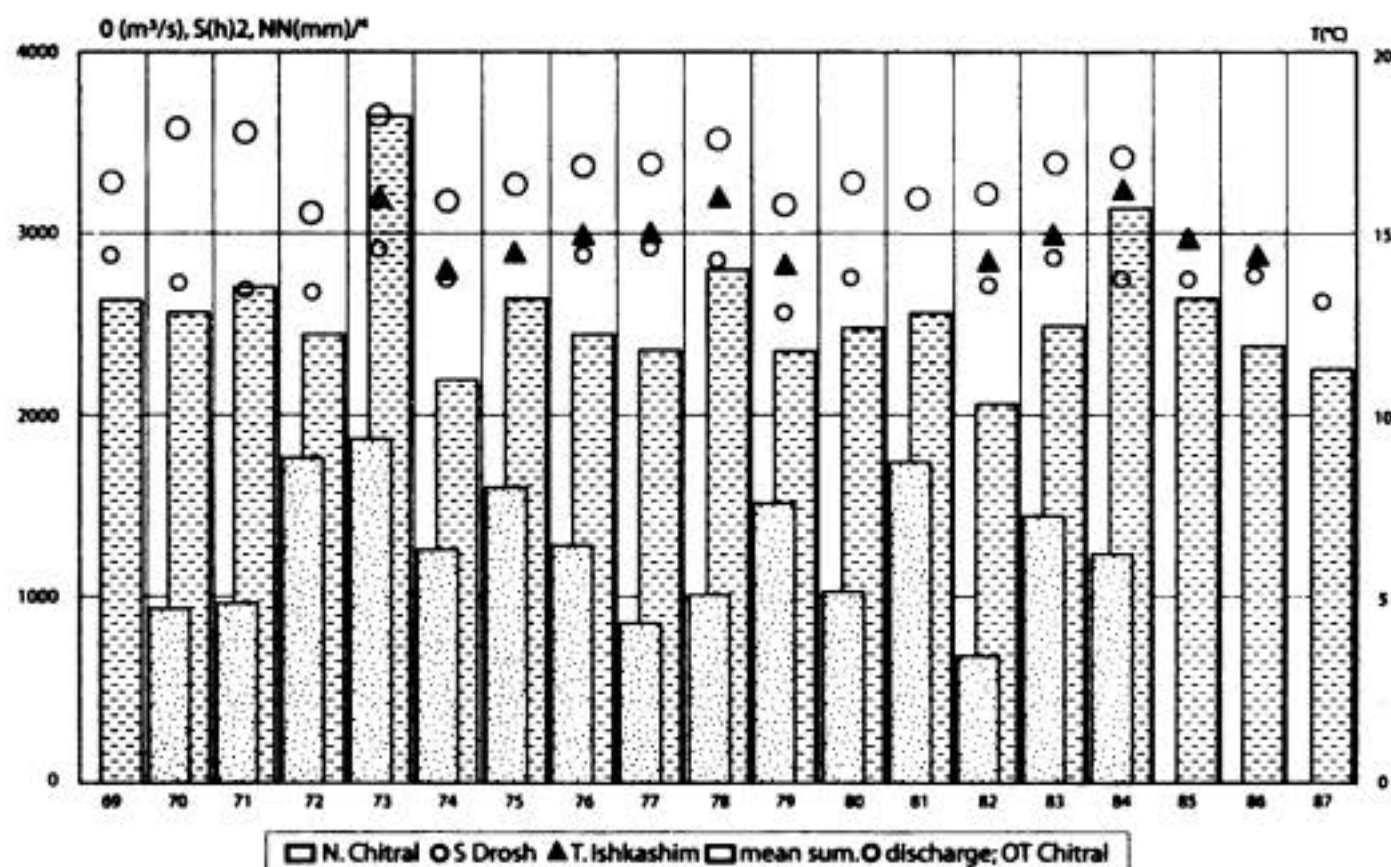
Fig. 2.13 Discharge of Chitral River at Chitral (1480 M)



On the other hand, there is also a dependent relationship between the precipitation of the preceding winter months and the amount of precipitation in the form of snow in the heights because of storage. Sometimes, the highest summer discharge after a high precipitation amount

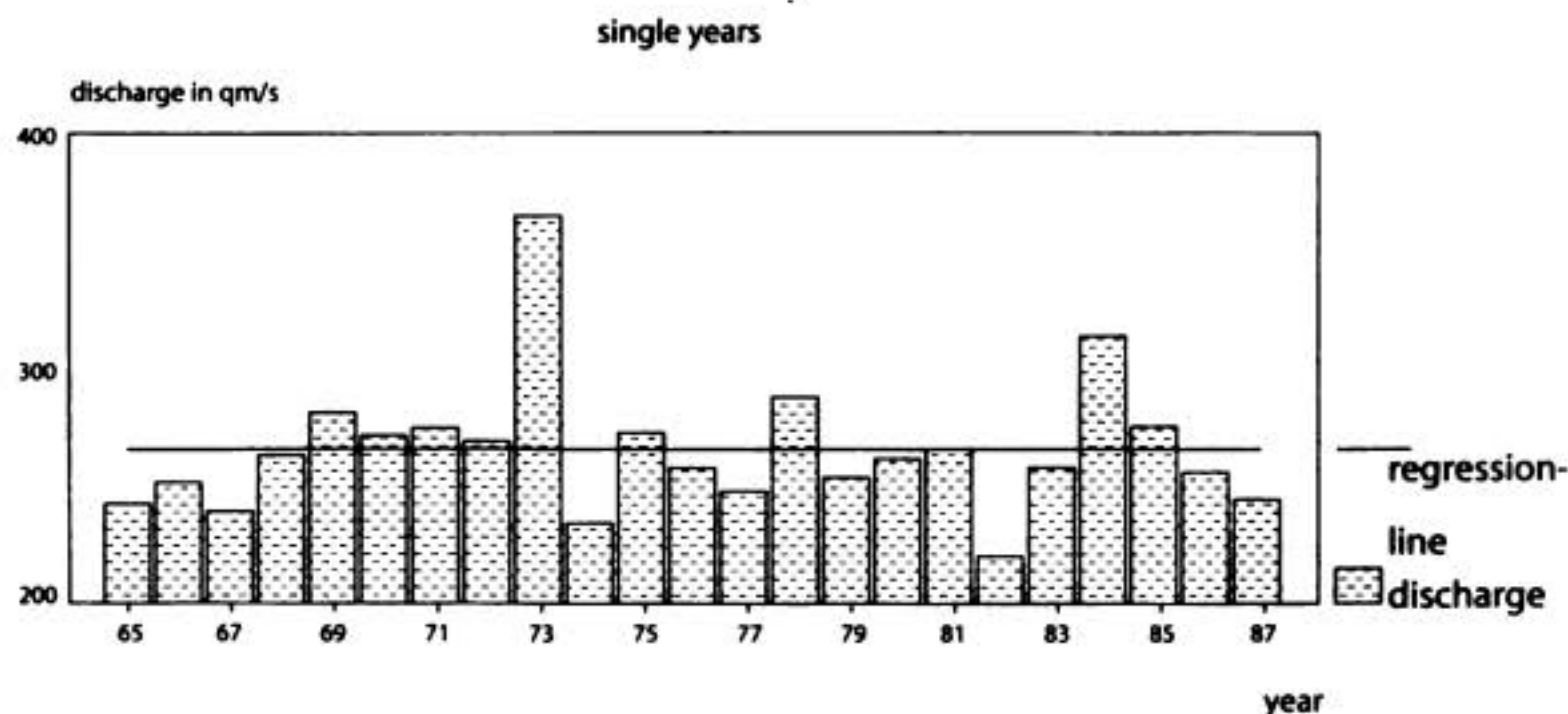
during the winter/spring season is noticed even in the next but one year because of long-term storage of this precipitation as high snow cover. This occurred, for example, in the years 1972 and 1973 (see Fig. 2.14).

Fig. 2.14 Interdependence of Mean Summerly Discharge of the Chitral River (1969–87) and the Precedented Sums of Winterly Precipitation (Oct.–Apr.) at the Station Chitral (1970–84) the summerly temperatures (May–Sep.) at Ishkashim (1973–85) and Chitral (1969–84), and the Duration of Sunshine in Summer (May–Sep.) at Drosh (1969–87)



The values of total yearly river discharge in the single years show little or no interdependence with the values of the annual mean air temperature during the same single years (see diagrams). The different values with the remarkable year-to-year variations (for example, the high value in 1973) are affected by different factors. Most of the influence is provided by the dependence of the values of sunshine duration in the glacier-covered catchment areas in the months of May, June, July, and August (see Fig. 2.15). We are not able to recognize a long-term regression line in the river discharges compared with those of the development of precipitation or the development of the yearly mean air temperature.

Fig. 2.15 Total Amount of Discharge at Chitral



In Chitral and also at many sites of the Afghan Hindu Kush the potential of the cultivable land especially at the old Pleistocene gravel fans in the valleys depends on the availability of irrigation water by channels with their sources not from the main river but from side valleys because of the topographical conditions high above the main valley river levels (see Fig. 2.16).

Fig. 2.16 Limited Cultivated Land on a Deeply Eroded Pleistocene Alluvial Cone between Kagoozi and Maroi (Central Chitral), about 1760 M High: In Front: Mastuj Main River



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For example, many oasis-like sites in Lower and middle Chitral (see figure), also in the area of Lotkuh and in the area between Torkhow and Yarkhun, receive their irrigation water from side valleys with spring water and with catchment areas which are not glaciated but snow-covered in winter and spring time even up to the mostly rainless period in June and July. Therefore, the height of snow cover and the length of the snow-cover season in the catchment area are very important. In such locations problems with the early seasonal shortage of irrigation water often exist because of the early termination of the snow melting period and of dried-up springs. Consequently also interannual changes of the length of snow-cover periods are important for the long-term use of irrigation fields around the villages and especially in such topographical locations.

Of the same importance is the interannual variation of precipitation and the possibility of trends of its change in the small *rabi* dry farming area of southern Chitral and in some places of the Afghan Hindu Kush. Therefore, watching the trends of change is necessary in regard to the dry farming area and the possibilities of their long-term use.

Naturally effected change of vegetation, especially in regard to the trees, needs more time than only one generation of people and more than the time we need to be able to compare them with the recorded climatic data in the whole Hindu Kush region. But if we compare these questions with results of the Karakoram-Himalaya (see references), we would find methods to observe different kinds of environmental change.

On the one hand we have to see changes in the environment in the context of changes in some natural physical geographical conditions. But on the other hand, the influence of man-made factors is also remarkable. Besides the discussed climatic conditions it is important to focus on the interactions between human beings and environment.

In this context only long-term observations and comparisons will be helpful. So, for example, we do not have exact ancient photographs or maps or records about the former scenery at different sites. But some elder inhabitants, for example, *babas*, in any village are able to report about the former extensions of more forested areas even near the villages like the vegetation step of oak trees (*Quercus ilex*) or *Juniperus*, especially in southern or central Chitral. Most of the change is effected by man-caused deforestation and by overgrazing in connection with livestock increasing for more than a hundred years, not only in the area of southern and central Chitral but all over the Hindu Kush and the Karakoram-Himalaya region. Conditions for grazing on the high pastures and also on the lower pastures, for example, in Chitral on the great Karo Lasht plain, have changed. This is an important additional field of environmental change and requires other special studies, observations, and discussions, like the studies in the eastern neighbouring regions (see references).

Memories of natural hazards like heavy, torrential rainfall with floods and blocking by landslides or heavy snowfall causing hazardous avalanches are, in addition to other researches and official reports, an important source of information.

Small-scale environmental inventories should be made. Teachers and schoolboys of the middle and high schools, on their own or in connection with agriculture experts or village organizations of the Aga Khan Rural Support Programme (AKRSP) in Chitral District, could, for example, make notes on such hazards providing data on the damages at the different sites. Often, additional remarks would prove helpful.

Such small-scale, long-term environmental observations should also include the registration of non-spectacular events, such as more systematical observation of the beginning of the yearly seasonal water shortage of side valley streams in the case of schools or offices at such sites or at the beginning of very early snowfall (in the harvest season) or the registration of the daily temperature throughout the year (in the shadow, with simple thermometers always at the same fixed hour), by these small-scale local climate stations in addition to the few official stations. The yearly marking of the glacier snouts, for example, sideward on big boulders with data would also be helpful.

All these observations, registrations, and notices should be collected at specific places. They will be helpful sources of general knowledge and information on the environment of the region and also assist in answering questions of change in natural conditions.

The main points in conclusion are:

1. The period of long-term registration of comparable climate data of the whole Hindu Kush region (by the few meteorological stations) is still too short to give general answers about long-term trends of development like a half century or more. But for a short-term period of a quarter century (1965 to 1987) at the four main stations in the Hindu Kush region we are able to make comparisons and present meaningful results.

2. At the dry valley stations of Drosh and Chitral Town inside Chitral and also at the high located humid stations Salang South and Salang North in the Afghan Hindu Kush with their more than two times higher precipitation there are generally the same long-term trends mainly with the comparable average decline of annual sums of precipitation. During the same period at those stations we recognize the same direction of trends with precipitation decline and only a small change in the average yearly temperature at Chitral and Drosh and increasing temperatures at Salang North and Salang South.
3. In regard to the relationship between climatic parameters, river discharge, and the possibility of agricultural land use around the oasis-like settlements with irrigation and in the *rabi* dry farming areas, the amount of winter/spring precipitation and the length of the period of snow cover in the heights with their possibilities of interannual and long-term changes are important. This is important especially in the areas where gravel fans are distributed with the fields located high over the glacier-water-influenced main rivers and irrigated only by spring water and snow melting water of their own catchment area.
4. Climate-influenced long-term change in natural vegetation is difficult to observe because it needs more time and knowledge. But we are able to see very clearly man-influenced ecological change like deforestation and long-term overgrazing. The ecological situation should receive more attention and protection through the economic use of natural resources.
5. To make the inhabitants more sensitive to such ecological and environmental questions and to support scientific research we should have more small-scale observation and registration of natural events and change in natural conditions by the inhabitants themselves. So teachers, schoolboys, and village organizations and other authorities in the different sites of the area of Chitral should collect information to compare it with results of the whole region. To compare it with present-day conditions we should also systematically acquire information from the elder inhabitants, like *babas*, in the villages about the former situation. All such activities would be helpful in gaining knowledge about the general history of the area even in the environmental field.

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PROTECTED MOUNTAIN AREAS IN PAKISTAN: THE CASE OF THE NATIONAL PARKS

John Mock*

In the last twenty years, Pakistan has gazetted three northern mountain areas as national parks. Chitral Gol National Park, in Chitral District of the North-West Frontier Province, comprises the 7750 hectare watershed of Chitral Gol, immediately west of Chitral Town. Khunjerab National Park, in Gilgit District of the Northern Areas, comprises 2269 square kilometres in the Gojal Tehsil on either side of the Karakoram Highway (KKH) from Dih to the Pakistan-China border at the Khunjerab Pass. The Central Karakoram National Park is mostly in Skardu District of the Northern Areas, but also includes area within Gilgit District. The park's area has not been surveyed, but comprises the Baltoro, Panmah, Biafo, and Hispar glaciers and their tributary glaciers. Each park has a separate history, but all share a fundamental gap between usage and control. This basic inequity underlies the unique problems of each national park. When ownership and usage are separate, there is a resulting lack of sufficient control over resources by either party (Romm 1987). Until this conflict is resolved, effective management remains impossible.

Prior to the full incorporation of the Northern Areas and Chitral into Pakistan between 1969 and 1974, the areas that are now designated as Chitral Gol, Khunjerab, and central Karakoram national parks were part of the local princely states: Chitral, Hunza, and Shigar. Chitral and Hunza were independent states under the suzerainty of the *maharaja* of Kashmir (IOR R/1/1/3688(2): 33). Shigar became a vassal state of the *raja* of Skardu in the late sixteenth century, and Skardu then became part of the Kashmir state in 1884 (Hasrat 1995: 251).

In Chitral, Mehtar Aman-ul-Mulk declared Chitral Gol as his private hunting preserve in 1880. Markhor (*Capra falconeri cashmiriensis*) were the prized game. The *mehtar* maintained several bungalows for his use and for guests, as well as cultivating some land and orchards. The *mehtar* allowed nearby villagers to collect firewood, graze some livestock in areas away from his hunting bungalows, and cut some wood for timber.

The Khunjerab grasslands came under the control of the *mir* of Hunza in the late eighteenth century. The *mir* allocated grazing rights to villagers, and in turn received from them a tax consisting of livestock and livestock products. The *mir* controlled hunting in the area, as well as any transborder trade with China. The *mir's* livestock grazed in the Khunjerab pastures, tended by designated shepherds, who sent livestock when ordered and livestock products to the *mir* at his palace in Baltit, Hunza (IOR R/2 (1079/253): 60–67).

In Baltistan, the pastures along the Biafo and Baltoro glaciers were grazing grounds for villagers of the upper Braldu valley who were subjects of the *raja* of Shigar. However, the *raja* exerted little control over the remote Braldu valley. The villagers of the Braldu were effectively left alone to tend their livestock in summer pastures along the glaciers (K.I. MacDonald, personal communication).

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These situations of usage can be characterized as ranging from closely controlled, but still shared usage in the case of Chitral, to more loosely controlled shared usage in the case of Hunza, to locally controlled and used in the case of Baltistan and the Braldu valley. The degree of control exerted by the ruling prince over each area corresponds to the distance of the royal residence from the area.

These relatively stable situations changed when the princely states were merged into Pakistan in the early 1970s. Lands previously controlled by the rulers were declared to be state property. However, local people interpreted the abolition of princely rule as allowing them to cut wood and graze animals where they wished. The loss of control by local rulers also led to an increase in hunting. When wildlife biologist Dr George Schaller came to Pakistan in 1974 to survey wildlife, he became alarmed at the low numbers of unique species, and recommended the establishment of protected areas for their preservation (Schaller 1979). To protect the markhor in Chitral Gol and Marco Polo sheep (*Ovis ammon poli*) in Khunjerab, Chitral Gol was declared a wildlife sanctuary in 1971 and Khunjerab a national park in 1975. Chitral Gol was declared a national park in 1984. Interestingly, Schaller did not recommend the central Karakoram to be a national park because it had comparatively low numbers of wildlife.

These areas also became increasingly more accessible. The KKH, highways, and link roads were constructed and air service increased (Kreutzmann 1991). All three areas have experienced an increase in the number of visitors, both foreign and domestic. Hunza and Gilgit are major tourist destinations, as well as trade centres; Skardu is a world-class mountaineering destination, as well as an important military centre, and Chitral draws over 3000 foreign tourists each year, as well as many domestic tourists.

With this increase in access, the mountain pastures, valleys, and wildlife habitats, previously valued for centuries as grasslands and woodlands, have now become the objects of desire of a number of competing interests—resort hotels, adventure tourism, big game hunting, mountaineering, conservation organizations, and the military, to name a few (Mock 1989, 1995; Kreutzmann 1993). Each group is interested in maximizing its return from usage of the area. The traditional usage of the villagers also figure into the equation. Each group of users vies to exert control over the areas, and each group has its own ideas as to how the areas should be managed. The relevant point for management is that effective management must take into account the needs of all user groups and develop strategies for cooperation between them (Renard & Hudson 1992). For example, in Pakistan, parks have largely been concerned with protection. Yet protected area managers throughout the developing world have realized that protected area management must be coupled with social and economic development if biodiversity is to be conserved (Wells et al. 1992). This approach to management is only just beginning to find a foothold in Pakistan.

In addition, the rigid, prescriptive structure of Pakistan's national parks precludes any direct role in planning and implementation for local people. The existing legislative basis for national parks excludes many types of usage. Pakistan's 1975 national park legislation is similar to the 1978 definition formulated by IUCN–The World Conservation Union. Although the IUCN definition has since changed considerably to incorporate new thinking on park management, the Pakistan definition remains unchanged (see Table 3.1). The park structure presently in place in Pakistan actually amplifies conflict, as exemplified by the history of court cases in Chitral Gol (see Table 3.2) and in Khunjerab (see Table 3.3). In Chitral, there is an ongoing twenty year history of litigation between the government and the *ex-mehtar* of Chitral, Saif-ul-Mulk Nasir (Malik 1985). The *ex-mehtar* claims Chitral Gol is his private property, whereas the government claims it is state property. Local people have now joined the lawsuit, claiming their right to Chitral Gol. The case, as of June 1995, is still before the

courts. In Khunjerab, the government attempted to ban traditional grazing, but failed to offer sufficient compensation to local communities (Wegge 1989; Mock 1990; Bell 1991; Slavin 1991; Knudsen 1992). Villagers obtained a court order in October 1990 to permit them to continue grazing. But in 1991, the Khunjerab Security Force (KSF), a police organization, forcibly evicted them from the park. These lawsuits and police actions are symptomatic of the gap between usage and control, as well as of the distance between decision makers in Pakistan's capital, Islamabad, and the actual protected areas.

Recent developments in Khunjerab may point to a way ahead. The management plan currently under review by the federal government follows an approach termed co-management. Co-management implies that all involved parties work together as equal partners in decision making as well as implementation. This requires the government to share power and responsibility for protected area management with local communities and other user groups (Sneed 1992). This approach holds forth the possibility of harmonizing the issue of usage and control. Co-management does not require authorities to give up or transfer legal jurisdiction, but it does demand that they equally share decision making power with all other user groups, including local communities, and respect and enhance the rights, aspirations, knowledge, skills, and resources of all user groups.

Of course, the burden also falls on the users. They can no longer simply be users, but must take responsibility for the results of their use, and learn how to participate in the management of the area and how to work with other users.

The Central Karakoram National Park, established in late 1993 (Notification No Admin-III-II [28/93]), hopefully will not be plagued by the set of problems of Chitral Gol and Khunjerab. IUCN, a main proponent of the park, has declared that local people are at the heart of this park. A workshop was held in Skardu in September 1994 to discuss management planning. But at the workshop, government representatives refused to make a commitment to share potential revenue from park entrance fees with the surrounding villages.

It seems unlikely that the exercise of government control over these mountain parks will resolve conflicts resulting from multiple users. It seems equally unlikely that the exercise of private control can resolve the conflicts, or bring to bear the needed resources and expertise to effectively manage these areas. Given the competing interests of today's multiple user groups, a traditional, village-based, common property regime is also impractical. Rather, a joining together of all user groups and individuals, together with the government, in a co-managed approach that links conservation with development appears to be the best approach for managing these areas today. The sad result of an unwillingness or inability to do so will be the loss of unique ecosystems and species—a loss for Pakistan and for the world.

Table 3.1 Existing Legislative Basis for National Parks in Pakistan

Northern Areas Wildlife Preservation Act (1975)

Section 2.k.

'National Park' means comparatively large areas of outstanding scenic merit and natural interest with the primary object of protection and preservation of scenery, flora and fauna in the natural state to which access for public recreation, education and research may be allowed.

Section 7.

Acts restricted in a national park. No person shall:

- i reside in a national park;

- ii hunt, kill or capture, or be found in circumstance showing that it is his intention to hunt, kill or capture any animal in a national park;
- iii carry any fire arm or other hunting weapon in a national park;
- iv introduce any domestic animal or allow any domestic animal to stray into a national park. Any domestic animal found in a national park may be destroyed or seized by, or on the orders of an authorized office, shall be disposed of in accordance with the instruction of the Chief Wildlife Warden;
- v cause any bush or grass fire (except at designated places) or cut, destroy, injure or damage in any way any tree or other vegetation in a national park;
- vi cultivate any land in a national park;
- vii pollute any water in, or flowing in a national park;
- viii introduce any exotic animal or plant into a national park;
- ix pick any flower or remove any plant, animal, stone or other natural object from a national park;
- x write on, cut, carve, or otherwise deface any building, monument, notice board, tree, rock or other object, whether natural or otherwise, in a national park;
- xi fail to comply with the lawful orders of an officer while in a national park; and
- xii discard any paper, tin, bottle, or litter of any sort in a national park except in a receptacle provided for the purpose.

North-West Frontier Province Wildlife Protection, Preservation, Conservation and Management Act (1975)

Section 16.

National Park

1. With a view to the protection and preservation of scenery, flora and fauna in the natural estate, Government may, by notification in the official Gazette, declare any area which is the property of Government or over which Government has proprietary rights to be a national park and may demarcate it in such manner as may be prescribed.
2. A national park shall be accessible to public for recreation, education and research subject to such restrictions as Government may impose.
3. Provision for access roads to and construction of rest houses, hostels and other buildings in the national park along with amenities for public may be so made and the forest therein shall be so managed and forest produce obtained as not to impair the object of the establishment of the national park.
4. The following acts shall be prohibited in a national park:
 - i. hunting, shooting, trapping, killing or capturing of any wild animal in a national park or within three miles radius of its boundary;
 - ii. firing any gun or doing any other act which may disturb any animal or bird or doing any act which interferes with the breeding places;
 - iii. felling, tapping, burning or in any way damaging or destroying, taking, collecting or removing any plant or tree therefrom;
 - iv. clearing or breaking up any land for cultivation, mining or for any other purpose; and
 - v. polluting any water flowing in and through the national park.

IUCN Categories of Protected Areas (1978)

II. National Park

To protect outstanding natural and scenic areas of national and international significance for scientific, educational, and recreational use. These are relatively large natural areas not materially altered by human activity, and where commercial extractive uses are not permitted.

IUCN Categories of Protected Areas (1994)

II. National Park

Protected area managed mainly for ecosystem protection and recreation. Natural area or land and/or sea, designated to:

- a. protect the ecological integrity of one or more ecosystems for present and future generations;
- b. exclude exploitation or occupation inimical to the purposes of designation of the area; and
- c. provide a foundation for spiritual, scientific, educational, recreational and visitor opportunities, all of which must be environmentally and culturally compatible.

Table 3.2 History of Court Cases Involving Chitral Gol National Park

Date	Private Property Regime	State Property Regime	Common Property Regime
1880	Mehhtar Aman-ul-Mulk declares Chitral Gol his private hunting preserve.		
1953 Mar. 19	Agreement between <i>mehhtar</i> of Chitral and governor general (president) of Pakistan that <i>mehhtar</i> retains his personal property, including Chitral Gol, when he surrenders sovereignty over Chitral State to the Government of Pakistan.		Villages surrounding Chitral Gol share grazing, firewood, and timber rights of usage in Chitral Gol.
1961 Nov. 3	Letter F.3 (9)-F.II/61 from deputy secretary Ministry of States and Frontier Region to secretary Government of West Pakistan Home Department reaffirms that Chitral Gol is the private property of Saif-ul-Mulk Nasir.		
1969		Chitral State merges into Pakistan.	
1971 Nov. 13		Government of NWFP constitutes Chitral Land Dispute Inquiry Commission.	
1971 Dec. 23		Chitral Gol (19,112 acres) is declared a wildlife sanctuary for five years by commissioner of Malakand Division.	
1974	Distribution of Property (Chitral) regulation 1974. Law Department affirms 1953 decision of President of Pakistan.		
1975 Jul. 31		Government NWFP Home and Tribal Affairs Department Order No 10/31-SOTA, II (HD)/73 declares that all forests, <i>charagahs</i> , and <i>shikargahs</i> are state property and identifies 73 <i>chakorams</i> (26.5 acres) in Chitral Gol, bearing an annual income of Rs 12,000, as property of <i>ex-mehhtar</i> of Chitral, Saif-ul-Mulk Nasir, and remaining land as state property.	Public concession, regulated by government, is granted to villagers to: (a) obtain dry firewood; (b) obtain timber for private use under a permit; (c) graze cattle.
1976 Mar. 29	Court of Joint Secretary, Chitral Land Dispute Inquiry Commission, Board of Revenue, NWFP, Peshawar, rules in favor of deletion of 73 <i>chakoram</i> limit to personal property of Saif-ul-Mulk Nasir.		

1976 Aug. 2	Sheikh Mohammad Rashid, chairman, Federal Land Commission, sets aside 29 March 1976 ruling by joint secretary.	
1979 Jan. 25	Government of NWFP declares Chitral Gol a permanent wildlife sanctuary.	
1981 Dec. 16		Government of NWFP gives double timber quota, two mini-hydel stations, and priority for staffing in Chitral Gol wildlife sanctuary to villagers affected by same.
1982 Jan. 25	Justice Qaisar Khan (retired), chairman, Tribunal Land Disputes, dir., Swat and Chitral declares invalid 2 August 1976 ruling by chairman, Federal Land Commission.	
1983 Aug. 3	Saif-ul-Mulk Nasir vs Government of NWFP begins in Court of Senior Civil Judge Chitral; runs to 3 November 1994.	
1984 Oct. 18		Chitral Gol is declared a national park.
1986 Feb. 6		Rs 2,050,000 is paid to deputy commissioner (DC) Chitral by Forestry Division (Wildlife), NWFP, for acquisition of 73 <i>chakorams</i> from Saif-ul-Mulk Nasir
1987 Oct. 31		Senior civil judge Chitral rules that since Saif-ul-Mulk Nasir recognizes rights of people of Golder, Sangor, Maklanda, and Jang Bazaar, they need not be party to suit of Saif-ul-Mulk Nasir.
1988 Jun. 14	Peshawar High Court dismisses federal government Writ Petition 592 against deletion of 73 <i>chakoram</i> limit.	
1989 Jul. 27	Saif-ul-Mulk Nasir letter to DC Chitral requesting all income from Chitral Gol be given to him, including markhor hunting royalties.	
1990 Jan. 17	Supreme Court of Pakistan dismisses federal government petition against deletion of 73 <i>chakoram</i> limit.	

1991 May 28	Notification of Home and Tribal Affairs Department deletes word ' <i>chakoram</i> ' from Order No. 10/31-SOTA, II (HD)/73.	
1992 Apr. 18		Ghulam Mohammad of Balach village, adjacent to Chitral Gol, claims ownership of property in Chitral Gol and rights to graze cattle and collect firewood.
1992 May 20	Senior civil judge Chitral dismisses application of Ghulam Mohammad.	
1993 Feb. 10	Saif-ul-Mulk Nasir proposes operating Chitral Gol as private game sanctuary.	
1993 May 11		District judge sets aside 20 May 1992 dismissal and orders senior civil judge to record evidence and decide application of Ghulam Mohammad.
1994 Nov. 3	Court of Senior Civil Judge Chitral rules that Chitral Gol in its entirety is personal property of Saif-ul-Mulk Nasir and that declaration by government as a wildlife sanctuary is illegal. Court also rejects application of Ghulam Mohammad.	
1995 May 22		Court of District and Session Judge, Chitral. People of Golder, Sangor, Maklanda, and Jang Bazaar vs Saif-ul-Mulk Nasir and the Government of NWFP, appealing decision of senior civil judge Chitral of 3 November 1994. Villagers petition to have Chitral Gol recognized as common property and that they have equal rights with Saif-ul-Mulk Nasir, including rights to any royalty fees. Court cancels 3 November 1994 decision of senior civil judge Chitral, makes villagers a party in that case, and sends it back to senior civil judge Chitral.

Table 3.3 History of Khunjerab National Park

Date	Private Property Regime	State Property Regime	Common Property Regime
Prior to late 18th century			Kirghiz and Wakhi share pasture usage.
Late 18th century to 1974	Mir of Hunza allocates grazing rights to local communities and controls hunting and trade with China.		Mir of Hunza's shepherds and local communities share usage for grazing.
1974		Hunza State merges into Pakistan.	
1975 Apr. 29		Khunjerab National Park declared.	
1975		Conservator of Forests, Northern Areas, makes oral agreement with villagers using Khunjerab pastures to provide Rs 5000 per household per annum as compensation for loss of pasture rights in Khunjerab National Park.	
1986			KKH opens for foreigners over Khunjerab Pass.
1988		Directorate of Khunjerab National Park established.	
1989 Jun.		International workshop on the management planning of Khunjerab National Park recommends strict enforcement of ban on grazing in Khunjerab Pass core area.	
1990 Aug. 4			Temporary injunction issued against government interfering in grazing rights of villages (Sost, Nazimabad, Sarte, Gircha, Jamalabad, Morkhun, Galapan) until civil suit is settled.
1990 Oct. 15			Court of Civil Judge 1st Class No I, Gilgit, orders all parties to maintain status quo as of summer 1989 (Civil Case File No 64 of 1990).
1991 May		KSF evicts all shepherds from Khunjerab Pass core area	
1992 Jan. 5			Agreement between local communities and Northern Areas administration to jointly manage park, share revenue, and provide employment for local communities.

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4

JUNIPER—AN ENDANGERED PLANT OF THE HINDU KUSH REGION

Mumtaz Hussain Shah*

Introduction

Juniper, also known as red cedar, belongs to the Cupressaceae family of the Coniferales order of plants. Coniferales are of great economic and ecological importance all over the world and make most of the world's forest cover. Most of their species are found in the colder regions. Juniper is a well-known conifer which includes a number of species varying in shape and size. Some of these are *Juniperus communis*, *J. wallichiana*, *J. polycarpa* and *J. horizontalis*. These species are well-distributed all over the temperate zones and even grow in the Arctic areas. Juniper grows in very cold and dry climatic conditions. In Pakistan it is found in some high altitude areas of the western and northern mountainous regions. The Hindu Kush area is one of the places in Pakistan with large numbers of this plant. Here it is found at altitudes between 6000 and 12000 feet. One of its species, *J. horizontalis*, (locally called *rišoki sarūz*), which creeps along the face of the hill, grows on altitudes where nothing else can grow. Juniper is the only conifer found in the upper part of the Chitral valley, which receives very little rain during the summers.

Present and Past Situation

Within living memory, thick forests of juniper covered the mountains in the dry part of the Hindu Kush. But now one would have to climb a great deal or travel for at least a day to have a look of this tree. All the juniper forests have vanished within the last half century. Now one can hardly find a cluster of trees which can be labelled as a forest. Only low-growing shrubs and solitary trees can be found on the hills. The inhabitants of the Buni Gol catchment area used to gather their firewood from the nearby hills some twenty years ago. In those days one had to walk for an hour to reach the part of the forest where dry wood of the dead trees was available. This part of the jungle, locally called *chirdu* or the broken-down part, receded higher and higher year by year until it vanished into the mountain summits. Then came the turn of the green trees to face the same tragic fate without completing their natural life. While collecting data for this study, I asked some wood collectors if there was a juniper forest left in the mountains. I was told that there was none; not even a few trees of considerable size. The destruction can be imagined from the following incident narrated by a villager.

One day while on a tree felling trip we came across a big Juniper tree. This was big enough to be cut down with our axes. We were still wondering how to deal with it when one of us came up with the

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idea of burning it down. It was then lighted and to our amazement the tree burnt for at least two days and then fell into pieces. Though most of it had burnt into ashes yet there remained enough wood for all of us and of course the charcoal as well.

There are even recorded incidents of dynamite explosives being used to uproot larger trees. All these methods of destruction show that no one has any regard for this precious tree. Our governments have never bothered to do anything for the conservation of this tree. There are even cases where government functionaries have themselves caused great damage to this national wealth. In the village of Lasht Yarkhun, a man showed us a big pile of logs which he had harvested from a nearby forest. The man was allowed to do so by an official in the district administration so that he could build a new house to entertain visiting government officials. In the upper part of Yarkhun valley, government servants receive cash payment in lieu of firewood supply from the government. But all these government servants continue to meet their firewood requirement from the hard-pressed patches of juniper forest.

The negligence and malpractices on the part of the people and the government have reduced our juniper forest to near extinction. Although some patches can still be found in remote valleys such as Yarkhun valley, their condition is not satisfactory. Our government has been doing something to save juniper forests in Balochistan, but here in Chitral nobody has ever raised this issue.

Juniper and the Ecosystem

Juniper, being the only tree growing on the dry mountains, plays a key role in the ecosystem of the Hindu Kush area. In the upper parts of Chitral valley it is mainly responsible for holding the soil on the slopes. Without these trees the soil and rocks cannot stand in the face of strong winds, rain, and avalanches. Soil erosion in the upstream areas results in high floods in the rivers and flooding of the streams and dry *nallahs*. Juniper's bark and green leaves also provide fodder to the ibex and markhor during the winters when all the shrubs and grass are under deep snow; without a considerable juniper forest cover, one cannot hope for the survival of either ibex or markhor in these mountains. The fact that juniper and ibex are found in the same climatic conditions is enough to prove that juniper is essential for the survival of ibex in the area.

Juniper and Human Life

Juniper is a tree with a number of commercial uses all over the world. Its wood, being more durable than any other wood when in contact with soil, is best for making fence posts. Its aromatic scent makes it a good moth repellent and the wood is used for making chests and cupboards. Juniper berries are crushed to extract the juniper oil used in the production of gin. This oil is also used in medicines and perfumes. But unfortunately no one in Chitral has ever made any of the above uses of this plant. We have already burnt down all our forests in the fireplaces and the blacksmiths' kilns, and of course, some have used the ashes of its leaves and bark to make *naswar*.¹ I could detect very few cases of juniper being used as timber wood. But some of the houses built with this timber were really magnificent. In the past its twisted wood was used to make the frame for the *daf*, a popular musical instrument music. But *daf* is a rare thing to see these days.

Juniper and Society

Owing to their great dependence on juniper, the people of these areas have developed many customs, rituals, and beliefs attached to this tree. It is believed to be the abode of mountain fairies. Its green branches are burnt in the house to expel ill spirits from the home. Major John Biddulph, in his book *The Tribes of the Hindu Kush*, has recorded many customs and rituals in Gilgit and Chitral in which juniper plays an important role. One of these was the *chilli* festival, which centred round the sacred *chilli* or juniper tree. He even sees some evidence of juniper worship among the pre-Islamic people of Gilgit. The shamans of Kalash valley and Gilgit inhale the smoke of burning juniper foliage in order to become able to make prophecies and foretell events.

Today all these customs, rituals, and beliefs are disappearing not only because of cultural changes in the society but also due to the extinction of the juniper itself. Now, even a shaman can hardly find juniper to perform his ritual.

Quest for Survival

Ours is a fragile ecosystem. The severe climatic conditions and lack of rain makes the area very unsuitable for the growth of trees. Yet trees like juniper have adapted themselves to these conditions and easily grow here although their growth is very slow. Once these slow growing trees are lost, replacement is very difficult. The prospect of survival of this plant seems to be remote when we see that the issue is still not given due consideration. However, here are some proposals for the conservation and revival of this endangered plant:

1. Juniper species found in the Hindu Kush area should be included in the *Red Data Book of Pakistan*.
2. A complete ban should be imposed on cutting of juniper trees in the whole region.
3. A national park should be set up in some juniper growing part of the region, where juniper and many other species of wildlife may enjoy protection. One of the areas suitable for this purpose is the upper part of the Yarkhun valley where not only does the juniper need protection but also the ibex and marmot are threatened.
4. As people in many parts of the region depend on juniper for their fuel requirements, they should be provided with alternative means of energy, for example, hydroelectricity, solar energy, bio-gas, and gas cylinders, on subsidized rates. For further incentive to the people, road communication facilities and employment opportunities should also be provided.
5. Last but not least, the government and the NGOs should come forward to promote awareness of environmental issues among the people of the area. There is a general trend of giving less importance to environmental problems in developing countries. It is generally argued that environmentalism is a luxury that only the West can afford. But if we are to achieve progress, we have to choose between development and sustainable development. The latter will be a better choice. Another common argument is that talking of nature is superfluous when human beings themselves do not enjoy protection. To this objection, there could hardly be a better answer than the one put forward by the duke of Edinburgh, who said, 'There are some who still argue that man is more important than nature as if it were a straight choice between the two. It is not a case of nature or man. It is nature and man. If nature does not survive neither will man.'

NOTE

1. *Naswar* is a powdered preparation of tobacco to be placed under the tongue.

THE CONIFER FORESTS OF THE HINDU KUSH IN EASTERN AFGHANISTAN: THE CHALLENGE OF THEIR CONSERVATION

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Introduction

The Hindu Kush is one of the most famous mountain ranges in South Asia. Most of it lies in Afghanistan. Until recently, its eastern part was covered by dense conifer forests (Fig. 5.1). However, seventeen years of war in Afghanistan have created a vacuum over the control of the forests. They are now depleted by logging and animal grazing. The most visible effects of the rapid deforestation taking place are land erosion and the increasingly frequent and destructive floods.

Fig. 5.1 Extension of the Hindu Kush Range



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In 1989, the Mission pour le Development des Economies Rurales en Afghanistan (MADERA), an European non-governmental organization, initiated the Afghan Social Forestry Project (ASFP). The aim of this project was to help village communities in eastern Afghanistan protect their forests. The project activities have included the protection of young trees in conifer forests, the replantation of barren areas with fast growing tree species, the making of village-forest inventories and maps, and an awareness programme about forest protection. These have been implemented by foresters and village-based forest agents. Although funding has been limited and erratic since 1989, the project has achieved significant results.

However, facing the reality that in many locations rural people need to exploit their forests to improve their economic conditions, the project is shifting emphasis from mere forest protection to sustainable management of the woodlands. Although a handicap for enforcing rules, the absence of a central government authority provides the opportunity to work directly with the local communities. The aim is for these communities to assume greater responsibility for a sustainable management of their forests.

The conservation of the forest in Afghanistan is a long-term concern that must be addressed today. The natural forests are a source of income that can be used to support the revival and further development of the rural economies. The forests are part of an integrated ecological system which forms the basis of these economies. They are a resource base that should be preserved for the benefit of both present and future generations of Afghans. For this, it is crucial that appropriate measures are implemented to stop the smuggling of huge quantities of timber across the Afghan-Pakistan border. The international community currently working for the rehabilitation of Afghanistan should also show more interest in helping the Afghan dwellers of the Hindu Kush better conserve their natural heritage.

The Hindu Kush Range

Geographic Features

A branch of the Himalayas, the Hindu Kush is one of the most lengthy, highest, and most famous mountain ranges in the world. The mountain uplift resulting from the subduction of the Indian and Arabian plates is still very active.

The Hindu Kush is divided into two main parts:

- The east Hindu Kush, which lies from the end of the Himalayan Range through Kalam and Chitral in Northern Pakistan to in central Afghanistan Darrai Shakari
- The west Hindu Kush (known as Alburz Koh) which continues on Afghan territory through Samangan, Bamyan, Balkh, and Jozjan in the west

In Afghanistan, the Hindu Kush is like a large natural wall which separates the northern and southern parts of the country. Streams flowing through the narrow valleys feed the river Kabul in the southeast and the river Amu in the north.

Climatic Features of the Hindu Kush

The Hindu Kush has a continental climate which is strongly influenced by topography and the monsoon coming from the Indian Ocean.

The difference between summer and winter temperatures is great. Highest temperatures occur in the months of May and June before the refreshing effect of the Asiatic monsoon is felt. The lowest temperatures are recorded in January and February when cold winds from the Caspian Sea blow. The 11 degree Celsius July isotherm forms the theoretical upper limit of the forest in the Hindu Kush at 4000 metres above sea level (FAO/UNDP 1981). Eternal snow covers the mountains above 4500–5000 metres above sea level.

The monsoon moving northwest-ward along the Himalayan range reaches the Hindu Kush in the beginning of the summer. It brings substantial rains (more than 1000 mm in the mountains) in the eastern part of the Hindu Kush. The influence of the monsoon on the west Hindu Kush is minimal and the terrain and vegetation is dryer. The monsoon rains stop in September. The winds from the Caspian Sea also bring some rain in winter and early spring.

Main Characteristics of the Hindu Kush Forests

On the northern slopes of the Hindu Kush, from Badakhshan to Badghis provinces, woodlands of edible pistachio trees (*Pistacia vera*) and almond trees (*Amygdalin bucharica*) are still common between 600 and 1800 metres above sea level. However, they have been severely degraded by the people and their animals. At higher altitudes, the forest is dominated by the juniper tree (*Juniperus excelsa*).

The southern slopes of the Hindu Kush are characterized by another species of pistachio tree, the nonedible 4–6 metre high *Pistacia atlantica*. They are limited in number, however.

While the pistachio and juniper trees dominate the woodlands of the northwestern parts of the Hindu Kush, the oak (*Cedrus* spp.) and conifers forests dominate the mountain slopes in the east. According to available information, the conifer societies cover about 212,000 hectares of land in eastern Afghanistan. This area is distributed by province as follows:

Table 5.1 Estimated Area of Conifer Forests in the Hindu Kush of Afghanistan

<i>Name of Province</i>	<i>Number of Hectares</i>	<i>%</i>
Kunar	152,640	72%
Laghman	23,320	11%
Paktia	19,080	9%
Nangarhar	16,960	8%

Source: Nediakof 1975.

It is estimated that the forests in the above-mentioned Afghan provinces contain about 28,560,000 cubic metres of wood. The exploitable timber wood is around 15,000,000 cubic metres. The firewood, mainly from the Quercetum stage (see Table 5.2) approximately represents 13,560,000 cubic metres (MADERA 1992).

During the war against the Russian troops and the internal power struggle that has followed their withdrawal, the conifer forests of eastern Afghanistan have suffered from intensive and indiscriminate logging. In 1993, it was estimated that more than 1500 hectares of conifer forests vanished every year (Braud 1993). The figure is probably much higher now.

Table 5.2 Main Characteristics of the Forests of the Hindu Kush in Eastern Afghanistan

Ecological Stage	Main Species	Climate	Use of Wood	Status of the Forest
Sub-tropicetum Siccum 500–900 m	<i>Dalbergia sisso</i> <i>Ziziphus</i> <i>Nummalaria</i> <i>Dodonea viscosa</i>	150–350 mm Dry and hot	Fuel Fodder	Intensively used
Olea reptonetum 900–1300 m	<i>Olea ferruginea</i> <i>Reptonia buxifolia</i> <i>Quercus baloot</i> (seldom)	Around 400mm	Fuel Fodder	Intensively used
Quercutum 1300–1800 m	<i>Quercus baloot</i> ; <i>Juglans regia</i> ; <i>Platanus orientalis</i> and <i>salix</i> (near water) <i>Indigofera</i> and <i>Amygdalus</i> <i>Cedrus</i> mixed with <i>Quercus</i> at end of stage	400–700 mm	Fuel Fodder for goats Agricultural tools	Highly degraded in some places
Pinetum 1800–2300 m	<i>Pinus gerardiana</i> (Jalghoza)	600–800 mm	Fuel Fruit Timber	Intensively used locally and for Jalalabad and Kabul markets
Cedretum 2000–2800 m	<i>Cedrus deodara</i> (45–50 m high) sometimes together with <i>Quercus</i> species (<i>Q. baloot</i> , <i>Q. dalatata</i>) and <i>Pinus wallichiana</i> , <i>Abies webiana</i> , <i>Picea morinda</i> , <i>Juglans regia</i> , <i>Amygdalus</i> , <i>Pinus gerardiana</i> and <i>Indigofera gerardiana</i>	700–1000 mm Moderate climate in summer Snow for 4–5 months in winter	Good quality and valuable timber wood for construction and other uses (cedar) Wood resistant to humidity	Degraded in many places due to commercial cutting and overgrazing by animals
Abito Picetum 2800–3300 m	<i>Abies</i> and <i>Picea</i> Other species include: <i>Quercus semecarpifolia</i> , <i>Pinus wallichiana</i> , and <i>Taxus bacata</i> ; <i>Cedrus</i> trees and <i>Juniperus</i> bushes also can be found in this stage	900–1200 mm Humid climate and lots of snow (high range and narrow, lower valleys where sunshine is scarce)	Timber wood for indoor use and other purposes Wood sensitive to humidity	Degraded by exploitation, animal grazing, and natural events such as avalanches

Piceto Quercetum, Secum 3000–3400 m	<i>Picea</i> (30–60 m high) and <i>Quercus</i> <i>semicarpifolia</i> (15–20 m high)	Precipitation mostly in the form of snow falls (5–10 m high), summer rains sometimes with strong hail Summer pasture	Timber wood for indoor use (<i>Picea</i>) Implements, fuel, and fodder (<i>Quercus</i>)	Degraded by overgrazing mainly Damage caused by avalanches
Guniperitum	Small trees and bushes laying flat on the ground	Cold weather (short summer and long winter) Rains with strong hail in the summer and snowfall in winter (10 m high or more)	Summer pasture Wood as fuel and shelters of shepherds	Degraded by overgrazing Damage caused by avalanches may be severe
Picetum sub- alpinetum	Seldom <i>Picea</i> trees can be seen This stage with rocks is the end of the forest	Very cold with high snowfall in winter and very short summer	Very short time for grazing	Degraded by grazing
Alpinetum	Barren areas with rocks (mountain tops)	Alpine climate Permanent snow		

Ownership and Use of the Natural Forests in Afghanistan

The natural forests in Afghanistan are by law the property of the state. Before the war, the Ministry of Agriculture had a forest and range department with offices at provincial and district levels. In the districts, foresters were responsible for controlling the use of the forests and running nurseries producing forest saplings for planting. Guards were patrolling the forests to check on illegal cuttings.

If the natural forests were the property of the state, the people living in their vicinities de facto owned the right to use them for their own needs. Oak forests from which tree fodder is collected and that serve as grazing ground for domestic animals were traditionally divided among nearby dwellers. Conifer forests where timber and fuel wood were extracted remained part of the common usufruct of the village. However, in some areas, influential and powerful families had appropriated entire forests for themselves.

In the past, village elders and *shura* (village assemblies) could enforce rules regarding the use of the forests. Local penalties were applied in kind or in cash against offenders, for illegal grazing by herds or tree cuttings.

With the war, the control of the state and traditional local authorities (village elders and *shura*) over the forests dwindled and the forests were appropriated and divided among the local people. Timber traders in Afghanistan and Pakistan took advantage of this fact and lured people into earning quick money by selling off their parts of the forest.

Effects of the War on the Conifer Forests in Eastern Afghanistan and the Present Situation

Although it is not yet known how much of the conifer forest disappeared during the seventeen years' war that has torn apart the country, the many scars on the mountain slopes show that deforestation had been taking place on a unprecedented scale. Factors that have contributed to this situation include the following:

- Forest fires caused by bombing
- Increased local demand for timber wood to reconstruct houses and village infrastructure
- Intensification of the illegal trade with Pakistan for timber wood

As indicated above, the latter was fostered by the collapse of formal control over the forests. *Mujahideen* commanders and other unscrupulous but powerful people appropriated forest lands and sold them out to finance their armed struggles, secure their position in the power struggle, or just make money for a rainy day.

Yet, the war and its negative effects on the forest are not solely to be blamed for the alarming deforestation taking place in Afghanistan. Damage is also caused by the inherent misuse of the forests by the local people. Practices such as the following are very destructive:

- Animal grazing inside the woodlands that destroys the young trees and prevents the regeneration of the forest. Natural saplings are sometimes purposely cut off by the shepherd's axe.
- Setting fires to help the regrowth of fresh grass for animal grazing, the sprouting of high-priced mushrooms such as the morels, or just for burning fallen trees that block the passing of herds through the forests. These fires may spread and destroy large areas of forest lands.
- Using archaic and wasteful silviculture practices such as debarking and drying trees, harvesting small and unmaturing trees, wasting wood during cutting operations (partly a result of lack of proper tools), and so forth.

It is understandable that, with the technology that they know and which is available to them, people use the forests in ways that are the most easy for them. They have present needs to satisfy and tend not to anticipate what may happen to them or their children in the future (soil erosion, drying of springs, floods, micro-climatic changes, etc.).

An NGO's Attempt to Fight against Deforestation in Eastern Afghanistan

In the context of its rehabilitation efforts in Afghanistan to help the Pakistan-based Afghan refugees return home, the European non-governmental organization MADERA initiated a social forestry project in 1989. The request for such a project was made by Afghan scholars who were worried about the increasing deforestation at play in the Hindu Kush mountains.

The MADERA's ASFP covers the provinces of Kunar and Laghman, where most of the remaining natural conifer forest lies. The field activities are supported by project infrastructure that includes six forestry centres, one training centre, and eight fruit and forest tree nurseries.

The three main objectives of the ASFP are as follows:

- To make people aware of the need and urgency to protect their forests

- To afforest and/or reforest barren land
- To assess the potential for sustainable exploitation of the forests

To each of these objectives correspond the activities described below:

Awareness Activities

Since 1989, the main emphasis of the ASFP has been to make the Afghan people aware of the need and urgency to protect their forest.

As a non-governmental organization, MADERA has no legal authority to enforce forest protection measures on people. Through discussions, and by means of persuasion, MADERA tries to make the village communities agree not to sell out the village forests to timber traders and to undertake actions to conserve them (e.g., protection of young trees from animal grazing, defining proper routes for the passing of herds through the forests, etc.).

Owing to the vested interests and conflicts that often exist amongst members of different clans and of different political affiliations, such agreements are often difficult to reach and success is not always guaranteed. When agreement is reached, a member of the village is selected to become the local forestry agent for the ASFP. Forestry agents are trained in proper silviculture techniques and given a set of improved forestry tools. They also receive seed and implements to establish their villages' private fruit and forest tree nurseries.

Forestry agents are the grass-root workers of the ASFP, maintaining the link between the project and their communities. Their tasks include meeting with the members of the local *shura*, the elders, and the herdsmen. Where a school exists, the benefits of the forests and how to protect them are also explained to the students. Forest agents also train other villagers in better tree selection and felling and logging techniques. They are supervised by an ASFP forester and receive a small salary for their work.

Awareness activities are supported by posters, stickers and booklets, that are put on display at the ASFP centres and nurseries, mosques, schools, and other public places (see Appendix I).

Plantation Activities

Plantation activities have mainly taken place in the lower areas of the Kunar province: about a hundred hectares have so far been planted with *Eucalyptus* and *Ailanthus* species. Ten hectares of cedar trees have also been replanted on a mountain slope at a higher elevation.

The plantations are done on private or communal lands with a preference for the latter. Anti-erosion measures including the making of small terraces around the trees and check-dams in the water runoffs are demonstrated to the people during these plantations.

Forest Inventory and Mapping Activities

There is almost no information available on the present status of the conifer forests in Afghanistan and on the extent of the deforestation that has been taking place since the war started. Through inventories and mapping of village forests, the ASFP has been gathering essential data to assess the risks of, and potential for, forest exploitation.

The ASFP is a small project with limited and unreliable funding (less than Rs 5 million in 1994). Despite this, the achievements are not negligible, as shown in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3 Main Achievements of the MADERA Forestry Project 1990-4

Indications of Achievement	Waigal Valley	Pech Valley	Asmar Area	Kamdesh Area	South Kunar
Starting year:	1990	1991	1991	1991	1994
No of villages covered:	8	3	3	11	3
No of forest agents:	8	3	3	11	3
No of people trained:	80	30	30	110	30
Technical cutting of selected trees for village consumption:	1600	30	6	1760	480
No of tool sets distributed:	16	6	6	22	6
No of villages approached by the project:	8	3	3	11	3
No of villages that refused the project:	2	-	1	4	1
No of awareness posters and stickers produced and distributed:	9x1000	9x500	9x500	9x1000	9x500
No of technical booklets published and distributed:	3x400	3x150	3x150	3x500	3x100
No of forest maps produced:	8	3	3	11	3
No of forest inventories:	1	-	-	2	-
No of hectares planted:	2	-	15	1	80

Source: ASFP, MADERA.

Understandably, funding agencies tend to give priority to emergency relief and rehabilitation activities in Afghanistan. However, deforestation in the Hindu Kush is a problem that should not be overlooked. It needs immediate and adequate attention.

Dangers and Challenges for Conserving the Hindu Kush Forests in Afghanistan in the Future

Now that the Afghan people are returning to their villages, the natural resources are likely to suffer from an increasing population pressure on the land. This will be compounded by the fact that many rural dwellers have yet to restore the economic basis of their farming enterprise.

In the elevated areas of the Hindu Kush, livestock rearing, particularly of goats, is a key component of farming systems and represents the main source of income for households. It is highly conceivable that the animal population will follow the same increase trend as the human population. In already over-populated mountain areas, it will be difficult to contain further destruction of the forests by animals and humans alike.

The ASFP faces difficulties in preaching the conservation of the forests when the money is on the side of those whose interest is to destroy them. The main destination of the conifer trees that are cut down in Kunar province and smuggled into Pakistan is Saudi Arabia. From Afghanistan to Saudi Arabia, the value of the same piece of wood is increased by forty times! Although only a fraction of timber wood proceeds goes to the villagers themselves, the pressure imposed on the local communities by the timber traders is considerable. Unfortunately, the latter bring their own people to cut the forest and there is no remunerative employment for the locals. Cleverly, the timber traders keep warning village people that as soon as there is a recognized central government in Afghanistan, the state will take back the forests from them. It is then to their advantage to make use of them now.

As long as there is no control over the Pak-Afghan border, the smuggling of timber wood through the border will continue. In 1993, timber merchants were entitled by the Pakistani government a trading permit from the tribal areas for three months. During this period, 13,000 fully loaded trucks crossed the border from Afghanistan. This approximately amounted to 400,000 cubic metres of timber wood, namely, about 1500 hectares of natural forest cleared in Kunar province.

If awareness activities on forest protection are to continue, a more direct involvement of the ASFP in forest exploitation should be considered. Where a village community seeks to sell forest land to a timber trader, the ASFP should try to intervene on its behalf to ensure that the forest is exploited in a rational way, and that a maximum number of local people are employed in the work. A formal partnership contract could be established with the local community to that end. The practical tasks of the ASFP would then be to train the locally employed loggers in proper forest exploitation techniques, to supply them with appropriate tools, to select the trees to be cut and supervise the harvesting operations, and to assist the villages in making long-term plans for sustainable forest management.

It seems, however, that in the present condition of Afghanistan, particularly in the mountainous areas where poverty is prevalent, the role of the ASFP to act as a technical adviser in forest management will be better accepted by the local population if it is linked to development efforts such as the rehabilitation or construction of village infrastructure including water-supply schemes, schools, and dispensaries.

Concluding Remarks

If it is not too late to save the conifer forests of the Hindu Kush in Afghanistan, it is urgent to take appropriate measures to do it. This includes a continuous effort to educate people about the benefits of the forests and to make them aware of the environmental risks involved if they are not protected.

In a country where the revival of the rural economies is so crucial for the population, a shift of emphasis by the ASFP from a forest protection thrust to a more holistic forest management thrust—that includes a rational and sustainable exploitation of the forests for commercial purposes—is needed. Strategies that empower the local communities both vis-à-vis the timber traders and a future state agency dealing with forestry, and that make them more responsible for the conservation of their own natural resources have yet to be found and experimented. It is this community-based approach that the ASFP will implement in the coming years, giving emphasis to the following:

- Training of local people in proper cutting and logging techniques
- Transfer of adapted technologies for forest exploitation
- Establishment of contracts with village committees and *shura* for technical assistance in forest management

However, the impact of such efforts will be extremely limited without appropriate steps taken by the Pakistani authorities to curtail timber wood smuggling from Afghanistan. Pakistani foresters should assist their Afghan counterparts in conserving the natural heritage of the Hindu Kush by raising their voice against policies that promote rather than prevent deforestation.

The international community, including foreign governments, United Nations agencies, and non-governmental organizations currently working for Afghanistan should make greater effort to save the Hindu Kush forests.

The reason that pushes Afghan farmers to sell out the forest areas around their village is the same as the one that makes them grow poppy in their fields: economic poverty. Substantial efforts are made to eradicate poppy cultivation through supporting the rehabilitation of village infrastructure such as roads, schools, and clinics. Although the deforestation in the Kunar province has no adverse social consequences in the West in the way that poppy cultivation does, Western governments and UN agencies could use a similar approach to reduce the pressure that the rural people are facing to destroy their environment.

Appendix I

Titles of Posters, Stickers, and Leaflets Distributed through the ASFP by 1994

Posters:

1. 'We Have Made a Big Mistake.'
2. 'Forest Is a Gift of God, Protect It.'
3. 'More Gifts of God are Available from the Forest.'
4. 'More Livestock, Poor Forest and Less Yield—Less Livestock, Dense Forest and More Yield.'
5. 'Protect the Wildlife in Your Forest.'
6. 'See, the Forest is Nice, Protect It.'

Stickers:

1. 'If You Cut Down the Forest the Springs Will Dry Up and the Mountains Will Become Bare.'
2. 'If We Protect Our Forest We Will Have More Water and Good Pasture for Grazing.'

Leaflets:

1. 'We Protect Our Forest.'
2. 'Appeal for Protecting the Forest.'

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RESOURCE UTILIZATION AND ENVIRONMENTAL DEGRADATION IN SWAT VALLEY, NORTHERN PAKISTAN

*Dr Usman Ali**

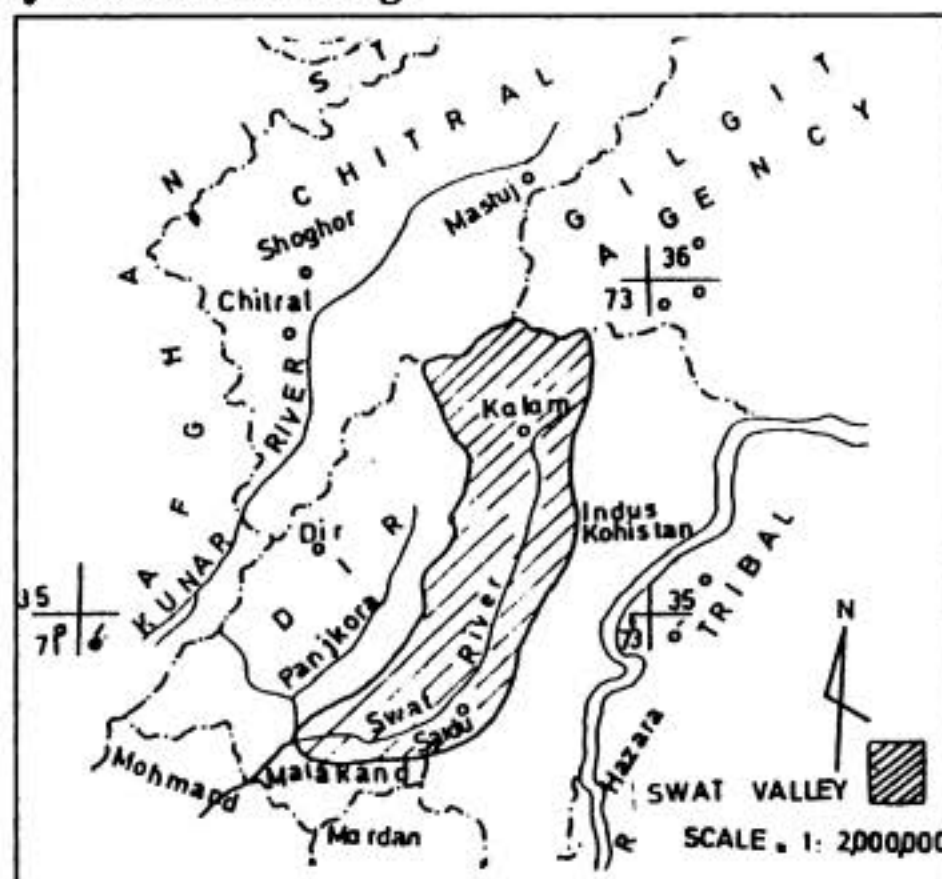
Introduction

The present study is concerned with the understanding, assessment, and evaluation of natural resources, ecology, and environmental conditions of the Swat valley. The study highlights the relationship between human beings, environment, and development in terms of the utilization of resources and their impact on the environmental degradation. The resources selected for analysis include human resources, land resources, and forest resources.

Study Area

The Swat valley is located between 34 degrees, 32 minutes, and 35 degrees, 54 minutes north latitudes and 71 degrees, 45 minutes, and 72 degrees, 45 minutes east longitudes in the Malakand civil division of the North-West Frontier Province of Pakistan (Fig. 6.1). Administratively, the valley includes parts of Swat and Dir districts and Malakand Agency.

Fig. 6.1 Swat Valley and Surroundings



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More than half of the valley (1238.13 out of 2374.7 sq. miles) is hilly and mountainous and has been formed by the erosional work of the river Swat and its tributaries. The river Swat flows through the middle of the valley and almost divides it into two equal halves. The shape of the valley is like a broad 'V.' It has a rugged ground surface and is surrounded on all sides by mountains and hills except one gap to the southwest through which the river Swat flows out. The elevation in relief varies from 1900 feet in the southwest to 20,528 feet above mean sea level in the northeast.

The valley is broadly divided into three physical divisions. They include: Swat Basin, intermontane basins, and hills and mountain slopes.

The Swat Basin is the main drainage basin of the river Swat with a length of 70 miles. It is wider in the lower southern and southwestern parts and gradually narrows down towards the north. The basin is from two to four miles in width, but at its wider portions, it reaches to some fourteen miles.

The intermontane basins comprise the lowlands of the major tributary valleys or glens which have been formed by the various tributaries on the Swat River. These side valleys merge into the main Swat valley at different topographical levels and constitute different ecological niches of the main ecosystem (Swat valley).

The hills and mountain slopes, on the other hand, comprise the uplands located above 4000 feet elevation on the hills and mountains slopes of the valley. These areas are characterized by thin surface soils with steep slopes and highly terraced agriculture.

All the three topographic zones or features are different from each other in terms of gradient, lithology, drainage system and water supply, climate, and availability of agricultural land, as well as tribal pattern (Ali 1985).

The overall climate of the Swat valley is extreme and dry and for the major part is distinctly continental. June is the hottest month with a mean maximum temperature of 96 degrees Fahrenheit at Saidu Sharif, the capital of the valley. January is the coldest month with a mean minimum temperature of 36 degrees Fahrenheit at Saidu Sharif.

Rainfall in the valley is mainly in the winter and spring, that is, between the months of December and April. Monsoon rains occur in July and August.

The economy of the valley, like that of the nation, rests on agriculture, which has been practiced in the area since antiquity.

The demographic structure of the valley shows that in 1981, it contained 0.72 million people with a population density of 307 persons per square mile. The growth, distribution, and density of population varies with changes in the physical features and socio-economic conditions of the population. That is, larger populations are concentrated in compact and nucleated settlements in the southern plains of the Swat valley which have large tracts of flat and fertile lands and developed irrigational and transport networks. On the other hand, in the northern hilly and forested regions with great heights and severe climatic conditions as well as thin surface soils and fewer agricultural lands, population is sparse and the settlement pattern is dispersed and fragmented.

Objective and Database

The present study attempts to evaluate the human factor in resource utilization and the resulting environmental degradation.

This study is explorative, descriptive, and analytical in nature. Owing to lack of sufficient relevant data, the study is mainly based on primary data which has been collected by the

author from personal queries and discussions as well as from various government and semi-government agencies.

The procedures or research techniques used for observing or operationalizing the various units of analysis include both field- and survey-research methods involving intensive field work. The field research was mainly based on the techniques of rapid rural appraisal (RRA) while the survey research was conducted on a worksheet.

Results and Discussion

The natural resources base of a region include land, water, vegetation, soils, and minerals. The availability of natural and human resources and the capability to make their optimal utilization are taken as indicators of socio-economic strength of a society. A society lacking the capacity to harness its resources or over-exploit them remains backward.

The Swat valley is predominantly rural in character. Here, land, water, vegetation, and minerals are the common natural resources. The life-style of the people, their economy and culture, etc., in this rural landscape are influenced by these resources. The evolution of the socio-economic system of the villages in this area is also guided by these natural resources. Any measure towards their future development will be largely dependent on their efficient utilization. Therefore, detailed information on the quality, quantity, and capability of the natural resources is required. The present study has tried to provide some information and understanding of the problem.

The three parameters/resources which are very important for the study of human beings environment interactions and the resulting environmental degradation have been selected for detailed analysis. They include: human resources, land resources, and forest resources. Each of them has been described, interpreted, and analysed in the following account.

Human Resources

The wealth of a country depends upon its human resources. By the proper utilization of these resources, we can achieve the national goals and objectives. Effective manpower planning, which is an important and integral part of socio-economic planning, demands up-to-date and accurate data on these human resources. At present, it is intensely realized that a complex interaction exists between population variation and socio-economic development in terms of resource utilization. The allocation of resources in rural and urban areas cannot be made possible without knowing the population data and its characteristics.

The new approaches to regional planning, physical planning, environmental planning, population planning, family planning programmes, integrated rural and urban development programmes, and other policies, need to meet extra demands for demographic data.

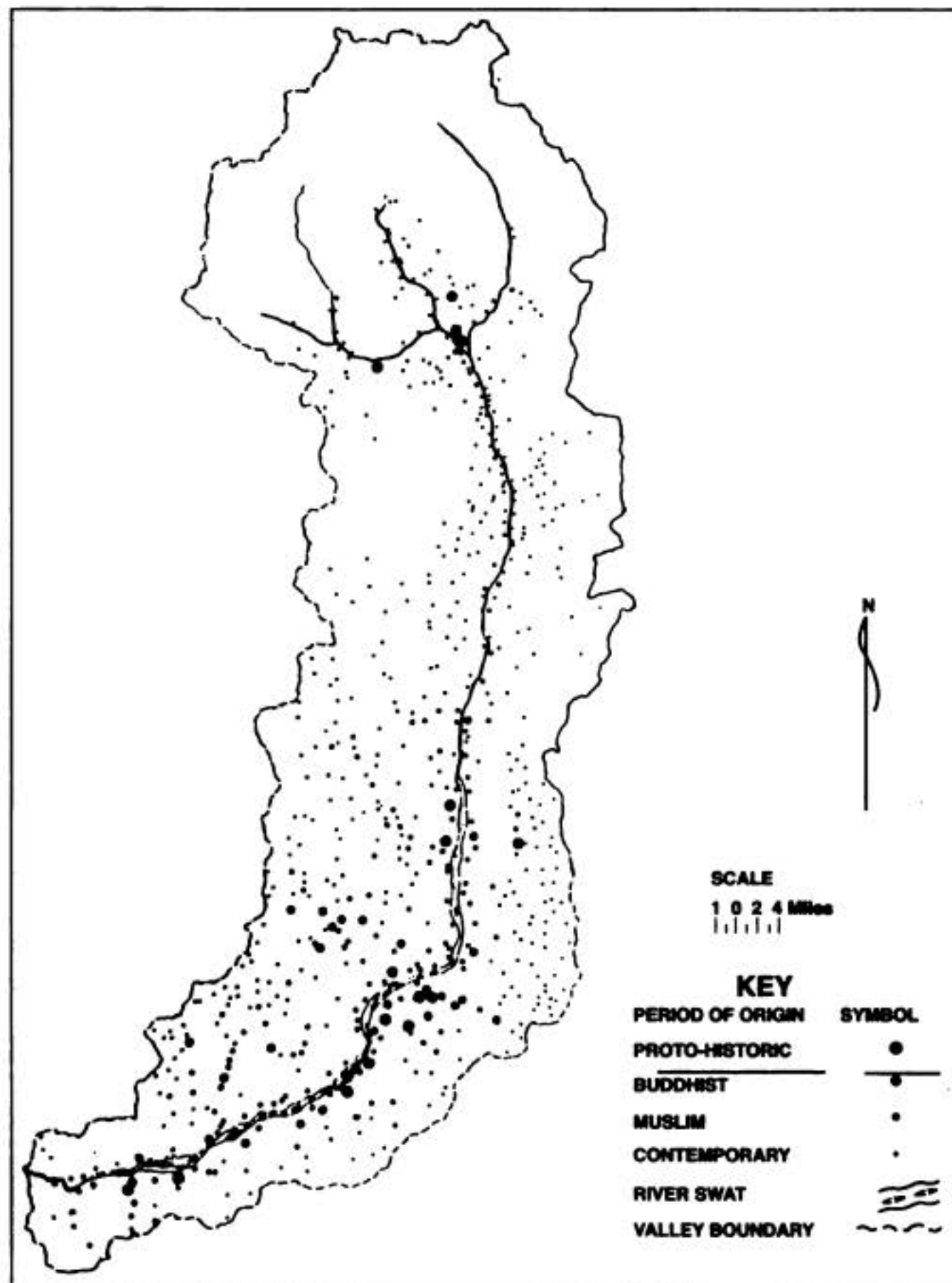
It is, therefore, necessary to understand the extent of population, its mode of living, and the rate of its natural increase or decrease.

During the course of the census periods conducted so far, the total population of the Swat valley was 368,978 in 1951, 453,427 in 1961, 669,586 in 1972, and 719,500 in 1981. This indicates that during the course of the last thirty years, the population has more than doubled. On the basis of 1972–81 figures, the population was increasing at the rate of 3.17 per cent annually. According to unofficial data, the present population of the Swat valley is about 1.2 million (1995). The number of settlements has increased from 145 in 1864 to 1109 in 1985 (Ali 1985), which indicates a tremendous population and settlement growth in the area. In

1981, the population density of the valley was 307 persons per square mile, which increased to about 506 persons per square mile in 1995.

The spatial distribution of population in the Swat valley is influenced by a host of environmental, historical, socio-cultural, economic, and demographic factors like climate, terrain, soils, and natural resources. These factors account for the opportunities of different economic activities in the area and consequently affect the spatial distribution of population. That is, larger concentrations of population with bigger compact and nucleated settlements are confined to the plains along the river Swat and its tributaries for abundant land and water resources. On the other hand, the population is comparatively smaller along the hill slopes and narrow valleys with isolated and dispersed settlement topologies due to scarcity of economic resources in these areas (Fig. 6.2).

Fig. 6.2 Swat Valley: Evolution and Diffusion of Settlements



The present population explosion in the Swat valley exerts tremendous pressure on its meagre resources. Population growth in the valley limits educational opportunities, increases unemployment and underemployment, imposes additional burden on social and administrative services, and increases poverty, ignorance, diseases, crimes, social alienation, malnutrition, resource utilization, and environmental pollution and degradation.

The pressure on land as a result of population growth is one of the major problems of development being faced by the Swat valley. Owing to this pressure, the valley is confronted with a deficit in food supply because of reduction in cultivated lands and low agricultural yields. The mounting population pressure also results in reduction in the size of fields as well as fragmentation and subdivision of holdings. The low agricultural productivity has resulted in the low economic level and nutritional standards of the people.

The areas of the Swat Basin and lower intermontane basins have become an ecologically fragile zone. On the other hand, the population of the northern narrow valleys and hill slopes inhabited by the Kohistani and Gujar tribes is also increasing very rapidly due to the non-intervention of family planning programmes. As such, there are visible signs of population pressure on the resources of these areas. These people need more land for sustainable agriculture, which is obtained by clearing more forests and grazing lands. Consequently, the natural ecosystems are destroyed, leading to severe environmental degradation.

The growth of population also exerts pressure on the fuel wood supply. It has been observed that the clearing of woodlands and forests has been done mainly for getting fuel wood.

Thus, it can be concluded that there is a sort of relationship between economic, social, and ecological problems. Very high pressure is being put on the natural resources by an ever-growing population of the valley. The limited resources of the area are wastefully and recklessly treated. The population growth has severely affected the land-use pattern. That is, the net area sown has increased while the barren wasteland and forests have declined considerably. The unbalanced growth of population on the one hand and the slow growth and development of agriculture on the other have thus put tremendous pressure on the net area sown to produce more food.

Therefore, it can be said that the present and potential future environmental degradation of the Swat valley is the result of human activities and must be protected against human abuses.

Land Resources

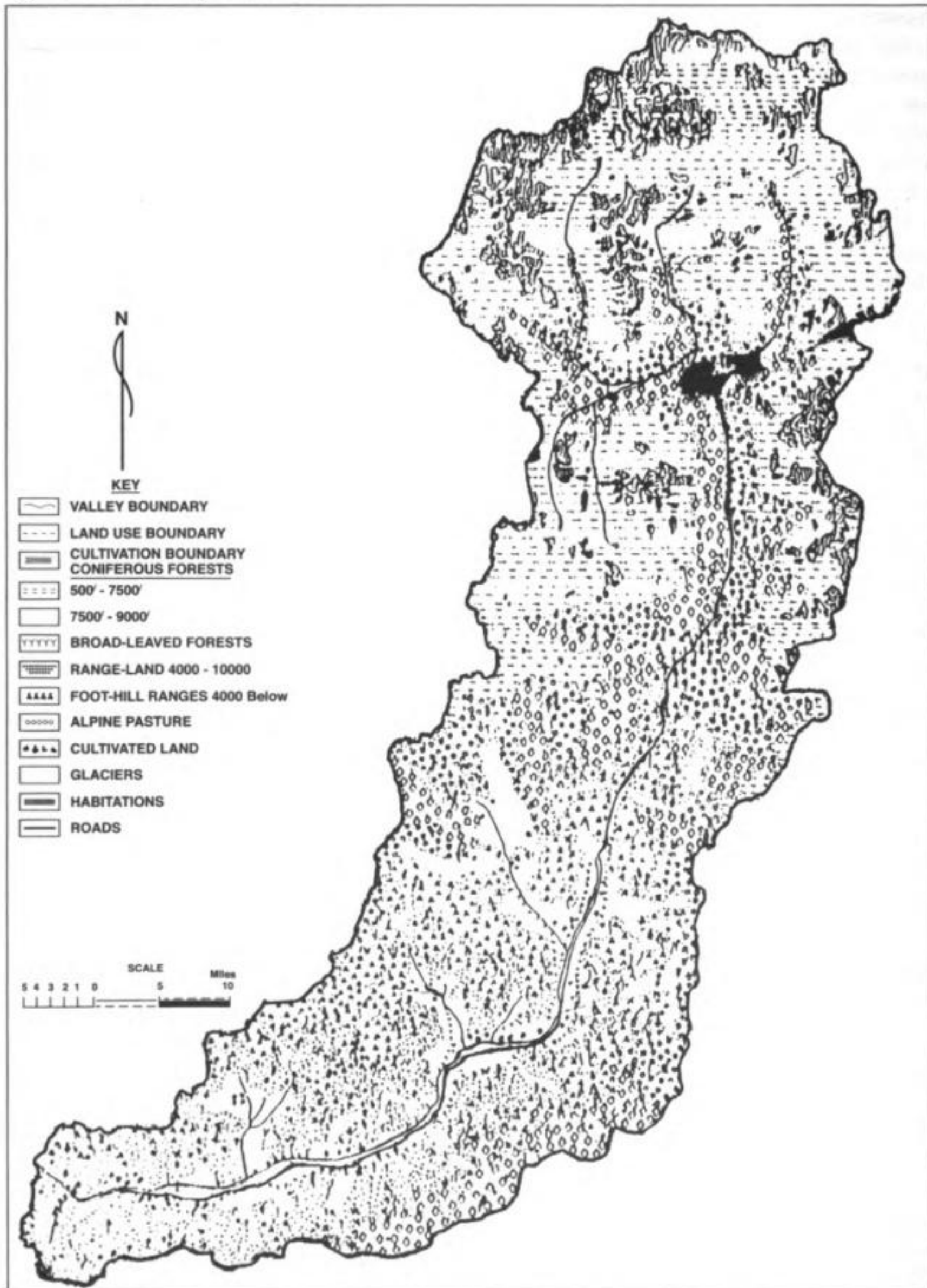
Land is the most important and essential resource base of a region. It is a primary resource in the agricultural economy of the Swat valley and is one of the fundamental components of our environment. The misuse or overuse of this resource results in the varied environmental degradation.

The economy of the Swat valley is primarily based on agriculture. According to 1972 census figures, 67.5 per cent of the population was agrarian. The 1981 figure shows that 73.31 per cent of the population was engaged in agricultural activity. The 1995 field survey has documented that about 80 per cent of the population is directly or indirectly dependent on agriculture. This shows the importance of agriculture as the basic economic activity of the people.

Agriculture in the Swat valley is controlled by the relief and the climatic and social conditions. Variations in relief have resulted in differences in the availability of cultivable lands. On the basis of 1981 figures, out of the total agricultural lands of 372,364 acres, 130,497 acres or 35.4 per cent occur below 4000 feet elevation (Fig. 6.3). These lands have

small slope gradients and are mainly confined to the main Swat Basin. Owing to their deep soil and flat terrain, the farm sizes of these lands are larger and fertile.

Fig. 6.3 Swat Valley: Land Use



The remaining 64.6 per cent of the cultivated lands are confined to the intermontane basins and hill slopes in the ratio of 40.6 and 24 per cent respectively. Amongst them, 24 per cent of the land located along the hill slopes and inhabited by the Gujars has steep slopes with highly terraced fields.

The cultivated lands below 4000 feet elevation have favourable climate for the production of crops while those between 4000 and 8000 feet heights are less favourable. Above 8000 feet elevation, due to severe climatic conditions and extremely steep slopes and thin surface soils, agriculture is absolutely uneconomical and only one crop is grown annually in some parts.

The pressure on cultivated lands as a result of population explosion is continuously mounting. The per capita cultivated land is rapidly declining. For higher populations, we need increase in food production, which can be done in the following two ways:

- a. Increasing the area under cultivation
- b. Using genetically improved, high-yielding, and disease-resistant varieties of crops

The field survey has documented that the land most suitable for agriculture in the Swat valley is already under cultivation. The rapid expansion of settlements is converting the cultivated lands into residential areas. The construction of roads and other infrastructure also consumes precious agricultural land. Furthermore, putting new land under cultivation is not so easy. It requires massive amounts of energy in the form of fertilizers, human and animal/mechanical labour, and irrigation. To bring more land under cultivation involves increasing environmental hazards. That is, wherever lands of any region are cleared for cultivation of crops, the natural ecosystem of that region is destroyed. In the Swat valley, only rangelands, grazing lands, and forests are left uncultivated. The present population growth and high demand for food has forced the people to bring these areas under the plough for subsistence agriculture by removing forest and vegetation covers from the slopes. Agriculture in these steep uplands needs much hard work and brings little return. Various forms of terraces have been constructed along the slopes to create more land for agricultural crops. Most of the terraces have been poorly constructed in terms of maintaining site stability and productivity. The people lack knowledge of how to build a terrace which will provide them with adequate growing space and also control erosion. Human intervention in this hilly land ecology through the cultivation of crops poses environmental hazards due to accelerated soil erosion and impaired nutrient flow.

The soils of these slopes are coarsely textured (loamy, sandy, or sandy loam) and are generally shallow to moderately deep. They are slightly acidic in reaction and relatively poor in fertility. Here, the topography is uneven with steep slopes. There is a high rate of soil erosion due to rapid runoff from rainfall. Sheet erosion is a common feature along these slopes which causes heavy annual losses of valuable top soil. Gully erosion is also prominent here, resulting in the conversion of agricultural land into ravine lands. Such erosion intensifies the problem of sedimentation in the river Swat and the associated irrigational networks and channels. It has been calculated that about 6000 tons of silt are carried daily by the river Swat near Chakdara Bridge.

The mountainous region of the Swat Valley thus represents a geocritical region, an extremely fragile environment with accelerated dynamics. The natural susceptibility to lack of balance has been amplified and diversified by a long and reckless human activity.

The major problems of these areas are poor communication and transportation facilities, severe climate, frequent natural disasters, serious soil erosion, degradation of the ecological

environment, insufficiency of food, little potential of expanding cultivated lands, shortage of rural energy and infrastructure, and low quality of the population, among others.

On the other hand, the soil of the lower Swat valley is moderate to fine-textured, with low permeability but relatively high water holding capacity, neutral to slightly alkaline in reaction, and more fertile.

The increasing population in these areas has an over-riding impact on the existing cultivated lands and agricultural productivity. The continuous subdivision of land due to family inheritance laws leads to severe fragmentation and overuse of the land. The cropping pattern here is continuously changing from food grains to the cash crops. It requires heavy doses of inputs such as water, high-yielding varieties of seeds, fertilizers, and human labour. The chemical fertilizers used in farming cause harm to soils as well as plants. As manuring means an external interference with the natural mineral balance, it implies the danger of environmental damage caused by its abuse. That is, heavy use of fertilizers is interfering with the nitrogen cycle. The bacteria in the soil converts atmospheric nitrogen into nitrates. Then, there is the process of denitrification in which nitrogen is returned to the atmosphere in gaseous form by other bacteria and the nitrogen cycle is completed. The denitrification process cannot cope fully with the heavy quantities of nitrogen fixed in the soil through chemical fertilizers. The nitrates are washed into the streams and river, leading to water pollution.

The pesticides, which are used to protect the crops, leave their residues in the troposphere for a long time and applying chlorinated hydrocarbon pesticides has led to the extinction of certain birds and animal species and has caused long-term damage and dangers to human health.

In addition, large quantities of insecticides and herbicides are continuously used to get rid of weeds, insects, pests, and other primary consumers, which adversely affect the normal interaction of organisms in a cropland food web and make the soil poisonous. Repeated use of insecticides eliminates a part of the existing insect population and the survivors become resistant to the insect sprays. Populations of these resistant strains grow and may become even more difficult to eliminate. This has happened with the apple plants of the valley for which people nowadays spray supracide and other dangerous chemicals which have long-term residual effects and prove hazardous to human and animal health. Moreover, it has been observed that most of the plants belonging to the family Cucurbitaceae are being adversely affected by the use of chemical fertilizers. For example, the gourd plant, which was very famous in the area, has now become extinct.

This indicates that the balance of nature is being constantly disturbed and the ecosystem deteriorated to an extent which cannot be easily reversed.

The Swat valley, which had so far been mainly dependent on agrarian resources, is radically changing to industrialization and other means of sustenance because of low land-availability in comparison to population increase. The food grain production is falling short of the requirements of the resident population mainly due to soil depletion.

Thus, to save the precious cultivated lands from disaster and to obtain more food, sustainable agriculture or a system of farming which is not in conflict with the ecological balance should be introduced.

Forest Resources

Forests are the most important biosphere on the planet and one of the key stabilizers of the global climate. Forests regulate the climate, retaining moisture as well as water and preventing erosion.

Forests form an extremely important and popular economic resource of the valley. They provide revenue to government and private people. They are a major source of timber supply for railways, ships, buildings, the furniture industry, the pulp/paper industry, formica, chipboard, firewood, and charcoal, among other things. They conserve the precious fertile soils from being washed away and thus protect the valley from erosion, which causes damage to soils, causes floods, and siltation problems. They also protect the precious wildlife by providing shelter and add to the scenic beauty of the area so that it becomes a source of attraction for tourists and thus encourage the development of a tourist industry.

The main species of forest found in the Swat valley include Chir pine, kail, deodar, fir, and spruce. These trees are utilized as timbers. Besides these, broad-leaved species are also found which are mostly used for firewood. Among the common ones are oak, *Parocea*, *Dadonea*, and *Olea*. For furniture purposes, the common trees found here are walnut hard, horse chestnut and birds cherry.

Fir, spruce, and kail are comparatively abundant as compared to the rest of the species. Fir and spruce are found on high altitudes up to the tree limit (11,000 ft). The altitudinal zonation mostly varies from 7000 feet to 10,000 feet. However, it may go as high as 11,000 feet and come as far down as 6000 feet above sea level. Kail, deodar, *Parocea*, horse chestnuts and walnuts grow in the middle zone, that is mostly from 6000 to 8000 feet heights.

From 11,000 to 16,000 feet, there are Alpine pastures which are the continuous meadows bearing grasses, forbs, and herbs. These meadows are utilized mostly by the Gujar nomads, who own herds of sheep, goat, and cattle. In addition, there are also grasslands located usually between 4000 and 6000 feet elevations.

In the recent past, the whole of the Swat valley was completely covered with dense and thick vegetation cover. It is believed that during the time of Akbar (sixteenth century), Swat was called 'Swad', meaning black, due to its vegetation cover (Yousufi 1973). In the holy book of the Hindus, Swat has been mentioned as 'Udyana', meaning park or garden, for its abundant vegetation cover (Ali 1985).

Up to the end of the nineteenth century, the vegetation cover of the area was intact and the ecosystem was undisturbed due to little human interaction. The beginning of the twentieth century marked a turning point in the ruthless utilization of forest resources which led to deforestation and severe environmental degradation. It has been estimated that the forest area of the Swat valley has decreased from about 900,000 acres in 1951 to 321,322 acres in 1980 and to about 300,000 acres in 1991 and the process continues on a very large scale.

There are various causes of deforestation in the Swat valley such as population growth, expanding of agricultural areas, firewood and charcoal consumption, lumber-mill activities, forest fire, side effects of socio-economic developments like roads and settlement constructions, etc. But the most serious one is the expanding of agricultural area, especially for the upland crops for commercial export. It has been estimated that the cultivated land of the Swat valley has increased from 150,000 acres in 1951 to 380,498 acres in 1991 and the increase dangerously continues (Ali 1993).

The fertile valley areas are already occupied by cultivation beyond capacity and the pressure for more land for subsistence agriculture forces many people to occupy the hilly area adjacent

to the villages as well as to encroach upon the forested land at higher altitudes. As a result, the ecosystem of the areas is in a highly deteriorated condition. The large-scale removal of forests and fuel wood has created unstable conditions in most of the watersheds. The hydrologic function has been drastically altered as the inflow-storage-outflow equilibrium has been disrupted. Torrents of water and debris are produced in watersheds which in the past were relatively stable. These flows often exceed the natural channel capacity creating severe flooding and siltation problems for the downstream population. The most recent floods in the valley (July 1995), which destroyed thousands of acres of cultivated lands and standing crops as well as more than sixty lives, can be attributed to the large-scale deforestation in the area. The naturally shallow but more productive soil layers are being rapidly eroded away. Thus, the land is becoming less productive and more hydraulically efficient.

The deforestation and removal of vegetation cover as a result of uncontrolled human activities have led to timber wood shortage, fuel wood and charcoal deficiency, outbreak of pests and insects, loss of wildlife, plant species, expansion of saline soils, and other problems.

It has been observed that more than 70 per cent of the population in the Swat valley lives in rural areas and subsists on an economy which is biomass-based. The survey has documented that nearly 80 per cent of all rural energy is met from traditional and indigenous sources like firewood, cow dung, and crop residue, all being biomass-based. The felling of trees in an indiscriminate manner has denuded vast areas in the Swat valley. The wood, which is the common source of energy in the area, has become scarce. The example of Shahdheri village, which has consumed 2809 *kanals* (1 *kanal*=1/8 acres) of oak wood in the past forty years, shows how this scarcity has come about. The situation of fuel wood is alarming. Nowadays, people search for the extraction of roots of the wiped oaks and other trees for fuel purposes. In addition, due to the scarcity of fuel wood, large quantities of animal dung and crop residues, which as a matter of fact could have been utilized in restoring soil fertility and stepping up food production, are burnt as fuel.

In the recent past (about fifty years ago), the Swat valley was very famous for such game as markhor, leopards, pigs, hyaenas, wolves, deer, snow leopards, black bears, snow bears, rabbits, jackals, foxes, porcupines, hedgehogs, monkeys, gorillas, wild goats, and wild sheep and a variety of birds such as falcons, monal pheasants, grey and black partridges, chikors, sisis, ducks, teals, snipes, and quail of various kinds. The eradication of their natural habitats as a result of forest destruction by human intervention has caused most of the wildlife to become extinct.

In the most recent past, the area was very famous for its honey, which was exported in large quantities to various parts of the country and abroad and, consequently, provided an economic activity. Owing to destruction of vegetation cover and pollution of the soil by chemical fertilizers, pesticides, and insecticides, the honeybees have disappeared in most of the places. Similarly, the wild fruit which was an important source of food for various birds and animals has been completely destroyed by human beings.

The rangelands and meadows which were once covered with thick forests have been deforested. The indiscriminate grazing of large numbers of animals has produced a scenario of overgrazed and highly deteriorated conditions in these areas. According to field surveys, 100 per cent of the households in the Gujar and Kohistani tribes own livestock, mainly sheep, goats, and cows. Overgrazing has accelerated soil erosion and soil depletion in these areas.

The deforestation, which is a man-caused disaster, also results in ground water depletion and frequent occurrence of floods. Field surveys have shown that there are certain localities and areas in the valley where water aquifers have completely dried up due to the cutting of forests, overgrazing, and burning of grasslands. Irrigated lands are being converted into

unirrigated lands such as in the villages of Tighak, Aligrama, Sirsinai, and Maloock in the Kabal Tehsil of the Swat valley. Similarly, the position of ancient settlements and their terraced fields near the streams, where no water now exists, suggests that in the past many springs and perennial streams existed which have now completely disappeared.

Thus, it can be stated that the forest resources of the valley are the most threatened. There seem to be alarming disturbances in the ecological equilibrium of these areas. If the situation is not checked immediately, it will lead to an environmental catastrophe.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The Swat valley today is faced with the crisis of environment. Here, human beings utilize their natural resources for economic development and social progress without proper planning and keeping in view the resultant environmental degradation.

The unprecedented population growth has placed extreme pressure on every aspect of the natural and social environment of the valley. The existing resources are over-exploited beyond their capacity, which has given birth to the varied environmental hazards. Thus, there appears no way to solve the problem of environmental degradation in the Swat valley but control the human population and bring it to the level of available resources.

Land is a basic resource in the agricultural economy of the Swat valley. The tremendous pressure on land as a result of population growth is one of the serious problems of development being faced by the Swat valley. The great land fragmentation results in environmental hazards and low agricultural productivity. Heavy doses of chemical fertilizers, insecticides, pesticides, and herbicides lead to poisoning and depletion of the soils. The newly formed steep, terraced, cultivated lands along the hill and mountain slopes are the greatest source of erosion, soil losses, and sedimentation.

Thus, it is essential to develop a sustainable agriculture in the region. Its aim should be to develop a farming system that is productive and profitable, will conserve the natural resource base, and, at the same time, protect the environment over the long term.

The deforestation is a very serious environmental problem which has created unstable conditions in most of the valley. The recent population and economic pressures on forest resources are immense. As a result, the forested lands are continuously decreasing, which creates an ecological imbalance. The existing natural species of forests are most ecologically suitable. Once this natural vegetation is destroyed by human activity, there is bound to be alarming disturbances in the ecological equilibrium leading to complete disappearance of the forest cover and consequent environmental catastrophe.

It may be concluded that human activities have adversely affected the landscape and the entire ecosystem of the Swat valley. The environment of the valley is being affected by human intervention in various ways (such as population explosion, the increasing intensity in land uses, over-ploughing, over-manuring, over-fallowing, over-lopping, overgrazing, ruthless cutting of the forests, etc.). These activities have accelerated soil erosion, slope and soil changes, soil creeping, soil depletion, landsliding, gullying, flooding, siltation, water depletion and pollution, atmospheric pollution, river capturing, extinction of plant and animal species, and other adverse effects. These tendencies indicate that a state of disequilibrium is being created.

Therefore, it is an immediate need of the hour to search for ways and means to accelerate the natural process of returning the ecosystem to a state of dynamic equilibrium.

The message from the findings of this study for the policy/decision makers is clear. It is:

- i. that the Swat valley requires technical assistance and resource mobilization for the immediate improvement of its environment;
- ii. that the communities in the area need a new form of organization to protect their natural and human environment, in view of the realities of their changed social, economic, cultural, and political conditions.

In order to meet these requirements, it is recommended that an environmental protection board be established for the Swat valley. The main functions of this board should include the following:

- a. Review of the existing resource utilization pattern in the valley on modern scientific lines
- b. Development, coordination, and implementation of policies for the conservation of land, water, and forest resource base of the valley
- c. Provision technical assistance for the rehabilitation, physical improvement, and resource mobilization of the deteriorated and disturbed ecosystem of the area
- d. Development, coordination, and utilization of local expertise in the organization, rehabilitation, maintenance, and management of the available resources on modern scientific lines

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SOLAR WATER HEATER (AB JOSH)*

*Habib-ur-Rehman Mian***

Today due to technological progress, population growth, and rising living standards, the need for energy resources is increasing at an accelerating speed day by day. The existing resources of timber, coal, natural gas, and petroleum, among others, are getting exhausted because of too much use and it is estimated that the world's petroleum supply will be depleted within the next hundred years. This alarming situation has urged scientists to investigate the potential for new resources, one of which is solar energy. This power is derived from the sun to produce heat and light. Its chief advantage is that it is inexhaustible.

In various parts of the world several methods of solar energy use have been developed but, unfortunately, Pakistanis, despite the fact that they are blessed with ample quantity of sunshine throughout the year, have not yet given attention to this important gift of nature. With this in view, this author has invented a 'solar heater' named AB Josh. It is a very simple instrument that uses materials easily available within the country. Its construction is also not complicated and it can be easily made in any village by a local craftsman.

Description

The AB Josh consists of three parts:

1. Solar energy collector
2. Hot water tank
3. Cold water tank

Solar Energy Collector

This is made of a corrugated galvanized (GI) iron sheet and a plain GI sheet of twenty-two to twenty-four gauges. The two sheets are joined as shown in Fig. 7.1.

Hot Water Tank

The size of the tank can be according to the consumption needs of the house. However, a 50 gallon mobile oil drum is recommended because it is easily available and not too expensive. If more water is required, then two drums can be used. These days fiberglass tanks, which can also serve the purpose, are also available in the market.

* Translated from Urdu into English by Israr-ud-Din

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The tank is to be insulated with the help of styrofoam. Styrofoam is generally used for packing television sets, refrigerators, and other fragile materials and is available in sheets of different thicknesses. One can use a 1 inch thick sheet according to the size and number of the drums. The sheets are to be glued around the bottom and top of the drum in such a way that no part is left uncovered, because otherwise the water will lose heat. The colder areas should use double coats of styrofoam sheets. The hot water tank and solar energy collector should be fitted together as shown in Fig. 7.2.

Fig. 7.1 Construction of Solar Energy Collector

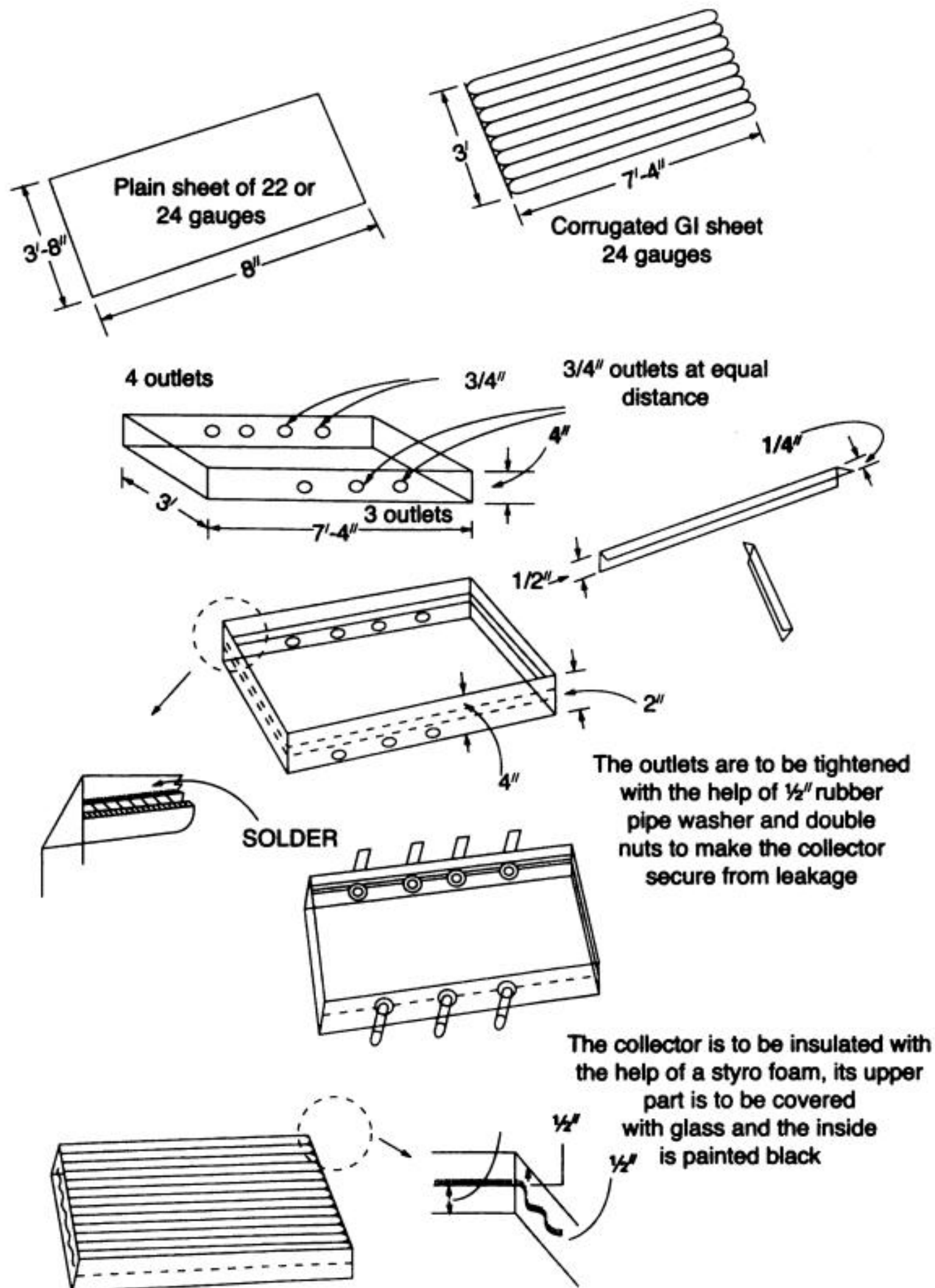
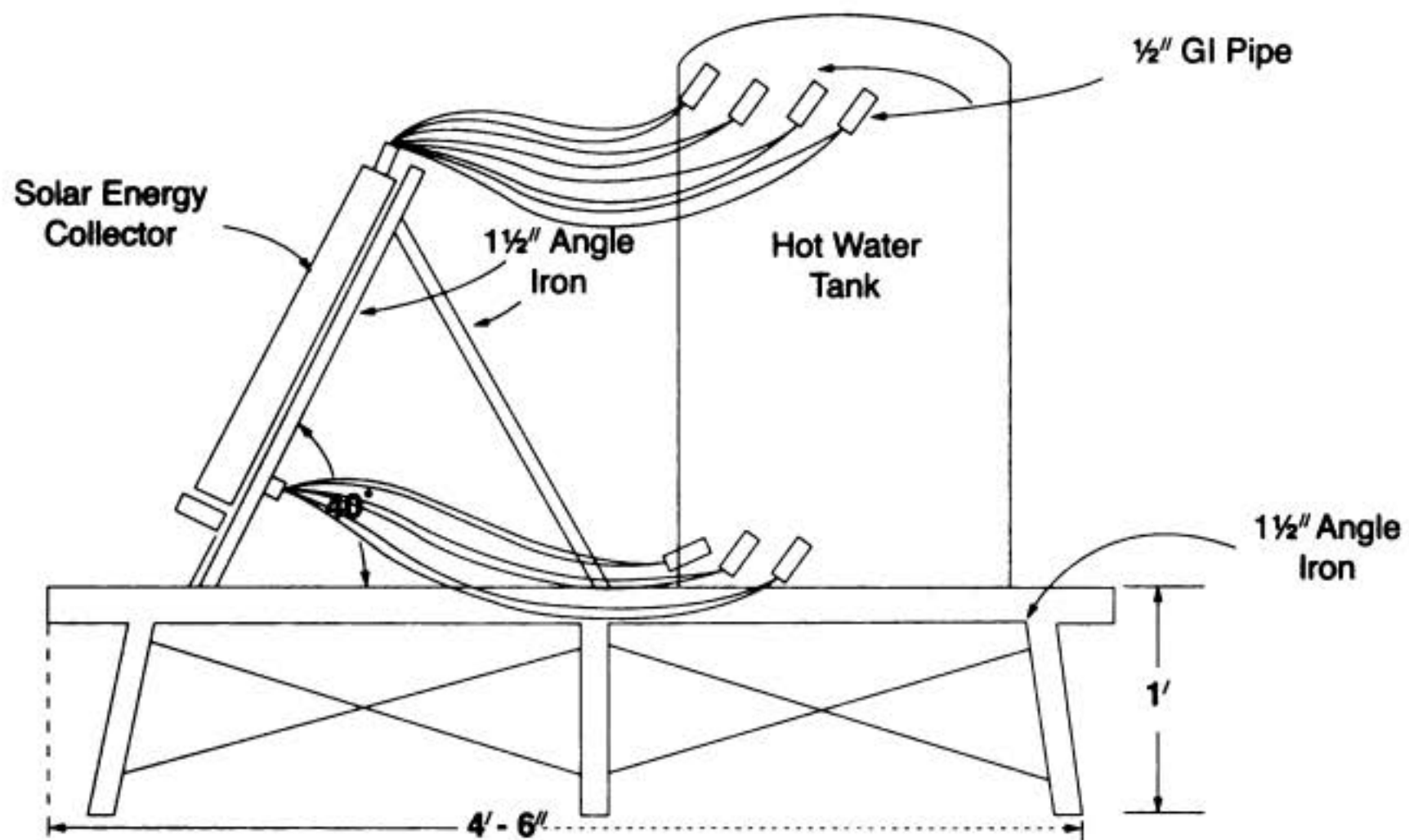
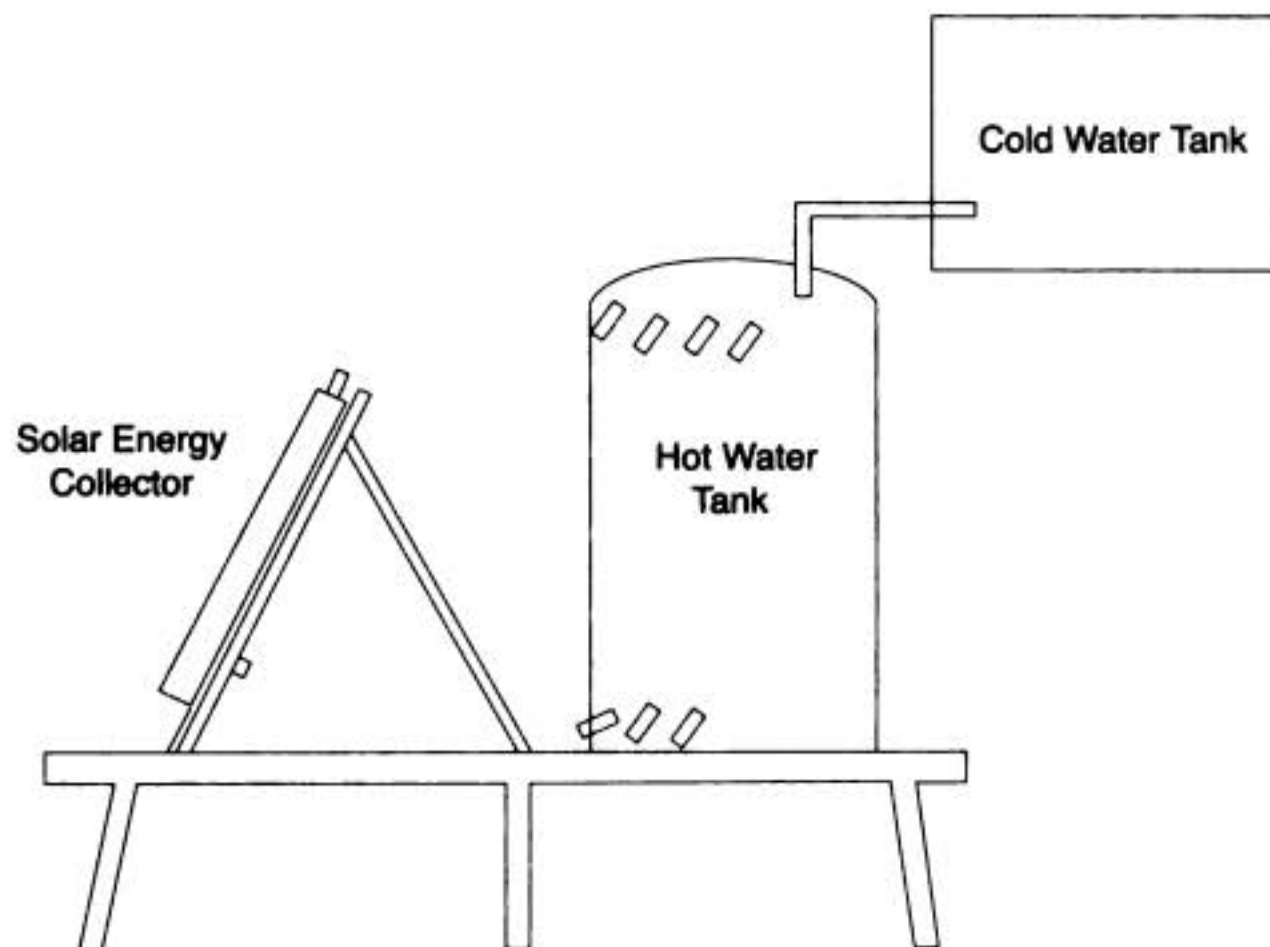


Fig. 7.2 Hot Water Tank and Solar Energy Collector When Joined Together**Cold Water Tank**

This tank can also be made from mobile oil drums. If there is already a water tank on the roof then that can be used. This tank is to be connected to the hot water tank with the help of tubes and at the outlet of the tubes a level clock has to be fixed, which will help to balance the level of the water in the two tanks. The whole instrument is assembled as shown in Fig. 7.3.

Fig. 7.3 Assembly of Solar Energy Heater

Section II

Economic and Cultural Geography

8

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY AND UTILIZATION OF ALPINE PASTURES IN THE NANGA PARBAT REGION OF NORTHERN PAKISTAN: COMPARISON OF RAIKOT AND RUPAL VALLEYS

*Jürgen Clemens and Marcus Nüsser**

Introduction and Objectives

This work presents case studies of pasture utilization in the valleys of Rupal and Raikot, Nanga Parbat. The natural pasture resources and the rights of access and utilization constitute a framework in which the present potentials and limitations of resource management are determined. Apart from these internal factors, recent demographic and socio-economic developments and their effects upon traditional systems of utilization should be assessed. Such an integrated approach aims at highlighting the problems of sustainability and carrying capacity within resource management in the different valleys. One can compare the valleys of Raikot and Rupal in respect of their different ecological potentials and limitations as well as their particular territorial rights of access, which are historically based.

For the valleys of Rupal on the southern and Raikot on the northern declivity of Nanga Parbat (Fig. 8.1), it is important to take into account the following aspects: the high rate of population growth (sometimes above 4 % per acre); the improved accessibility to the 'modern world' via the Karakoram Highway (KKH); the extension of jeep roads up to side valleys and the impact of these developments on the intensity and efficiency of high mountain agriculture and high pasturing in particular. It has yet to be seen whether or not the population pressure will lead to over-exploitation of pasture phytomasses; whether the indigenous strategies of local farmers are flexible enough and whether or not the new exogenous influences with their new income and survival opportunities (tourism and labour migration) will lead to definite changes in this 'traditional' form of subsistence economy.

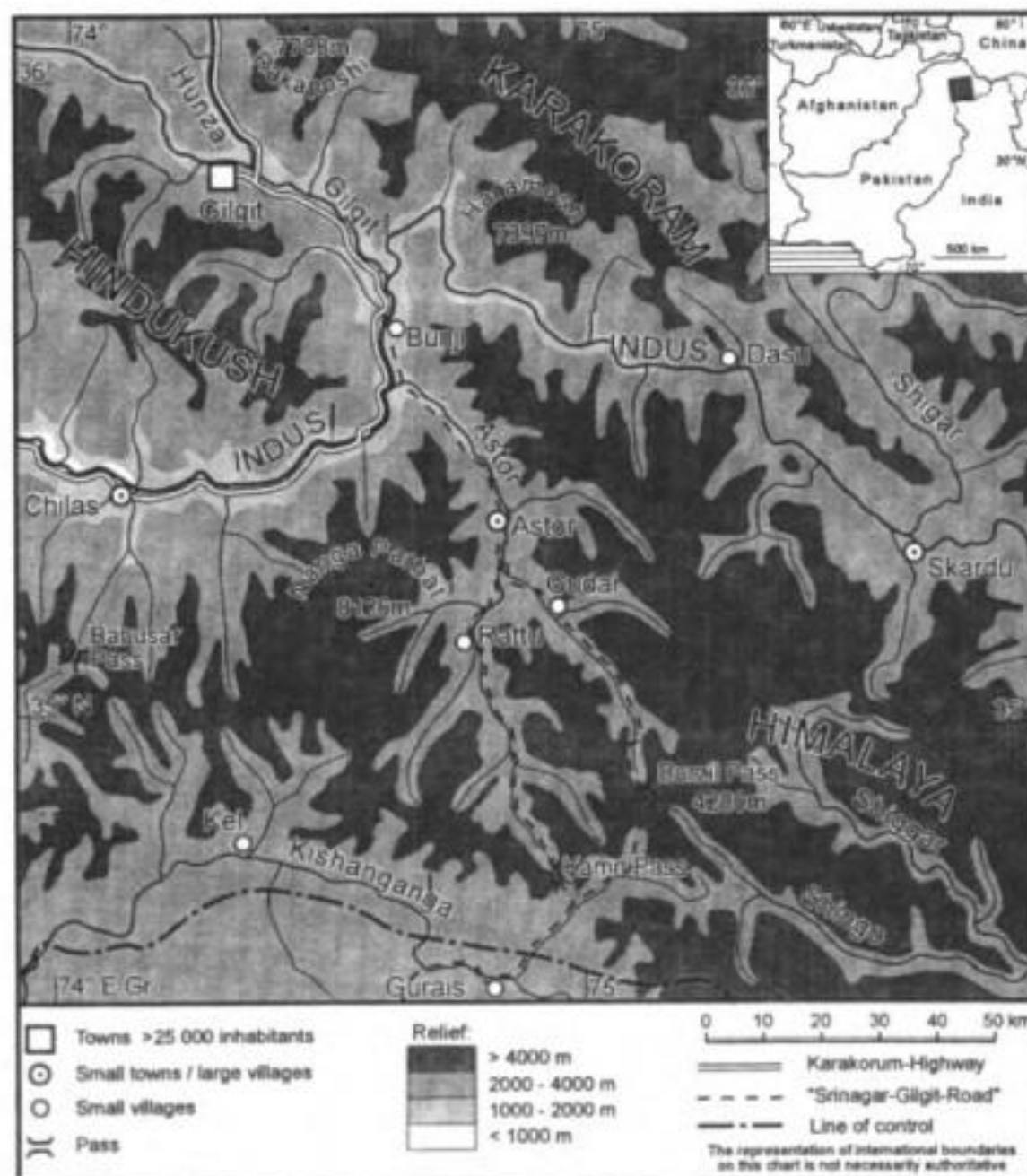
The Agro-pastoral Ecology and Economy

Animal husbandry and high pasturing form an integral part of 'mixed mountain agriculture' (in the sense of Rhoades & Thompson 1975: 537; Kreutzmann 1989a: 148, 1994: 338). This agricultural strategy of mountain farmers is in effect in the whole area of the Hindu Kush, the Karakoram, and the northwestern Himalayas and is described for various other high mountain regions of Northern Pakistan. (In this context compare Snoy 1975, Grötzbach 1984, and

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Ehlers 1995 for Bagrot; Kreutzmann 1989a, 1993, and Klötzli et al. 1990 for Hunza; Grötzbach 1989 and Schickhoff 1993 for Kaghan; Haserodt 1989 for Chitral; Langendijk 1991 for Ishkoman; Butz 1993 for Shimshal; Herbers & Stöber 1995 for Yasin; Clemens & Nüsser 1994 for Rupal; Uhlig 1976, Khan 1991, and Snoy 1993 for the entire region.) Irrigated crop cultivation and pasture economy are interdependently connected and cover different agro-ecological zones to assure the subsistence of the mountain farmers and to allow a wide spread of agrarian risks. In this context, bovines are still needed for ploughing and thrashing on the fields without road access and their manure is required for the replenishment of the cultivated soils. On the other hand, livestock rearing is only possible in combination with crop cultivation, because hay and crop residues are needed for stall-feeding in winter. Fodder shortages in winter present the primary limiting factor of animal husbandry in the whole mountainous region. Therefore, the number of animals kept depends on the fodder availability in the cold season. During the summer and the transitional seasons, pastoral migrations allow the utilization of different pasture ecotops in the montane and Alpine stages. The distinct spatial distribution of pasture resources dictates the seasonal and vertical pattern of utilization. The two fundamental reasons for this agro-pastoral strategy are lack of pasture resources close to the permanent settlements and rules forbidding the keeping of animals during the vegetation period of the cultivated crops near the households in the permanent settlements. While the upward movement of the herds is dependent upon snow conditions and the fodder situation in the cultivated areas, the downward movement can only be determined after harvesting.

Fig. 8.1 Nanga Parbat Region (Northern Pakistan)

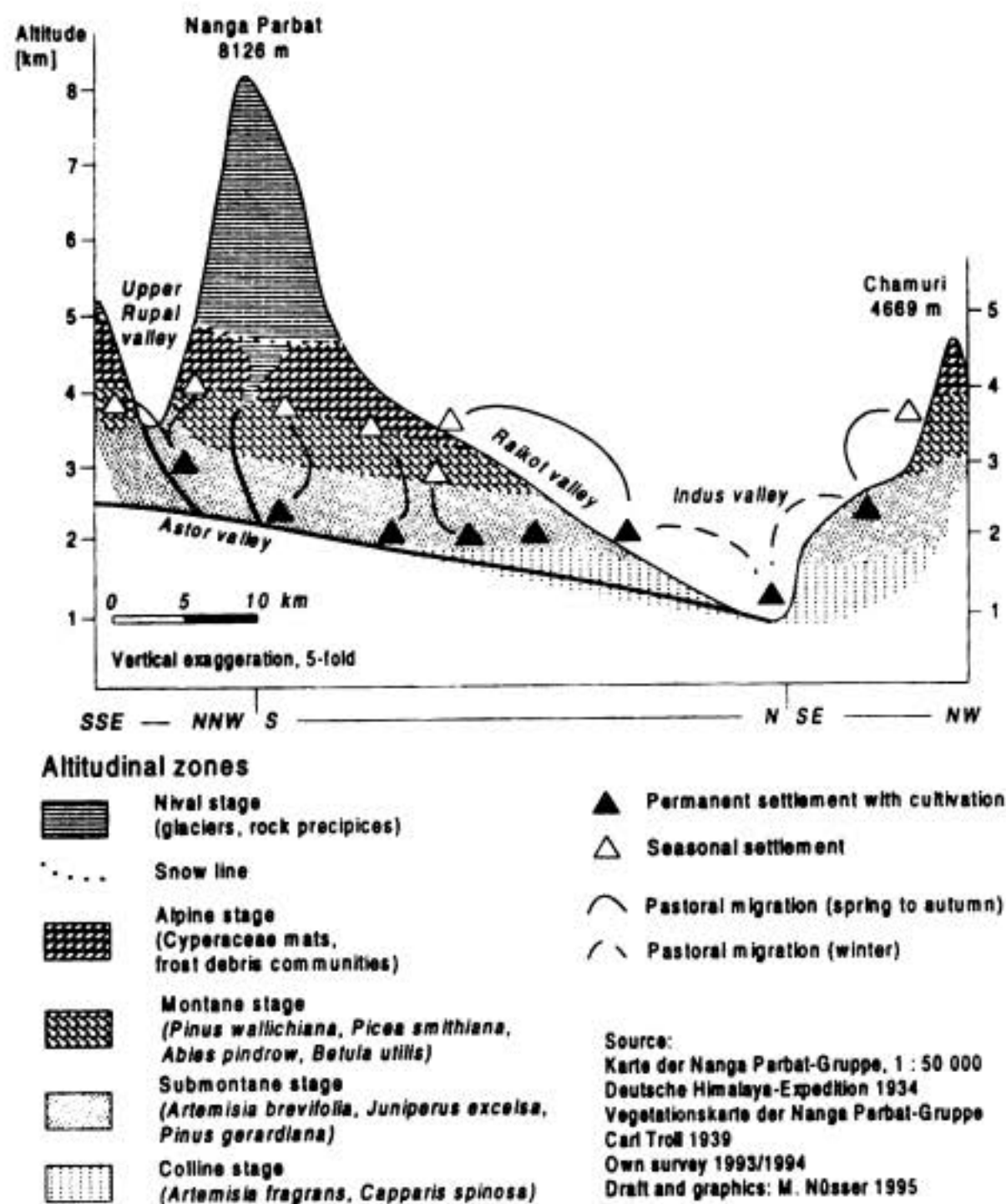


According to Troll (1939: 157–58), there are two types of summer settlements in the upper valley zones: the 'summer field settlement' and the 'summer pasture settlement.' The first is characterized by supplementary irrigated agriculture and the latter by its pastoral use only. *Nirril* and *Rung* (Shina) are the indigenous terms used for all seasonally occupied settlements. The majority of summer-field settlements are located in the belt of moist coniferous forests, whereas summer pasture settlements are mostly to be found in the sub-Alpine and Alpine stages (Fig. 8.2).

Case Study Rupal

The Rupal valley is a high valley to the south of the Nanga Parbat group and releases its waters into the Astor River, which is a tributary of the Indus River. The altitude of the valley bottom stretches between approximately 2500 and 3700 metres on a distance of approximately 24 kilometres leading from west-southwest to east northeast. Owing to its altitude, the Rupal valley is a single cropping area with dominant cultivation of summer grains. The most important crop is wheat followed by recently introduced maize and potatoes. Barley reaches the highest limits of grain cultivation (up to 3340 m) due to its short ripening period (Troll 1973: 46; authors' own observations). Maize is cultivated up to approximately 2750 metres.

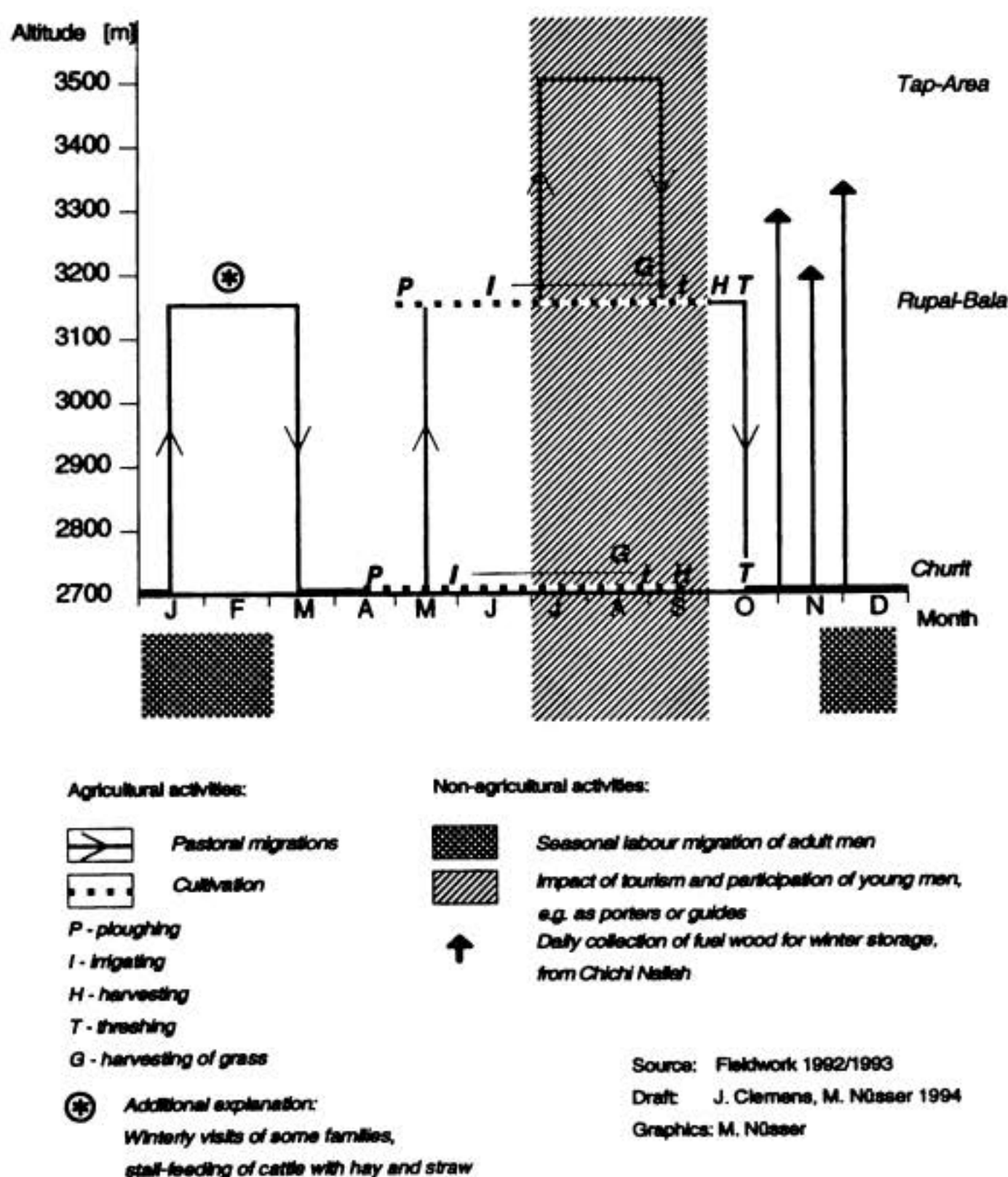
Fig. 8.2 Altitudinal Zonation of Vegetation and Land Use around Nanga Parbat



The altitudinal amplitude of high pasturing in village Churit is approximately 800 metres between this permanent settlement and the highest stage (Fig. 8.3). For neighbouring villages, this amplitude may reach up to more than 1000 metres. During the course of daily grazing, even higher areas up to approximately 4500 metres are utilized.

As mentioned earlier, crop residues and wild hay form the major fodder source for livestock during winter. One characteristic adaptation to the frequent scarcity of fodder supplies in winter is the return to summer settlements between January and March (Fig. 8.3). Families mostly stay here for six to eight weeks and feed stocks of hay and straw to their animals. It is considered less problematic to guide animals over glaciers in winter, than to transport large amounts of fodder downstream to the permanent settlements. Recently, fewer families return to these *Nirrils* in winter. They exchange fodder stocks with other families between the villages and the *Nirrils*. Another exceptional case in this context is the high pasture settlement of Latobo (3600 m) in the upper Rupal valley, where some shepherds overwinter and bring approximately 200–50 robust sheep and goats for daily grazing on the snow-free pastures on the southern exposure. The usage of this high pasture throughout the year reduces the pressure upon the fodder stores in the permanent settlements and helps to cope with the meagre fodder supplies in winter.

Fig. 8.3 Stages of Land Use in Rupal Valley: The Example of Churit



The analysis of the development of livestock reveals that animal husbandry and pasture economy are still of high importance within the agro-pastoral system of Rupal. In the period from 1970/71 to 1992, the number of livestock per capita has risen significantly in all villages of the Rupal valley, and it may be concluded that due to the population growth, the total number of livestock has at least doubled in the same time (Clemens & Nüsser 1994; Pilardeaux 1995: 97 for Astor).

Case Study Raikot

On the northern declivity of Nanga Parbat, the Raikot valley stretches from the junction with the Indus valley at 1179 metres to approximately 3900 metres on a distance of approximately 18 kilometres, directing exactly from south to north. The dominant cultivated crop is maize up to approximately 2500 metres. In the neighbouring Buldar valley, maize reaches its highest limit at 2910 metres. Additionally, in the summer settlements of the Raikot valley, wheat and barley are cultivated up to 3300 metres. Owing to the proximity to the area of double cropping in the colline stage of the Indus valley, the majority of households in the Raikot valley also cultivate land there. The double cropping of winter wheat and maize ensures the people's food supplies together with higher amounts of crop residues as winter fodder.

The stage-wise land use of high pasturing in the Raikot covers an amplitude of approximately 1200 metres from village Tato to the highest grazing settlements. In winter, most of the families descend with their animals to the Indus valley at an altitude of approximately 1150 metres. The total pastoral amplitude sums up to approximately 2350 metres.

In the Raikot valley as well as in the Gor region on the opposite side of the Indus River, animal husbandry is possible in the framework of all-year-round pasturing (Schweinfurth 1957: 72; Troll 1973: 47). The access to snow-free winter pastures in the colline stage of the Indus valley allows a reduction in stall-feeding for cattle and sheep only. As the insufficient hay production does not allow the stall-feeding of all animals, the large goat herds are pastured by paid shepherds on the scarce vegetation of the Indus valley.

On the slopes of the Gor side, oak forests (*Quercus baloot*) offer a valuable fodder source in winter.¹ The sustainable utilization of these winter fodder resources is assured by traditional laws, such as the prohibition of pruning or forest pasturing before the 15th of November, as well as the division of the oak belt between the different villages within the community of Gor.

Concluding, it can be stated that on the northern declivity of Nanga Parbat, the number of goats per capita are significantly higher compared to the situation in the Rupal valley (approx. twenty-five to forty per house against ten to twelve in the Rupal). Yak crossbreeds (*Zomol Zoai*) are not kept here because of their particular sensitivity to higher average temperatures.

Conclusions

The limiting factors of climatic and biogeographical conditions, such as the duration of snow cover on different pastures and the dry conditions in the valley bottoms of the colline stage, determine the potentials and limitations of animal husbandry as well as the necessity of pastoral migrations from the ecological point of view. The distinct spatial distribution of pasture resources, as well as the necessities of crop cultivation, dictate the seasonal and vertical pattern of utilization. As these two valleys have different ecological conditions due to

their altitudinal position, individual mobility patterns of animal husbandry can be identified. To varying degrees, both valleys experience fodder shortages during the long winter season. Therefore, different strategies to cope with this main problem of livestock rearing have been developed.

Until now, the intensity of agro-pastoral utilization does not show any severe pressure upon the high pastures. Within the course of the authors' fieldwork, no pasture degradation of significant degree has been found around Nanga Parbat. With regard to the carrying capacity, even a slight increase in livestock numbers seems to be possible, provided by improved fodder supplies in winter (Clemens & Nüsser 1995).

Legal and Socio-economic Framework of Pasture Utilization

Pastoral Territoriality around Nanga Parbat

To understand the entire system of agro-pastoralism, it is necessary to add some remarks on the historical background of utilization rights and recent socio-economic developments. This human-ecological system cannot be fully understood by solely analysing ecological problems (Herbers & Stöber 1995: 94).

According to historical records, the villages in the settled area of Gilgit Wazarat, including all villages of Astor, were granted rights of pasture and forest utilization in the beginning of the twentieth century. These cadastral surveys (settlement) were carried out by the State of Jammu and Kashmir in accordance with the general practice in British India (Lawrence 1875: 400–25; Younghusband 1911: 186–92; Singh 1917: 23–26). These rights of access are still in effect today and also determine the villages' actual pastoral economy. For Astor Tehsil, village-wise files of territorial aspects of resource utilization include the names of different pastures, their boundaries and size, together with specifications of the natural setting (Ghas Charay 1917)². Even today, these files serve as a basis for settling conflicts between villages at the court.

The situation of pastoral rights is completely different in the unsettled area of the Indus valley below the junction with the Astor River. The valleys of the northern declivity of Nanga Parbat belong to the community of Gor (nowadays Goharabad, part of the Chilas subdivision), which is situated on the opposite bank of the Indus River. All villages of this area share combined rights of pasture utilization. In practice however, they confine their pastoral migration to the adjoining slopes and valley sections, near to their settlements.

The main ridge of Nanga Parbat, between the Mazeno Pass (5366 m) in the west and Hattu Pir (3127 m) in the east, represents a distinct cultural geographical line of separation³ between the village-wise territoriality in the Astor valley and the combined rights of resource utilization in the former, segmentary Shinaka republics of Gor and Chilas (General Staff India 1928: 142–43).

In Astor, the pastures are village commons and located in the proximity of the individual villages (mostly on adjoining slopes and valley sections). In general, the areas of grazing rights are confined by natural boundaries like ridges or drainage lines. In some exceptional cases, villages are allowed to use additional areas. The village of Doian in the lower Astor valley has additional grazing rights in the adjoining terraces of the Indus valley (Huko Das) and on the slopes between the Indus and Astor valleys with the localities of Hattu Pir and Buyar. Some villages enjoy additional grazing rights on the opposite riverbanks. The example

of Chongra reveals another exception: besides their rights in the Rama valley, the villagers of Chongra also enjoy grazing rights in the upper Harchu valley, behind the ridge over the Shate Shayn Pass (3894 m). The villages in the Rupal valley share equal utilization rights in the summer pastures of the upper sections of the Rupal and the Chichi valley. A detailed account of the overlaying rights of pastoral utilization between individual villages south of Nanga Parbat is given by Clemens and Nüsser (1994, 1995).

Dimensions of Socio-Economic Change

The access to the national communication network via the KKH, after its completion in 1978, has increased opportunities for off-farm employment and seasonal migration significantly. The Rupal and Raikot valleys have been connected by jeep roads since the late 1980s. Frequent services of jeeps allow young men to earn some money as day labourers in Gilgit or Chilas or to pass the winter in the industry or service sector of the cities downcountry. Simultaneously, the number of tourists has increased with the improved road access (figs 8.3 and 8.4; Kreutzmann 1989; for Hunza; Grötzbach 1993). The men take the opportunity to earn money as high altitude porters or as mountain guides for trekking tourists and expeditions. This is especially true for the Raikot valley and Fairy Meadows, with their easy access from the KKH. Therefore, more and more families also spend the summer in the permanent villages. Here schools and small bazaars are also accessible. In such cases, the men from the winter village manage to irrigate the fields of the summer settlements, which are in a convenient proximity. Goat and sheep herds would then be brought to the pastures by a relative in return for an agreed share of milk products or by paid shepherds in the case of Raikot.

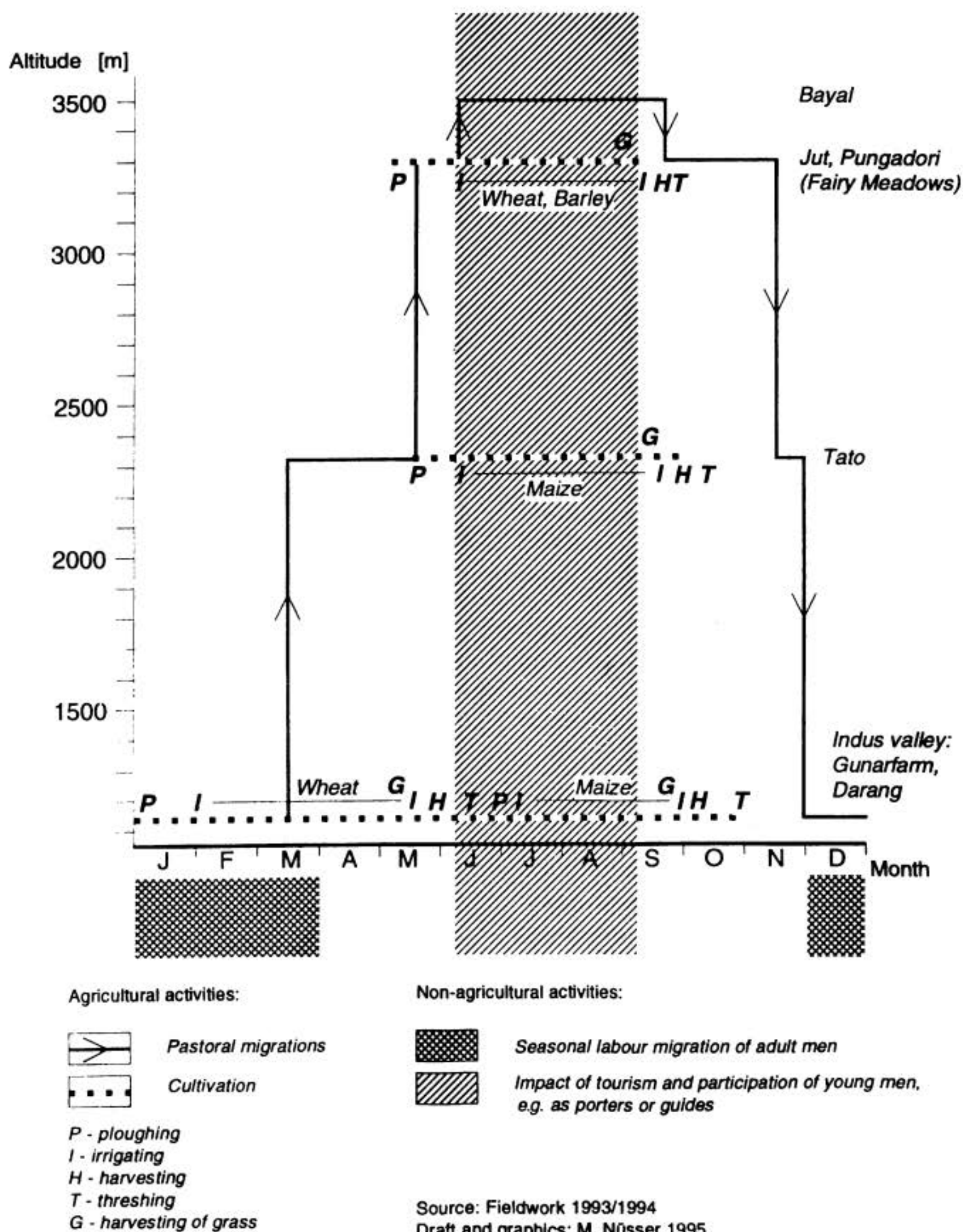
As opposed to Hunza, parts of Baltistan, or Kaghan (Kreutzmann, 1989a, 1989b; Grötzbach 1989, 1993), this very recent development did not change the agro-pastoral economy around Nanga Parbat to a high degree. Only a few marginal pastures have been abundant in the Astor region (Pilardeaux 1995: 97, 103f). Unlike their counterparts in Hunza, farmers of the Rupal and Raikot valleys need not stall-feed their lactating animals all year round. The shortage of workforce, due to migration and non-agrarian income opportunities, has not yet forced any change in the production systems of animal husbandry and mixed mountain agriculture. Labour intensive activities will continue to be carried out within the village community. As in Hunza, women are starting to take over more activities which were traditionally done by men. In spite of non-agrarian influences, animal husbandry and pastoral migration will continue to have a central function within the valleys' economies. The high pastures, however, serve new and external functions. Additionally to their pastoral resource, they now also offer recreational functions for Pakistani and foreign tourists.

Final Conclusions

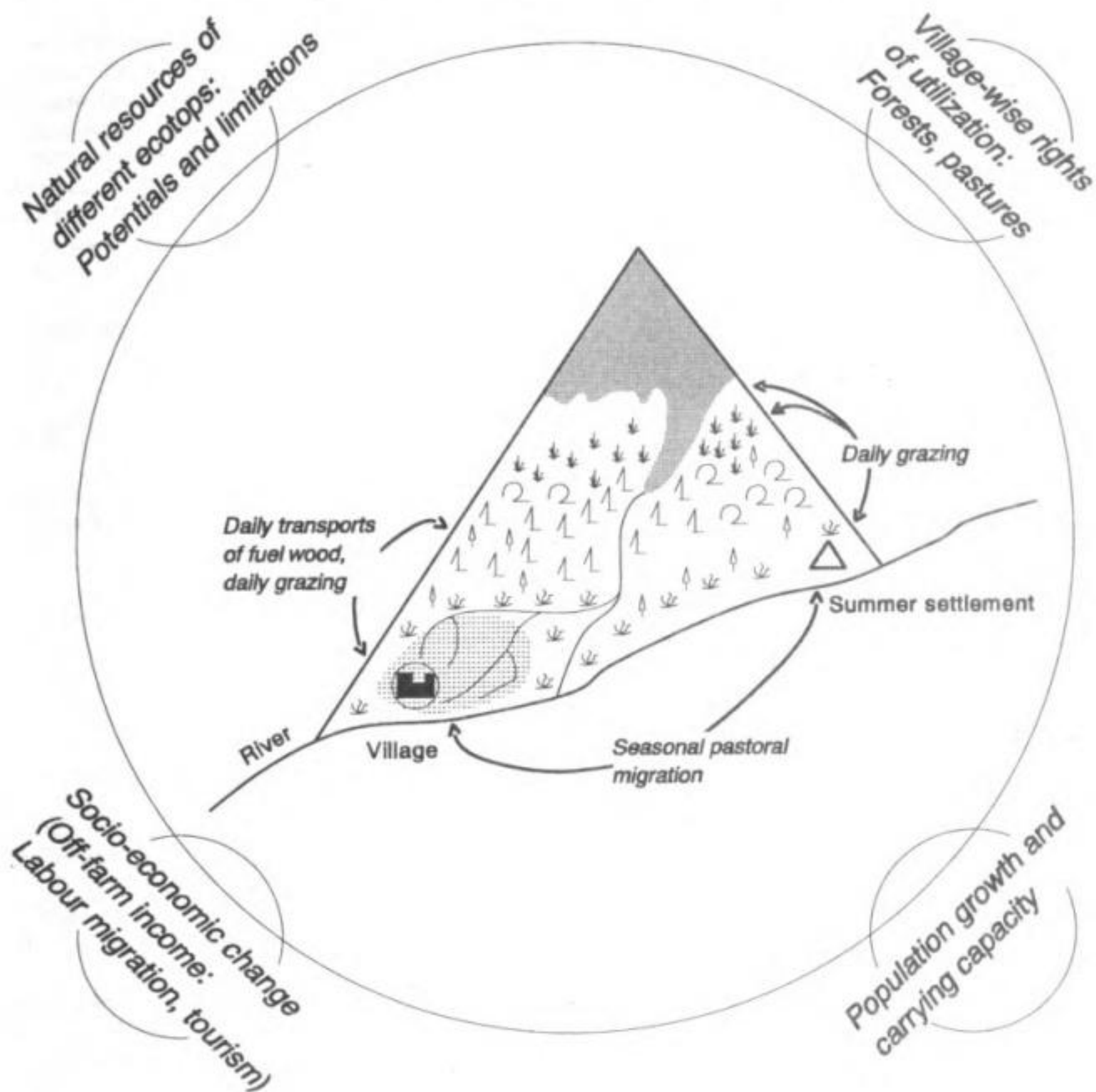
The principal distribution of vegetation together with the dominant patterns of resource utilization and external influences are shown in the model of Fig. 8.5. Although animal husbandry pressurizes the carrying capacity due to the increased number of livestock, the ecological balance remains stable. The agro-pastoral economy has a sustainable potential under the current socio-economic conditions. In a medium- to long-term perspective, however, an increase in off-farm employment might reduce the male labour force to a high degree.


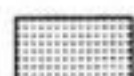




Possibly, the proximity to markets in Chilas and Gilgit, or to military garrisons, may develop some monetary incentives for animal husbandry in the near future.

Fig. 8.4 Stages of Land Use in Raikot Valley: The Example of Tato



Source: Fieldwork 1993/1994
Draft and graphics: M. Nüsser 1995

Fig 8.5 Human-Ecological System of Nanga Parbat (NW Himalayas)

-  Glacier
-  Irrigated fields
-  Permanent settlement
-  Seasonal settlement (Nirril)
-  Drainage pattern
-  Irrigation channels

Vegetation

- 1 Coniferous forest on north facing slopes (*Pinus wallichiana*, *Picea smithiana*, *Abies pindrow*)
- 2 Birch forest and willow dwarf scrub on north facing slopes (*Betula utilis*, *Salix karelinii*)
- 3 Juniper forest and scrub on south facing slopes (*Juniperus excelsa*, *J. turkestanica*)
- 4 *Artemisia* spp. dwarf scrub on south facing slopes (*A. brevifolia*, *A. santolinifolia*)
- 5 Alpine mats on all exposures (*Kobresia capillifolia*, *Carex* spp. with alpine forbs)

Draft : J. Clemens, M. Nüsser 1995
 Graphics : M. Nüsser

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NOTES

1. The utilization of *Quercus baloot* as winter fodder is also described by Haserodt (1989: 126) and (Snay 1993: 66f).
2. These documents are dated according to *samvat*-chronology, which refers to the era of Raja Vikramaditya (Singh 1917: 133; Kreutzmann 1989: 24). The *samvat*-year 1973–74 corresponds with 1917 AD.
3. Even today, Nanga Parbat's main ridge forms the administrative boundary between the subdivision of Chilas and Astor Addition District (until 1993 a subdivision), both a part of Diamir District.

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A GEOGRAPHIC PERSPECTIVE ON LAND RESOURCES AND LAND USE OF MALAKAND DIVISION

*Mohammad Yaqub Alizai**

Introduction

Malakand is an administrative division of the North-West Frontier Province of Pakistan. It consists of the districts of Swat, Dir, and Chitral. All these districts were princely states of the same names till 1969, when these were merged with settled areas of Pakistan. This division is very important from the historical, political, and strategic point of view. Buddhist monuments are found in many areas especially in Swat and Chitral. Alexander along with his army passed through Swat, Bajour, and Buner in 326 BC and crossed the Panjkora and Swat rivers. During the fifth century AD the Chinese traveller Fa-hsien visited Swat he gave its name as Swad). The area also came under the influence of various Muslim rulers of India (Habib 1904).

Ever since 1849, when the British took over the administration of the settled districts of the North-West Frontier Province, the prime concern of the government was to devise an effective means of maintaining the security of this area (Habib 1904). The princely states were important because of their situation at the extremity of the territory over which the Government of India exerted its influence. It had been the policy of the government to control the external affairs of this area in a direction friendly to its own interests, to secure an effective guardianship over the northern passes, and to keep watch over what went on beyond these passes. With these objectives in view Major Biddulph was sent in 1877 to enter into relations with the rulers of these states (Aziz-ud-Din, 1897).

After independence, the Malakand area became more important due to the special position of the Northern Areas and Kashmir and also due to its proximity to Afghanistan and the former Soviet republics, now known as the Central Asian Muslim states (Fig. 9.1)

Table 9.1 Human Beings–Land Ratio/Per Head Area in Acres (1980)

	<i>Geographic Area</i>	<i>Reported Area</i>	<i>Cultivated Area</i>	<i>Net Sown</i>	<i>Current Fallow</i>	<i>Cultivable Waste</i>	<i>Uncultivable and Forest Area</i>
Malakand Division	3.235	0.286	0.236	0.23	0.006	0.02	0.03
NWFP	1.664	0.371	0.237	0.218	0.019	0.063	0.071
Pakistan	2.33	0.56	0.466	0.445	0.025	0.06	0.034

Source: Government of NWFP, development statistics, 1981.

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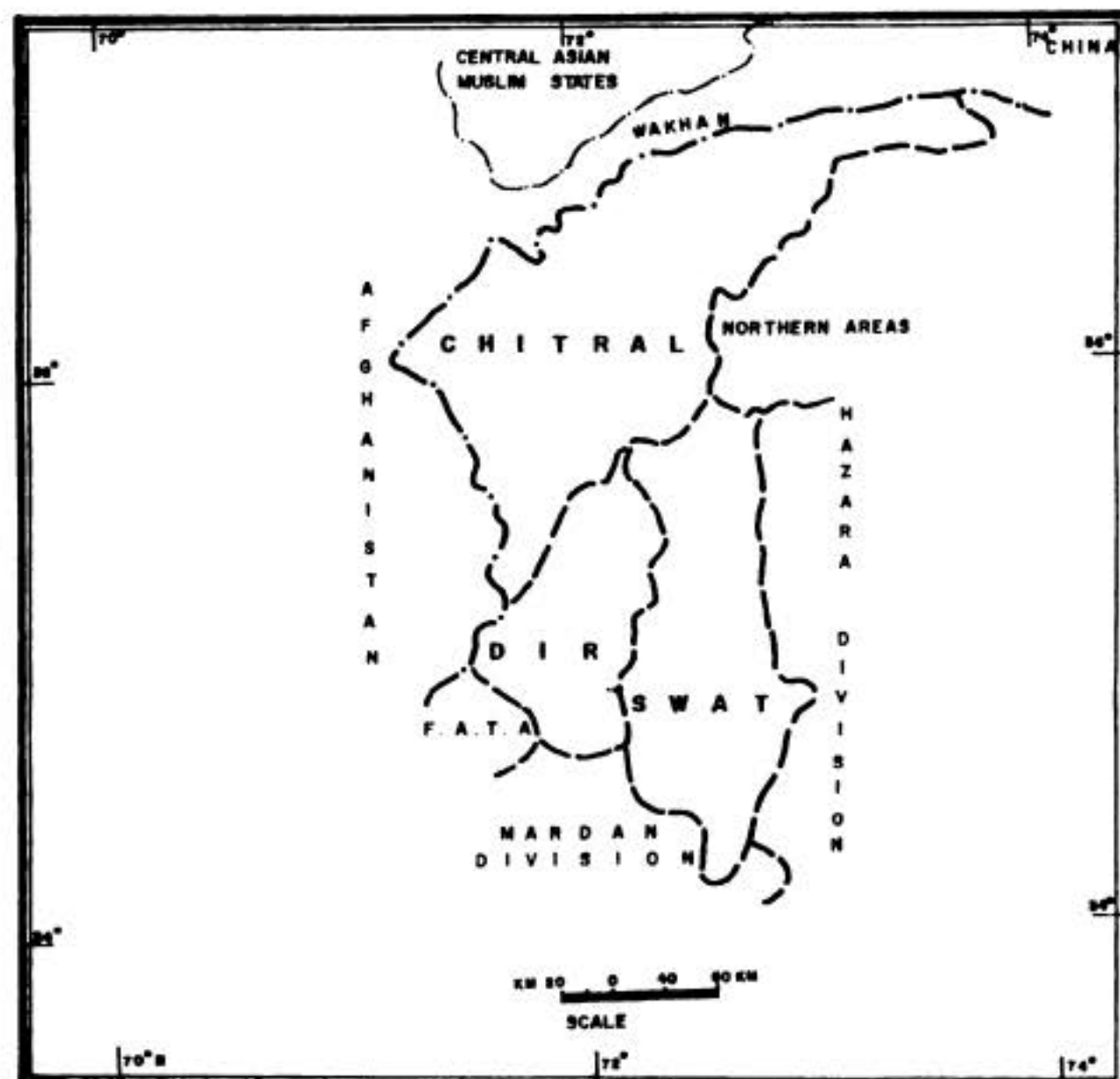
The present circumstances in Afghanistan and Central Asia have made this area politically and strategically more sensitive and it has become imperative to undertake a well-planned policy for the utilization of resources for the socio-economic development of this area.

Natural Setting

Malakand Division lies between 34 degrees, 10 minutes, and 36 degrees, 50 minutes north and 71 degrees, 10 minutes and 73 degrees, 50 minutes east. It is a strategically located area. It adjoins Afghanistan in the north and west, the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) in the southwest, Mardan and Hazara divisions in the south and east, and the Northern Areas in the northeast. It is very close to the Central Asian Muslim states and is not far from Kashmir (Fig. 9.1).

Malakand Division is a part of the well-known northwestern Himalayan region which is physiographically the most formidable and inaccessible of all areas of the frontier province. The most impressive feature of the region is the towering Hindu Kush Range, which merges with Afghanistan's Wakhan Corridor known as the 'roof of the world corridor.' Lesser ranges extend southward from the Hindu Kush and divide several river valleys formed by Chitral, Swat, and Panjkora rivers and their tributaries. The division may broadly be called the drainage basin of the Chitral, Panjkora, and Swat rivers and their rapid-running turbulent affluents. It is one of the most lofty tracts on the surface of the globe. Tirich Mir, the highest peak, is 7690 metres above sea level (the elevation of Mont Blanc, the highest peak in Europe is 4808 m).

Fig. 9.1: Location of Malakand Division



The whole division is formed by a complex system of high mountains and narrow valleys. It opens towards the south, where the lowest elevation is 452 metres (Mian 1986).

Climatically, the area may be broadly called a sub-tropical continental high land zone. It is characterized by cold, snowy winters on higher elevations and is very hot in summer in the lowlands, warm in the uplands, and cool on higher elevations. Climatic data available from the meteorological stations located in the division does not present the true picture because there must be considerable variation due to spatial relief variations. However, according to the meteorological observatories at Mingora (Swat), Dir, and Chitral, annual rainfall is 469.4 millimetres, 1566 millimetres, and 717.2 millimetres, respectively. Temperatures in the valleys may become higher than 35.3 degrees Celsius in summer. Below freezing winter temperature is common over the higher elevations.

The most important characteristic of climate of this area with respect to agriculture is the variability of precipitation. Total rainfall in January 1964 in Chitral was 74.2 millimetres, while it was only 1.3 millimetres in January 1966. In 1968, precipitation during July was zero while it was 20.6 millimetres in July 1978. With precipitation dependability so low, agriculture operates under great risks even in those areas where annual rainfall is high. Soils found in valley bottoms and river terraces are derived from alluvial and glacial deposits. These are generally fertile if water is available and proportion of gravel is not high.

Cultural Environment

Total geographical area of Malakand Division according to the survey of Pakistan is 28,920 square kilometres (7146132 acres). It is the largest division of the frontier province and occupies 38.8 per cent area of the province. Area-wise, Malakand Division is larger than many countries of the world. Its area is more than 2.8 times that of Lebanon and 11.2 times that of Luxembourg.

According to the last population census (1981), the population of Malakand Division is 2,208,970, about 20 per cent of the population of the frontier province. Population density is 76 persons per square kilometre. Human beings-land ratio for different land types is shown in Table 9.1. It has also been compared with the province as well as with the country. As is obvious from the table, per head geographic area is very high in Malakand Division.

Other cultural factors that are important for land use have been shown in Table 9.2. The changes between 1972 and 1990 have also been shown so that the future trends can be seen. Irrigation is a very important factor. In fact, where irrigation water is available, all the cultivable land is cultivated, so land-use intensity as well as cropping intensity is high. Irrigation is also the primary requirement for investment in modern inputs.

Table 9.2 Cultural Factors (Area in Acres)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Irrigated Area</i>	<i>% of Cultivated Area</i>	<i>Owner-Cultivated Area</i>	<i>% of Farm Area</i>	<i>Not Fragmented Area</i>	<i>% of Farm Area</i>	<i>% of Farm Area under Medium-Size Farms (5-25)</i>
1972	208,109	38.1	464375	73.4	N	A	38.1
1980	206,571	42.4	470999	74.4	102622	16.2	41.5
1990	286,187	45.3	823693	80.5	172488	16.8	44.9

Source: Government of NWFP, Development Statistics, 1981.

Continuous increase in the proportion of irrigated area shows that irrigation water is available. If it is properly used and wastage is reduced it would greatly help in proper utilization of agricultural resources. Wastage of valuable irrigation water is a very unfortunate fact in our country. The wastage of irrigation water is as high as 40 per cent (Alizai 1994). Relief and soil conditions as well as unlined canals and distributaries show that the wastage might be higher in Malakand Division.

Whoever owns the land exerts a lot of influence on land use. If the cultivator is the owner he or she would work hard, take proper care of the land, and also invest in modern inputs, because he or she would be fully rewarded. But if the cultivator is not the owner he or she gets only a share of the production and is not sure when the landowner will take back the land, so his or her interest is limited. In the Indian Punjab when the land was handed over to the actual tillers, the yield almost doubled. The proportion of owner-cultivated area is increasing but still 20 per cent of the farm area is not owned by the cultivator (Table 9.2).

The size of the farm under the control of a family is an important aspect of land occupancy. It exerts a strong influence on decision about land use. What the proper size of a farm for an area should be is a complicated socio-economic question that needs detailed study. The size of a farm larger as well as smaller than an economic holding is not favourable for proper utilization of land. In the absence of proper information, it may only be mentioned that medium-size farms between five and twenty-five acres are more favourable for proper land use. The table shows that such farms are increasing but still only 44.9 per cent of the farms are of this size.

Fragmentation means the land of a farmer is divided into more than one fragment/parcel, in such a way that each fragment is entirely surrounded by the land of other farmers. Under such situations the resources of the former are inefficiently utilized. Wastage of irrigation water increases. Chances of theft also increase. The result is reduction in the profit. It has been estimated that the expenses of cultivation increase by 5.3 per cent for every 50 metres of distance between plots, from 20 to 25 per cent for transportation of manure and from 15 to 32 per cent for the transportation of crops. Cultivation of high value crops is discouraged. When the distance between the fragments and size of the fragments reaches such a stage that cultivation becomes uneconomical, the land may be left uncultivated. The situation in the study area is shown in Table 9.2. Only 16.8 per cent of farms are not fragmented. There is no appreciable improvement with time. The number of fragments might be more than ten. The size in certain cases is unbelievably small and distances between the fragments are very long on very difficult terrain.

Economy

Malakand Division is an under-developed area of Pakistan. Owing to absence of proper infrastructure, difficult terrain, unfavourable weather conditions, and its districts' status as princely states, for long time, little attention was given to development before as well as after independence. One of the indicators of under-development is the employment structure. According to the last population census, 77.2 per cent of the employed labour force is engaged in agriculture and other primary occupations in this division as compared to 61.5 per cent for the frontier province and 51.4 per cent for the country. The proportion for Chitral District is 79.7 per cent. This is a very important indicator of under-development.

Agriculture is the predominant economic activity of the people. This is obvious from all the literature available about this area as well as from field observations. It has a very long tradition in Malakand Division. According to a German botanist, an indigenous wheat plant

found in Chitral is one of the oldest types in the world. This shows that agriculture has always been the major occupation of the people. In spite of very high dependability on land, agriculture is still practised according to traditional methods. Modern inputs have reached only limited areas (Mian 1986). People put in real hard work in bringing water for irrigation from long distances where possible under very unfavourable conditions. Steep slopes are terraced and rich crops including fruits and vegetables are produced in valleys and also on slopes. If water is available, real hard work is put in to cultivate even uncultivable land.

Land Resources and Land Use

Land is the basic natural resource. Human beings' attachment to land and concern for it has persisted into the modern industrial, scientific, and space ages. According to the Holy Quran, 'on Earth will be your dwelling place and your means of livelihood for a time' (II: 36). Land as a resource has a special position. It is a renewable resource in the ecological sense because the same piece of land can be cultivated for an indefinite time if appropriately husbanded. But in the sense of space it is finite. Over a given time period, if space is used, it is inevitably used up like a non-renewable resource. So land does not fit into the conventional classification of natural resources. The importance of land further increases when it is considered as the resource of land space. Increasing economic importance of recreation and tourism has made land an ambient resource. This aspect is particularly important for the study area because it has some of the most scenic areas.

Because of the importance of land it is now not considered as property but rather is viewed in the sense of stewardship. According to Lester Brown, 'we have not inherited the earth from our fathers; we are borrowing it from our children.' Probably Hazrat Umar Farooq had the same conception when he refused to distribute conquered land among the soldiers (*mujahideen*), saying that it was for the future generations.

If considered only as an agricultural resource, land has been the base for civilizations. Secrets of development today also lie in proper utilization of agricultural resources. This is obvious from the importance being given to agriculture in the world. In a highly developed country like Holland, with very limited and scarce land, the share of agricultural exports in the balance of payments position is equalled only by the export of natural gas. Use of science and technology has wrought miracles in agriculture. Less than four per cent of the American labour force is feeding all Americans at the lowest per capita expenditure and also exporting huge quantities of agricultural products. Countries with extremely unfavourable conditions like Saudi Arabia and Israel have become exporters of many agricultural products.

With these facts in view the situation regarding land resources and land use in Malakand has been analysed with the help of tables, diagrams, and maps, in a temporal and spatial context. The accuracy and reliability of a geographic study depends upon the unit area used and accuracy of data. The smaller the unit area is, the more reliable the result will be. So the *tehsil* has been used as a unit area for the first time. It was not possible to go beyond the *tehsil* level. As shown in Fig. 9.2 the division consists of nine *tehsils*. Detailed data for the year 1992 was collected from *tehsil* and district headquarters. For temporal analysis the data collected by the Pakistan Agricultural Census Organization has been used. The extremely discouraging and unfortunate fact discovered during this study is the nonreliability of the data. In fact, this has made the study one of only of academic interest. Table 9.3 has been prepared by collecting data from all possible sources. The purpose was to get accurate data for the study. But unfortunately the findings are very discouraging. As is obvious from the

table, there are drastic differences in the data of the total reported area of the study area supplied by different organizations as well as by the same organization in various years.

Table 9.3 Reliability of Land Use Data—Resource Consciousness Total Reported/Farm Area

Source	Agri.	Census	Organ.	Agri. Department	Extention	Bureau of Statistics	District Statistics Officers
Year	1972	1980	1990	1980	1989	1991	1992
Unit	Unknown	Acres	Acres	Acres	Hectares	Hectares	Hectares
Chitral District	80,842	74,132	111,169	74,165	98,671	98,671	98,670
Dir District	255,101	151,695	443,830	152,235	269,206	269,206	269,206
Swat District	269,795	406,855	468,117	409,511	816,088	816,088	816,401
Malakand Division	632,738	632,680	1,023,116	635,914	1,183,965 2,925,577 (Acres)	1,183,965 2,925,577 (Acres)	1,184,277 2,926,348 (Acres)
Comparison	100	100	162	105	462	462	470
Geographic area		28,920 sq. km/ 714,632 acres					
% of geographic area	8.8	8.8	14.3	8.9	40.9	40.9	40.9

For instance, according to the Agricultural Census Organization, total farm area of Malakand Division in 1990 was 1,023,116 acres, while according to the Agriculture Extension Department, it was 2,925,577 acres, i.e., 286 per cent more. Similarly, according to the Agricultural Census Organization, a prestigious organization established only for the collection of agricultural data, farm area of the division in 1980 and 1990 was 632,680 acres and 1,023,116 acres respectively. The data for 1990 is 62 per cent higher than that of 1980. No reason has been given in the publications of these departments for the disparities. The same table also shows that in 1972 and 1980 our knowledge about the land use of the study area was limited to only 8.8 per cent of the total geographic area and increased to 40.9 per cent in 1992. Still we do not know anything, and there is no record of 59.1 per cent of our land. This is in spite of the fact that agriculture is the backbone of our economy. In contrast, those countries where agriculture is a minor part of the economy are giving special importance to agriculture and making proper use of their land resources. For instance in Japan, the present development plan has been specifically made for agricultural development. This unfortunate situation shows on the one hand our national unconsciousness regarding our most important resource and on the other hand reflects the poor credibility of the concerned departments and organizations.

The data used in this study for spatial analysis was collected from district headquarters from the official records of district statistical officers in all the three districts. This was considered to be comparatively reliable because it was supplied with proper signatures and is also comparable with the records of the Bureau of Statistics. For temporal comparison the data of the Agricultural Census Organization has been used.

Land-use classification has been shown in Table 9.4 and Fig. 9.3. The typology is based on the record of the Revenue Department. Its reliability is also questionable because the purpose of the Revenue Department is only to collect land revenue. Fig. 9.3 presents a visual comparison between total reported area of various years as well as major land-use types. The table also shows sub-types. It is obvious that the situation does not show any appreciable improvement. In many cases

deterioration has taken place. Cultivated area has been reduced from 82.5 per cent of farm area in 1980 to 62.2 per cent in 1990. According to more reliable data, it was only 25.3 per cent in 1992. The situation is strangely discouraging in case of current fallow and cultivable area. The land under these types is exactly similar; the only difference is in the time period for which the land was left unsown. In characteristics, this land is exactly similar to the sown land. The land classified as current fallow is cultivated land that is not sown either because of deficiency or non-availability of fertilizer/manure or irrigation water during the cropping season. If this land is not sown for more than one cropping season, in revenue records, the same land is classified as cultivable. It is not sown because of cultural reasons. It is unfortunate that in spite of very high dependency on agriculture, valuable agricultural land is not being sown. The proportion of this land as compared to sown area has increased from 10.9 per cent in 1980 to 20.4 per cent in 1992. Land classified as uncultivable has also increased from 10.5 per cent in 1980 to 72.6 per cent of total farm area in 1992. Field experience shows that if the cultural abstracts are removed a considerable part of this land can also be cultivated. In certain cases land less attractive than this type is being cultivated.

Table 9.4 Land Use 1972-92 (Acres)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Total Farm Area</i>	<i>Cultivated Area</i>	<i>% of Farm Area</i>	<i>Net Sown Area</i>	<i>% of Cultivated Area</i>	<i>Current Fallow</i>	<i>Cultivable area</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1972	632,738	490,332	77.4	-	-	-	32,802
1980	632,680	522,166	82.5	510,050	97.6	12,116	43,538
1990	1,023,116	639,891	62.2	628,331	98.3	15,560	117,739
1992	2,926,348	741,181	25.3	664,822	89.1	76,358	59,348

9	10	11	12	13	14	15
<i>Current Fallow & Cultivable Area</i>	<i>% of Net Sown</i>	<i>Uncultivable & Forest Area</i>	<i>% of Farm Area</i>	<i>Land-Use Intensity</i>	<i>Cropping Intensity</i>	<i>Year</i>
-	-	109,605	17.3	94	146	1970
55,654	10.9	66,976	10.5	92	163	1980
129,299	20.6	265,490	25.9	84.3	157	1990
135,707	20.4	2,125,368	72.6	92	150	1992

Source: Revenue Department, NWFP, Peshawar

Spatial Distribution of Current Fallow and Cultivable Land

This land needs urgent and special attention. Just the removal of some cultural obstacles already discussed can allow valuable crops to be cultivated on this land. Owing to deficiency of financial resources in the private as well as public sector, priorities have to be fixed for maximum return. In fact planning means fixing the priorities. This land deserves top priority. Overall, the proportion of this land in the division is 20.4 per cent of the net sown area (Table 9.4). As is obvious from the table, the acreage as well as proportion of this type of land has doubled from 1980 to 1990 and it further increased in 1992. The trend shows that it is increasing with time.

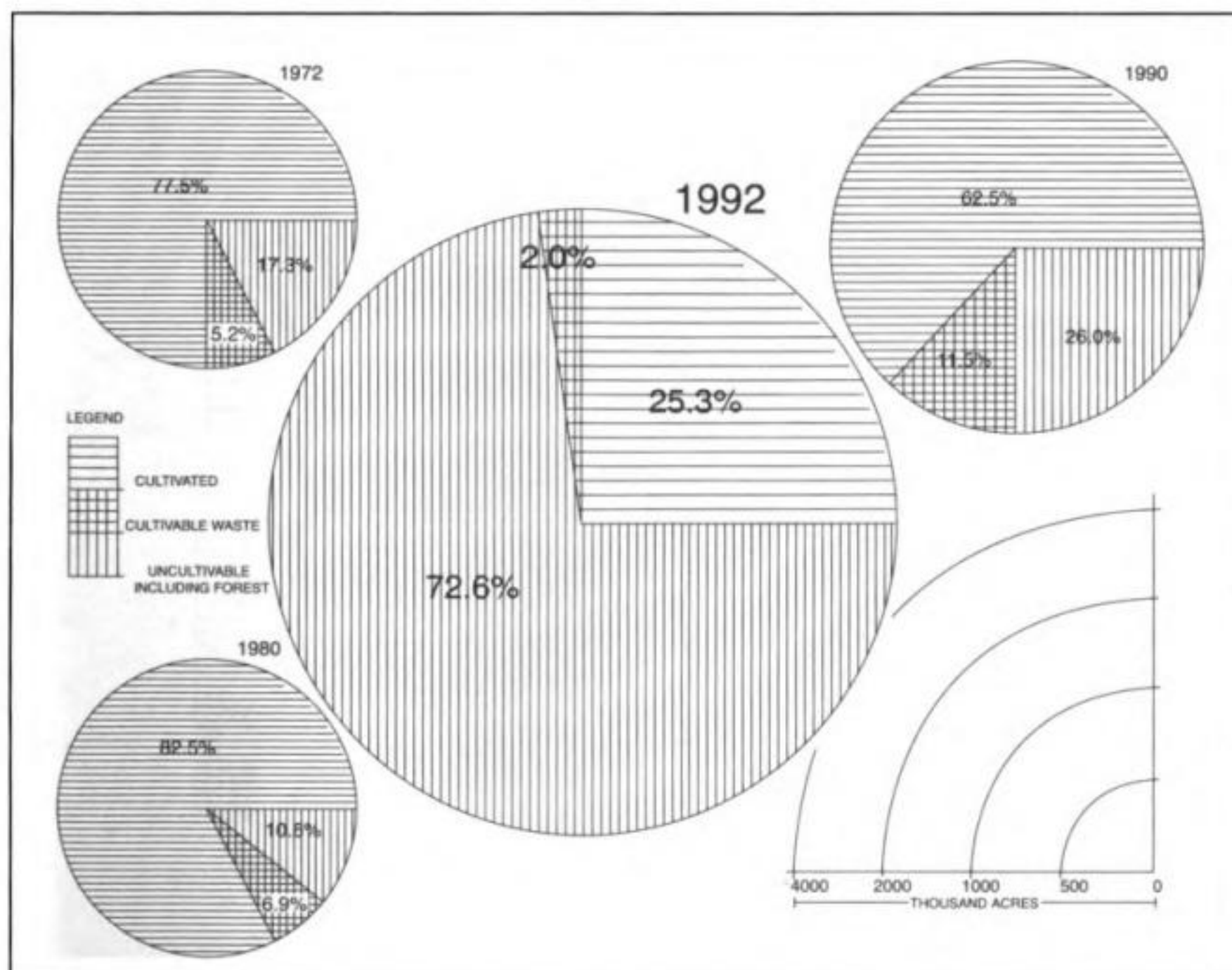
Spatial distribution has been shown on the map (Fig. 9.3). Proportion of cultivable and current fallow land is above forty per cent of net sown land in Mastuj and Dir. Actually, it is

40.5 per cent in Mastuj and 42.4 per cent in Dir. The distribution in other *tehsils* may be seen in the map. The map would provide guidance for fixing priorities for the proper use of valuable agricultural land. The factors which are responsible for the wastage of agricultural resources have been discussed but these are generalized. Which factor or factors are actually effective in which area might be found by further detailed investigation on the *mouza* or even farm level. Such maps may also be made on *mouza* level to provide practical guidance for proper utilization of valuable agricultural land in the study area as well in other areas.

Suggestions

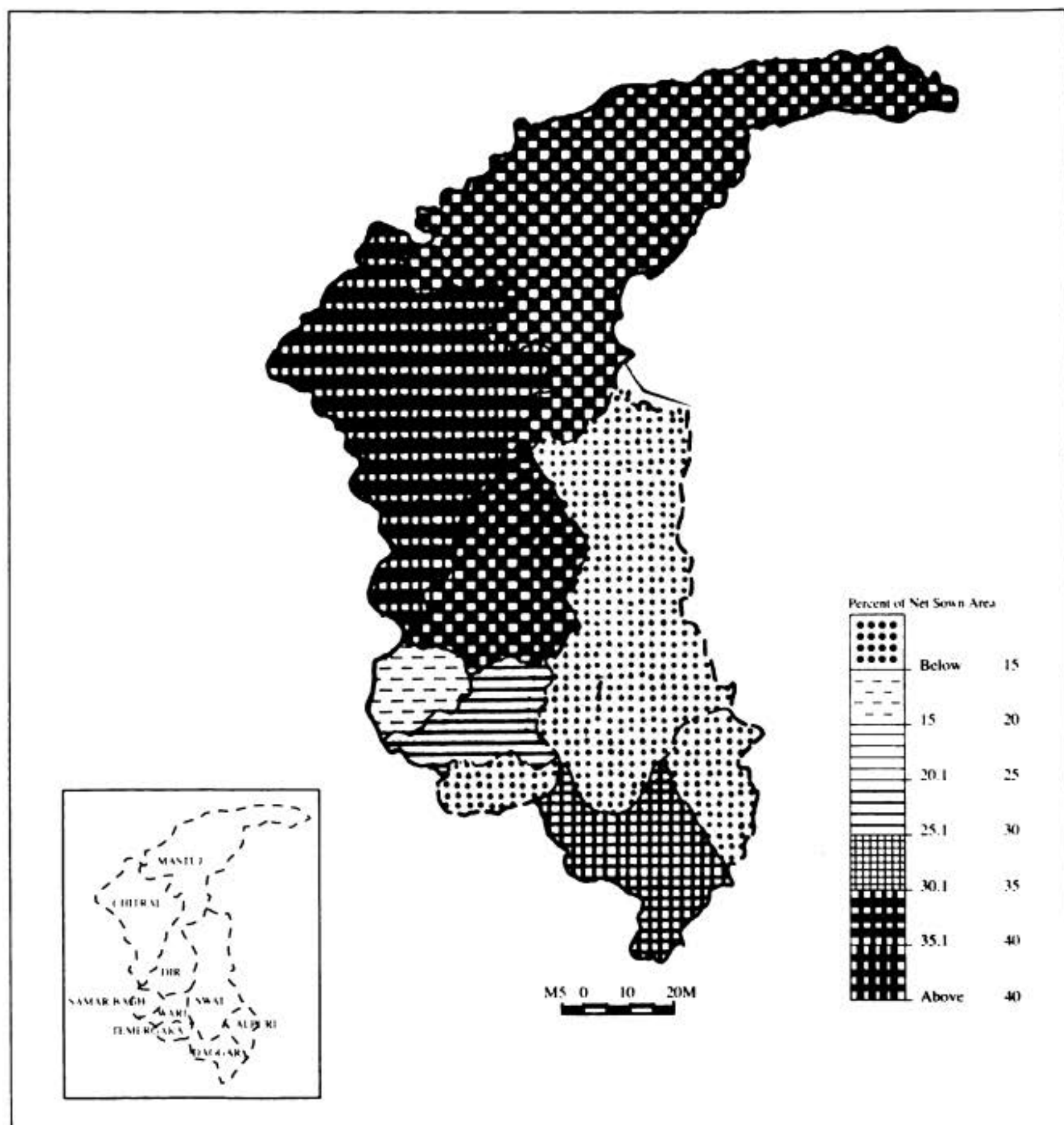
As is obvious from the study, Malakand Division is rich in land resources but is very poor economically. Resources are not being properly utilized; rather, they are being wasted. First of all a complete survey must be carried out by a team of experts from the departments of soil survey, agriculture, animal husbandry, geography, revenue and tourism. Detailed, large-scale maps of the land should be prepared, and accurate data must be made available. Existing land use should be studied and specific recommendations regarding proper use of land should be made after detailed study of the natural and cultural factors that influence land use in different areas.

Fig 9.2 Land Use (1972–92)



Another very important recommendation for this area is encouragement of part-time economic activities like fish farming, poultry farming, bee keeping, and dairy farming on modern lines. Agriculture is a part-time activity and the farmers have sufficient time for other occupations. If proper financial and technical help is extended to them, they can increase their income. Thus they would be able to invest in agriculture to further increase their incomes. The land resources would be properly utilized, the trend of emigration would also be reduced, and many other related problems would be solved. Tourism is becoming very important. As far as possible the local people should be encouraged and involved in this industry. The role of the government should be limited to providing financial and technical assistance and a peaceful environment. If these steps are sincerely taken, land resources would be properly utilized and a revolution would take place in the socio-economic condition of the people.

Fig. 9.3 Cultivable Waste and Current Fallow (1991-92)



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THE IMPACT OF THE KKH ON LAND USE IN THE NORTHERN AREAS

*Parveen Daud Kamal**

Introduction

The Northern Areas remained inaccessible for centuries from the surrounding areas. They were for the first time connected with the rest of the country by an all weather road, the Karakoram Highway (KKH), in the 1970s. The highway has been a very important catalyst of far-reaching changes in the economy and society. Since the construction of the highway, the pace of development has accelerated. The region has been opened up for trade and commerce with the Indus Plain, and also with Xinjiang, China. New employment opportunities have been provided. The region has been opened for tourism. The highway has also opened the area to mechanization of farming, chemical fertilizers, and insecticides, and the introduction of new crops, crop varieties, fruits, and vegetables.

This study is aimed at assessing the impact of the KKH on land use in the newly opened-up region. For this purpose, eight villages have been selected (Fig. 10.1). They have been divided into two groups:

A. Villages along the KKH

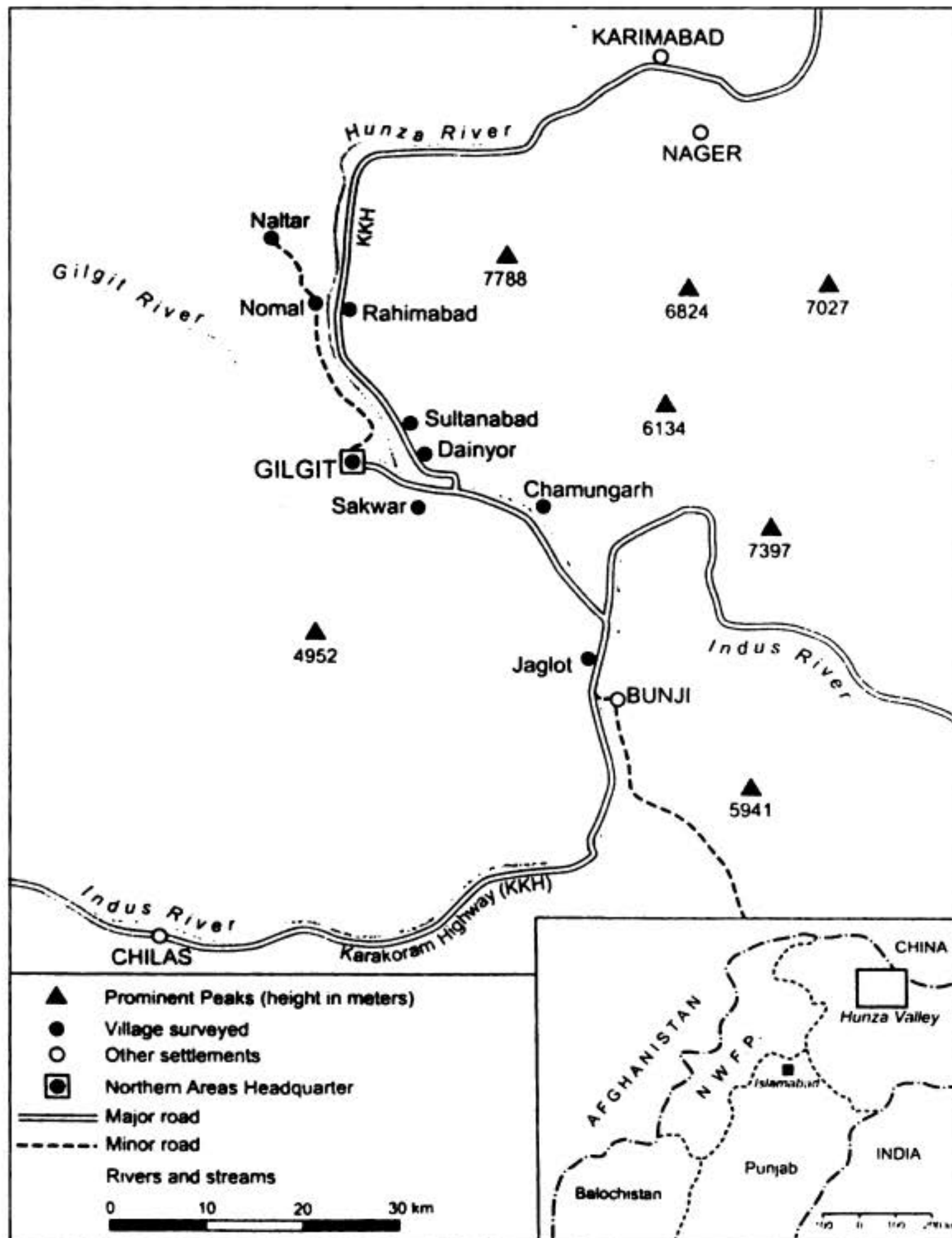
1. Jaglot
2. Dainyor
3. Sultanabad
4. Rahimabad

B. Villages off the KKH

1. Chamungarh
2. Sakwar
3. Nomal
4. Naltar

These villages are situated in Gilgit Agency, which until 1947 was administered by a British political agent stationed in Gilgit. It should be mentioned that in the Northern Areas cadastral surveys and revenue records of the villages were kept within Gilgit Agency only. Ideally, one would have selected sample villages all along the KKH but the lack of revenue data restricted the choice of human settlements.

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Fig. 10.1 Northern Areas—Selected Villages Studied

Methodology

Primary information regarding socio-economic conditions was obtained with the help of a questionnaire. It carried questions regarding population, housing, education, trade, transport, and land use.

Secondary data about land use was obtained from the *tehsildar* and settlement officer in Gilgit. For some villages, data was available from the 1940s, as well as some from the 1960s. (Fortunately, records from 1968 to 1983 were available for all villages.) As the KKH was constructed in 1973, a comparison of the data could be made for pre- and post-KKH periods.

The data collected include the following:

- a. Total area of the village
- b. Cultivated area
- c. Types of cultivated area
- d. Area net sown
- e. Type of crops grown during *rabi* and *kharif* (crop sown before the monsoon to ripen in autumn) seasons
- f. Fallow land
- g. Cultivable waste
- h. Area not available for cultivation

Additional secondary data was obtained from the conservator of forests, Directorate of Agriculture, Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) officers, and the Aga Khan Rural Support Programme (AKRSP) head office, Gilgit.

Field trips were carried out to all villages surveyed. Interviews and discussions were held with the village notables and farmers. Information collected from various agencies was checked in the field. A note was also made of the site of each village, types of soil, and irrigation system.

Description of Villages

Villages along the KKH.

Jaglot

Jaglot (elevation 4000 m), a village of 2609 people, with 330 households, is situated 50 kilometres south of Gilgit, on the KKH. It consists of two parts. The old village, along with farmhouses, and a small shopping centre, is sited on a river terrace, while the new extension is on the lower terrace, along the KKH, with an army camp, a shopping centre, a bus stand, and a number of restaurants.

Jaglot is an important nodal point, wherefrom roads lead to Skardu and Astor. Besides, it is the principal depot for military and civil supplies of the surrounding area. Before the KKH was built, it was connected with Chilas and Gilgit by a jeepable track. Its total area is 212.5 hectares, out of which 77.9 per cent (165.1 ha) is cultivated. Cultivation depends on canal irrigation from Sai Nallah. Nearly 65 per cent of the labour is employed in farming. The non-farm workers (17 %) are employed in the village, the the rest (18 %) work as migrant workers.

There are 140 shops, and ten restaurants. The village is connected with Gilgit and Rawalpindi by bus and wagon service. There are five jeeps, fifteen small Suzuki pickups, and eight private cars in the village. There are also twenty tractors and the same number of thrashers. About 90 per cent of the ploughing is done by tractors. The livestock population consists of 1800 cattle, 3600 goats and sheep, five buffalos, and a single horse.

Maize is the major *kharif* crop, accounting for 63 per cent (188 acres) of the net sown area, followed by fodder (81 acres). Pulses (8.1 acres) and rice (2 acres) are also grown. Fodder (133 acres) and wheat (126 acres) are sown on 64 per cent and 43 per cent of the *rabi* area. Fruit and barley account for only minor acreage.

Dainyor

Dainyor, a large-size settlement (population 6174) is situated on an alluvial fan on the left bank of the Hunza River. The KKH passes through the centre of the village. Gilgit is 12 kilometres by the KKH and 8 kilometres by an alternate road that crosses the Hunza River by a suspension bridge. This road was the only means of communication with Gilgit before the construction of the KKH.

Dainyor constitutes one of the largest green patches of the Hunza valley. The total area is considerably large, i.e., 916.1 hectares; 60 per cent of it is cultivated, and 6 per cent is cultivable waste. Irrigation is carried out by a canal taken out of Dainyor Nallah. Because of its lower elevation, double cropping is carried out.

Maize is the principal *kharif* crop, accounting for 67 per cent (467 acres) of the net sown area. Pulses are grown on 18 per cent of the area. Wheat is grown on 85 per cent (746 acres) of the *rabi* area. Barley acreage (8 acres) is insignificant. But fodder and fruit are important.

Farming has attained a very rapid and high degree of mechanization. There are fifty tractors and an equal number of thrashers. Nearly all the ploughing and thrashing work has been mechanized. A total of 96 per cent of the labour force is employed on farms, and 2.7 per cent in the village, on off-farm jobs, while 1.3 per cent are migrant workers.

The village has 100 Suzuki pickups, 150 jeeps and six wagons. Transport to Gilgit and to the lowlands, as well as to Hunza, is efficient.

There are more than 100 shops, a petrol pump, an Frontier Works Organization (FWO) workshop, and an establishment of the Pakistan Broadcasting Station.

Sultanabad

Sultanabad, previously called Gujar Dass, is a settlement comprising of 1347 people, (170 households) on the KKH. It was founded by Gujarars from Naltar who came to settle here in 1922. In 1932, people from Gilgit as well as Hunza also purchased lands and settled here. The Gujarars form 30 per cent of the population. They practise transhumance. In spring, they, along with their herds of cattle, goat, and sheep, move to Naltar, where they own land and pasture. After harvesting summer crops, they return to Sultanabad in October.

The total area is 487 acres, out of which 60 per cent (293 acres) is cultivated. Nearly a third (153 acres), is cultivable waste. Farming is based on canal irrigation from Dainyor Nallah. In view of very low rainfall, dry farming is not practised.

Land is sown both in *rabi* and *kharif* seasons. Wheat (172 acres) is the major *rabi* crop, maize (86 acres), fodder (21 acres), and pulses are important *kharif* crops.

There are six tractors, which are rented at Rs 150 per hour. There are also an equal number of thrashers. Both ploughing and thrashing are entirely mechanized. Gilgit is only 10 kilometres away by the KKH. Buses and wagons ply the road nearly the whole day. The residents also own twenty-five Suzuki pickups and twenty jeeps, which carry passengers and goods up and down Hunza valley.

The village has a relatively large number of livestock. This includes 3000 cattle, 5000 goats and sheep, twenty-five donkeys, and twenty horses. The bulk of the animals are moved up to summer pasture in the Naltar valley. Butter, *ghee*, and some other milk products are produced, and mostly consumed locally, the surplus being sold in Gilgit. The goat's hair and sheep's wool are used for making *chogas*, sweaters, and other woollen garments. This cottage industry has suffered a serious setback due to the cheaper factory-made woollen products that are now available. Most of the goat's hair and sheep's wool are now sold in Gilgit.

Rahimabad

Rahimabad, previously called Matun Das, is 38 kilometres from Gilgit on the KKH. A Burushaski speaking village of 1241 people (172 households), it lies on an alluvial fan and a river terrace. The total area is 242.9 hectares; 40 per cent of it (97.5 ha) is cultivated, while 11 per cent (267 ha) is cultivable waste. Dry farming is not possible, and every bit of the cultivated land has to be irrigated. The land is double-cropped. Wheat is grown on 71 per cent (12 acres) of the *rabi* net sown area, followed by fruit (25 acres), and fodder (17 acres). Maize is grown on 76 per cent (118 acres) of the *kharif* net sown area. In addition to fodder and vegetables (11.7 acres each), pulses (10 acres) are also grown. Ninety per cent of the workers are employed on their own farms, while 10 per cent are engaged in off-farm activities. There are three tractors and three thrashers. The entire ploughing and thrashing is mechanized. The use of chemical fertilizer is becoming popular and common. There is regular traffic to and from the village up and down the valley. Besides the vehicles from outside, five Suzuki pickups and seven jeeps belonging to the village ply the KKH.

The livestock is conspicuous by the absence of donkeys and horses, and the relatively large number of cattle (2000) and sheep and goats (3500). The livestock is taken in summers up to the Alpine pastures.

Villages off the KKH*Chamungarh*

Chamungarh is situated on an alluvial fan on the left bank of the Gilgit River, 28 kilometres southeast of Gilgit. As the KKH follows the right bank of the river, it was not connected with it until the construction of a suspension bridge across the river in 1988.

This village of 1290 people and 150 households is inhabited by Kohistanis, that settled here at the end of the nineteenth century. It is rather a small-sized village, with a total area of 34.2 hectares; nearly half of it (i.e., 69.6 ha) is cultivated. Farming depends entirely on irrigation from Batkor Gah, but water supply is extremely limited, and very erratic in some parts of the year. Above the village are the remains of an abandoned settlement named Dala Das, which was a flourishing village till its canal irrigation system was disrupted due to changes in the discharge of the Batkor Gah.

The village has a couple of shops, a middle school, and a daily wagon service to Gilgit. Maize is grown over 77 per cent (703 acres) and fodder over 26 per cent (188 acres) of the *kharif* net sown area. Wheat dominates *rabi* crops, accounting for 72 per cent of the net sown area. Fodder and fruit are of minor importance.

Sakwar

Sakwar lies on the apex of a huge fan that stretches from the southern Karakoram mountains as far as the Gilgit River. A small-size settlement of 965 people (123 households), it is 3 kilometres south of the KKH, and connected to it by a jeepable track. This is the nearest to Gilgit of the eight villages (9 km) studied during the survey. The total area is 576 hectares, out of which 25 per cent or 147 hectares, is cultivated and 19 per cent (110 ha) cultivable waste. The entire farming is based on irrigation from Sakwar Nallah, which depends on the melt-water from glaciers. It is susceptible to variation in discharge.

In winter and early spring, water discharge is very low, and restricts farming. A total of 98 per cent of the working force is employed on the farm. The village possesses eight tractors and thrashers. Ploughing and thrashing have been entirely mechanized. The use of chemical fertilizers is common.

Kharif is dominated by maize (116 acres) and pulses (26 acres). The two account for 82 per cent of the total net sown area. Wheat accounts for 63 per cent (109 acres) of the *rabi* sown area. Fodder comes next in importance, followed by fruit and vegetables.

The livestock population consists of 200 cattle, 450 goats and sheep, and ten donkeys. There are no horses. There is a wagon which plies between the village and Gilgit, and a jeep for the transport of goods. Surplus fruit and vegetables are sold in the Gilgit market.

Nomal

Nomal was a village of considerable importance on the old Hunza valley jeepable road, before the construction of the KKH. It is not connected to the KKH directly, as it is on the right side of the Hunza River, and the highway follows its left side. The village is connected to Gilgit by a 20 kilometre long jeepable road on which jeeps, wagons, and buses ply.

Nomal is a large-size village of 3603 people, belonging to a Burushaski speaking community of Shias. It is the last village of the British Gilgit Agency along the Hunza River. Nomal is situated on a number of alluvial fans and river terraces. Cultivation has also been attempted on the flood plain of the Hunza River, but without much success. The total area is 228 hectares; 38 per cent (88.5 ha) of it is cultivated. Orchards (4 ha) are an important part of land use. It is a double-cropped village. Besides wheat (213 acres) and maize 237 acres), rice (6.3 acres) is also cultivated. Nomal cherries are famous throughout the Northern Areas for their taste and form an important cash crop.

The non-farm workers constitute 8.3 per cent of the total labour force. The rest are employed by farms. The village has a small shopping area, with thirty-five shops. There are secondary schools for boys and girls, a dispensary, and a post office. The village is supplied with power, from a hydel station on the Naltar River.

Mechanization of agriculture has made rapid progress. There are six tractors and an equal number of thrashers. All ploughing and thrashing is mechanized, sparing a lot of labour for off-farm jobs. It has also resulted in the dislocation of ploughing and thrashing animals.

The village possesses ten jeeps and three buses, which ply the Gilgit route. The livestock consists of 1500 cattle, 1000 sheep and goats, eight horses, and nearly 400 donkeys. The dependence on livestock is on the decline; therefore, they are losing their importance.

Naltar

Naltar, situated at a height of 10,000 feet, is connected to Gilgit by a 35 kilometre long jeepable road via Nomal. Its population of 730 is entirely composed of Gujars. Nearly half of the people migrate to Sultanabad in winter. Naltar is characterized by a long winter season with snow and frost. It has a growing period of 190 days that prohibits farming in winter. It is a single-cropped area. Out of the total geographic area of 182.2 hectares, 30 per cent is cultivated. Wheat (161 acres) and maize (23 acres) are the dominant summer crops while seed potato is assuming considerable importance. Land is profusely treated with farmyard manure and also by chemical fertilizers. The village possesses only one tractor, but tractors are hired from Nomal and nearby villages. About 50 per cent of ploughing and thrashing is mechanized.

The village possesses wide expanses of Alpine pastures. Dairy farming is an important component of the economy. In all, there are 2500 cattle, 5500 goats and sheep, and 130 yaks. Dairy products are consumed locally and also sold outside. Road transport is maintained by a fleet of seven jeeps throughout the year. With a cool and bracing climate in summer, a rich pine and spruce forest and Alpine pasture, Naltar offers abundant potential for tourism development.

4. Impact of the KKH on Land Use

The KKH has brought a number of changes in land use. Some of the significant changes will now be examined.

Cultivated Area

The cultivated area in the villages along and off the KKH shows no significant changes after the construction of the highway. Only Sultanabad has shown an increase of 39 acres and that too as a result of the construction of a new canal.

It brings out the fact that cultivated land in the area is very limited. Mechanics of bringing additional land under cultivation are few, unless irrigation facilities can be provided. In most cases, existing irrigation facilities can be improved only. In the villages along the KKH, cultivated land has shown a slight drop, because the highway has been constructed through and on the cultivated land. In the case of Dainyor, an FWO workshop, shops, a petrol pump, a flour mill, and the Gilgit Broadcasting Station have been built on the cultivated land, contributing to a loss of considerable cultivated area.

Net Sown Area

Rabi

The net sown area has generally increased in the villages along the KKH. The increase is small in the case of Jaglot, but very pronounced in Sultanabad and Rahimabad. This is a response to the application of chemical fertilizer, and the introduction of dwarf varieties of wheat. The slight decrease in Dainyor may be due to a rapid decrease in the barley acreage.

In the off-KKH villages, the net sown area with the exception of Chamungarh has dropped. This is perhaps due to a decrease in the barley acreage. Chamungarh shows a slight increase, which may be due to the replacement of barley by wheat and the use of chemical fertilizers, easily available from the Gilgit market only 7 kilometres away.

Kharif

The *kharif* net sown area in the case of villages along the KKH shows a slight rise. This is a result of an increase in maize acreage, which obviously has been achieved because of the increasing use of chemical fertilizers and the availability of marketing facilities.

In the off-KKH villages, the net sown area has shown a fall after the construction of the KKH, due to the fact that the cultivation of pulses has been generally reduced.

Cropping Pattern

Among the *rabi* crops, wheat (Fig. 10.2) has shown considerable increase in all villages along the KKH. Among these the greatest increase has been recorded in Sultanabad. This is partly because in these villages barley has been completely replaced by wheat. Chemical fertilizers are used to bring relatively infertile land under wheat. In three villages off the KKH wheat acreage has dropped. Barley (Fig. 10.3) has suffered a drastic reduction. It has been completely eliminated in two villages, Sultanabad and Sakwar, and drastically reduced in all others. This is in response to the introduction of the dwarf varieties of wheat, which mature as quickly as barley, but yield more grains as well as the fact that it is not economical to use chemical fertilizer on barley. There is also a change in food habits from barley to wheat.

Fig. 10.2 Change in Wheat Acreage

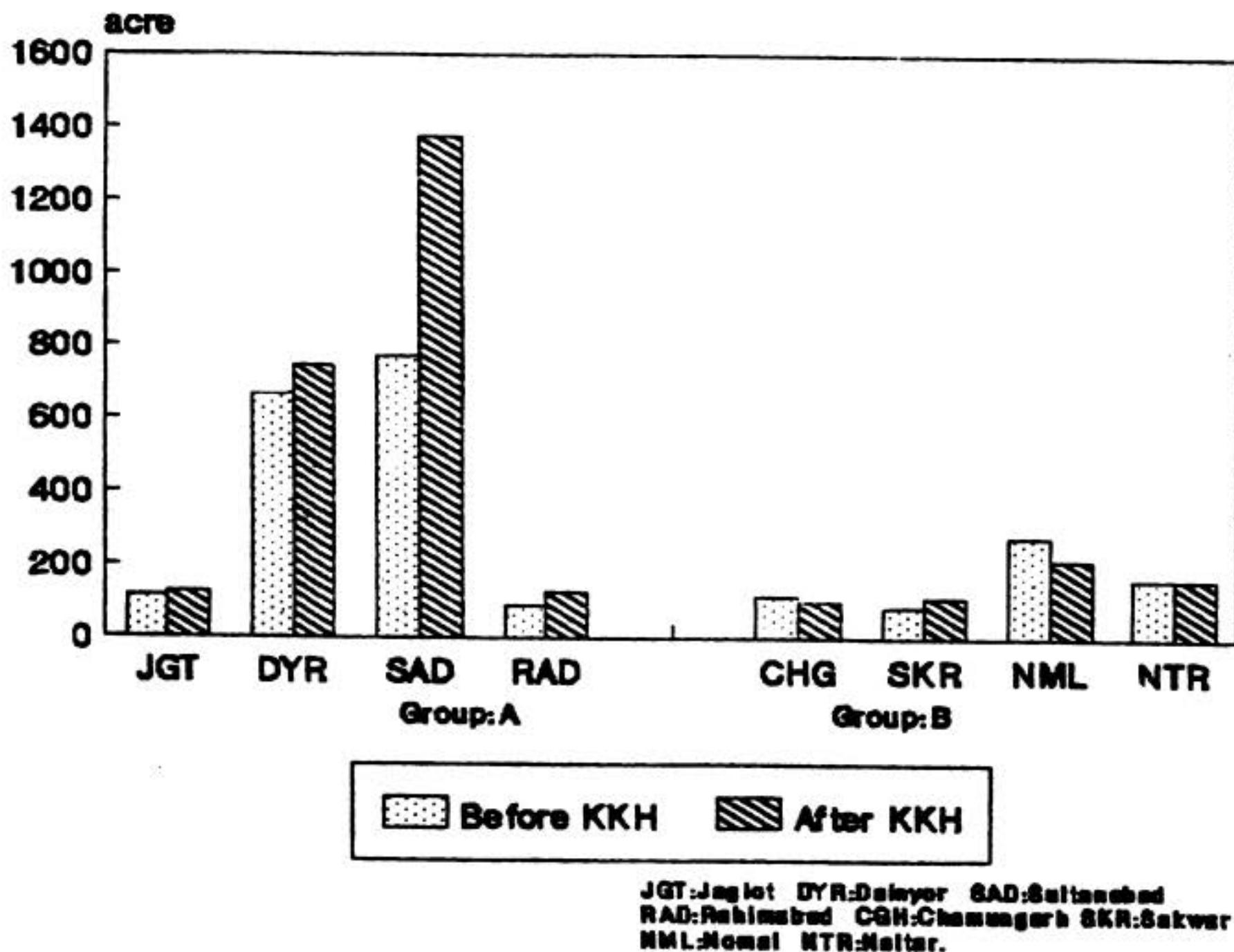
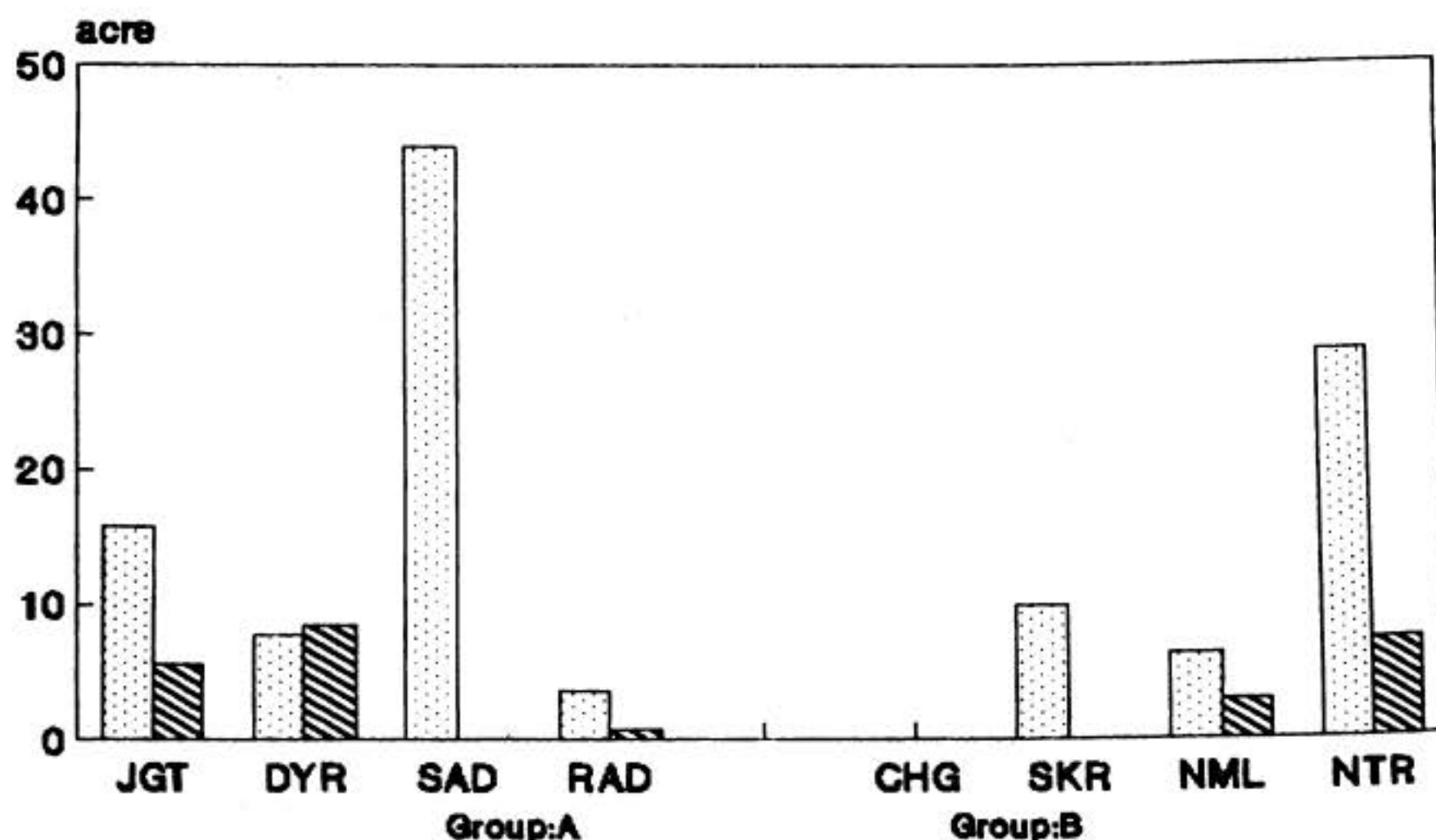


Fig. 10.3 Change in Barley Acreage

Among *kharif* crops, maize (Fig. 10.4) acreage has increased in the villages on the KKH, but slightly decreased in the villages away from the KKH. The former is due to a switchover from pulses and rice to maize. In the latter case, the decrease is due to the following factors: firstly, pulses are still grown as important *kharif* crops, and secondly, there is now a shift from maize to fruit orchards. There is also emphasis on a more judicious use of water.

Rice (Fig. 10.5) has experienced drastic reduction in the two categories of villages. Rice is a labour intensive and water demanding crop. As cheap and good quality rice from Punjab is now easily available in the local market, emphasis on rice has sharply declined. It has been completely eliminated from two villages, Dainyor and Sultanabad. Jaglot and Nomal have recorded a marked fall in rice acreage. Nomal, however, has been able to retain some acreage due to its reputation for producing high quality rice.

Fig. 10.4 Change in Maize Acreage

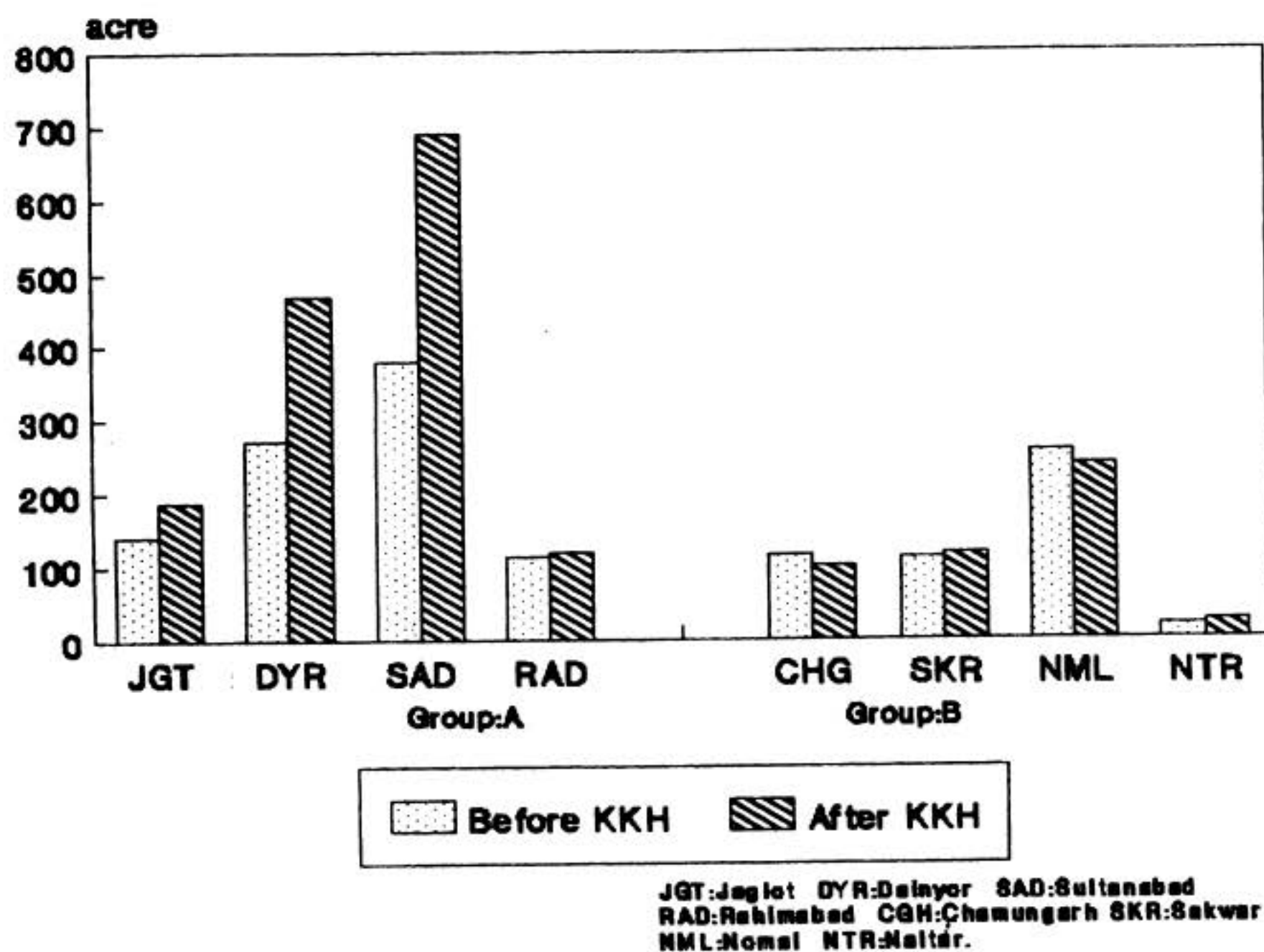
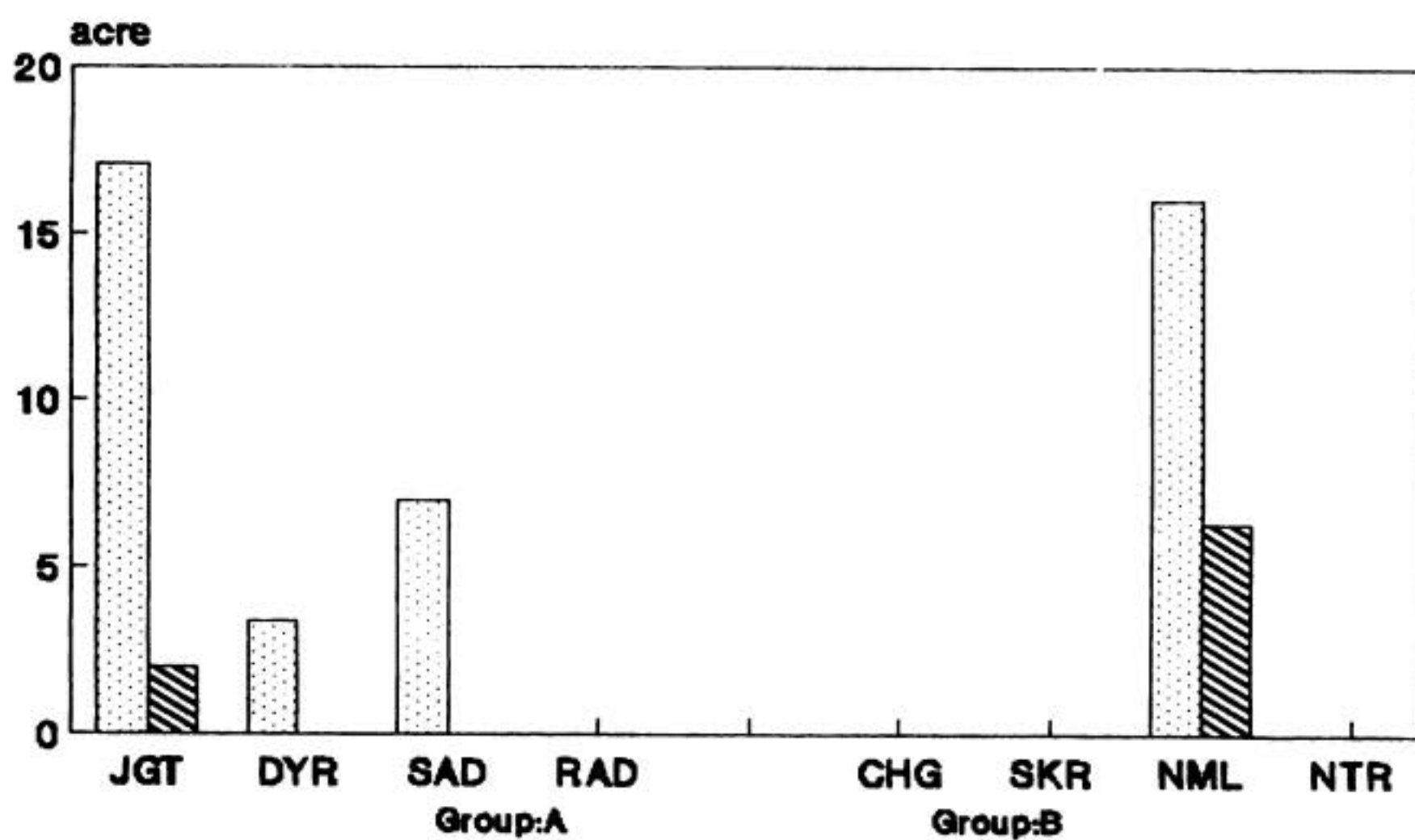
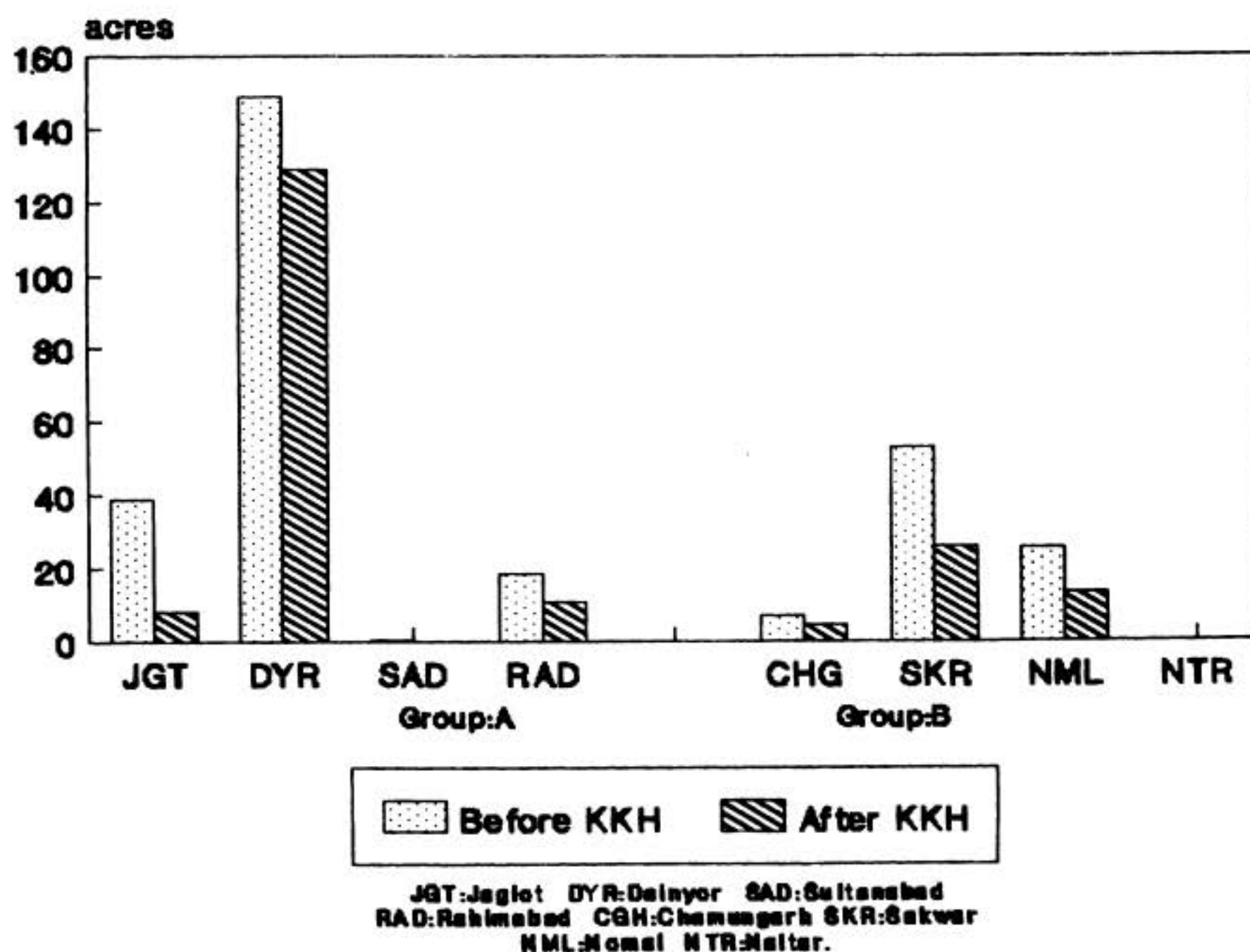


Fig. 10.5 Change in Rice Acreage



Pulses (Fig. 10.6) have also recorded a decline in all villages. They used to be grown on infertile soils which are now heavily manured by chemical fertilizers. The income from the competing crops, like maize, fodder, and vegetables, is far higher than that from pulses. So there has been a shift from pulses to maize and other crops. Another factor is that pulses from Punjab are available cheaply. There is also a change in food habits; therefore, a gradual shift has taken place from pulses to vegetables.

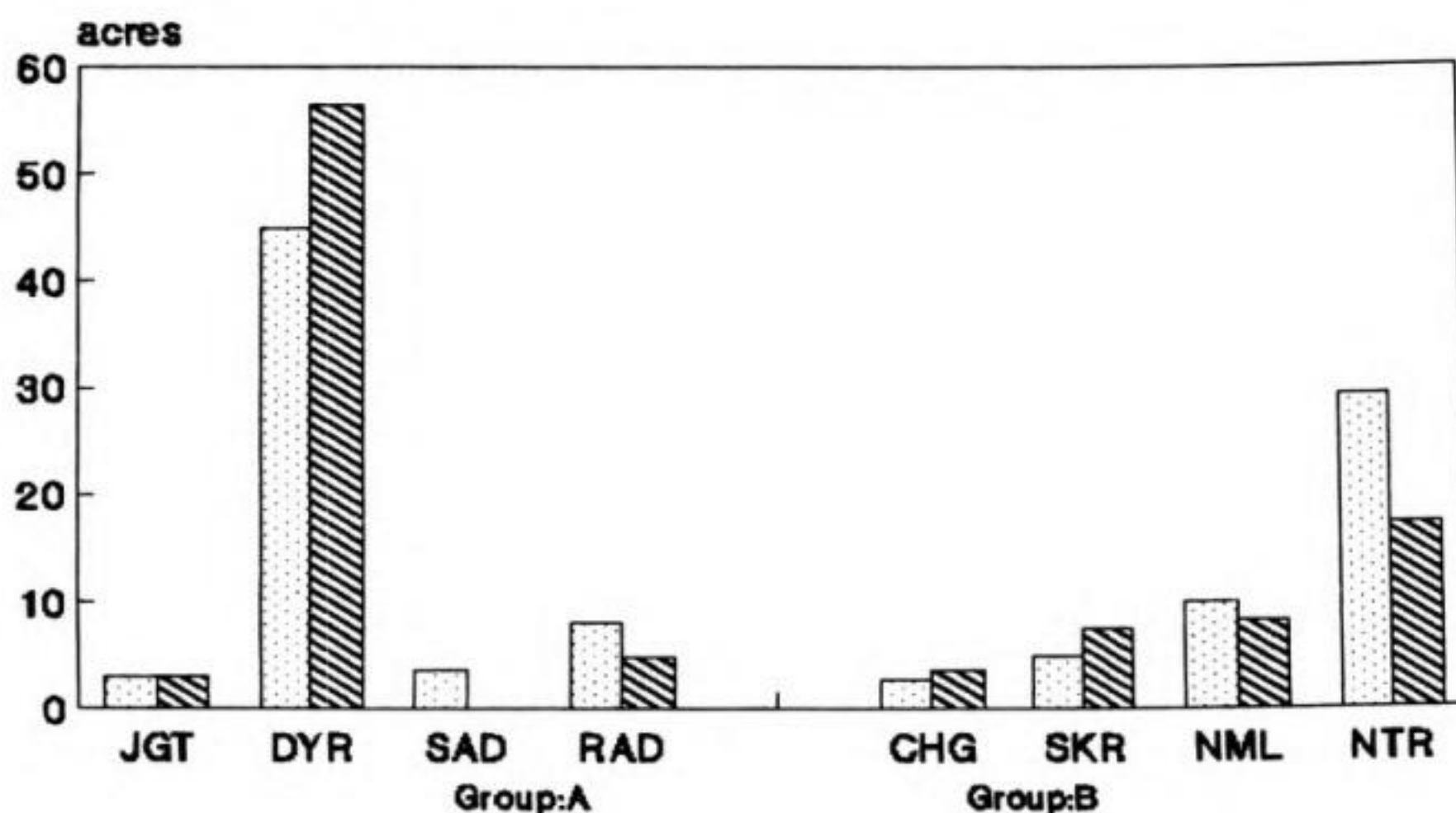
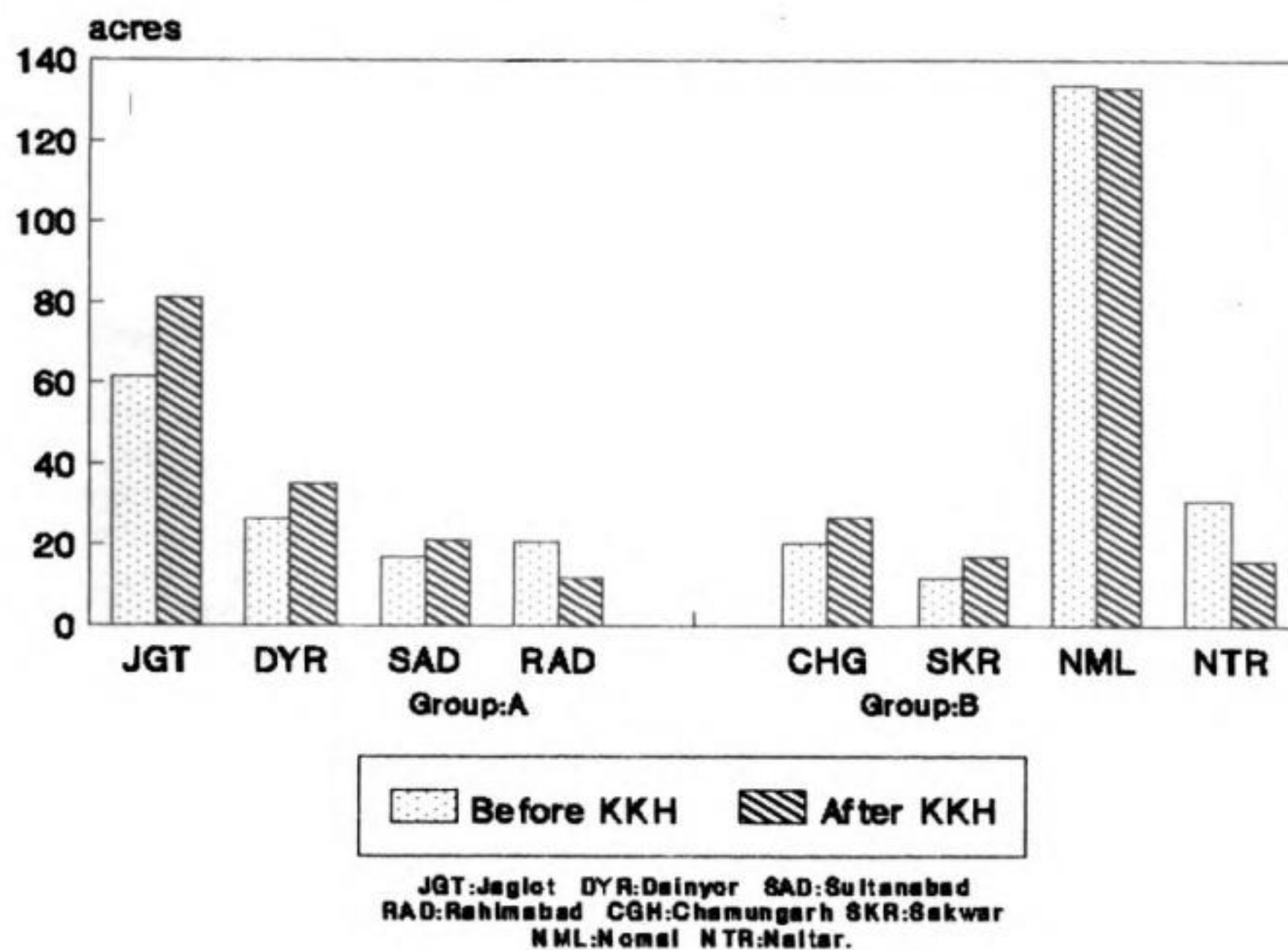
Fig. 10.6 Change in Pulses Acreage



Vegetables have recorded a sharp rise in all villages, but more particularly in villages along the KKH because they are easily transported to Gilgit and other markets.

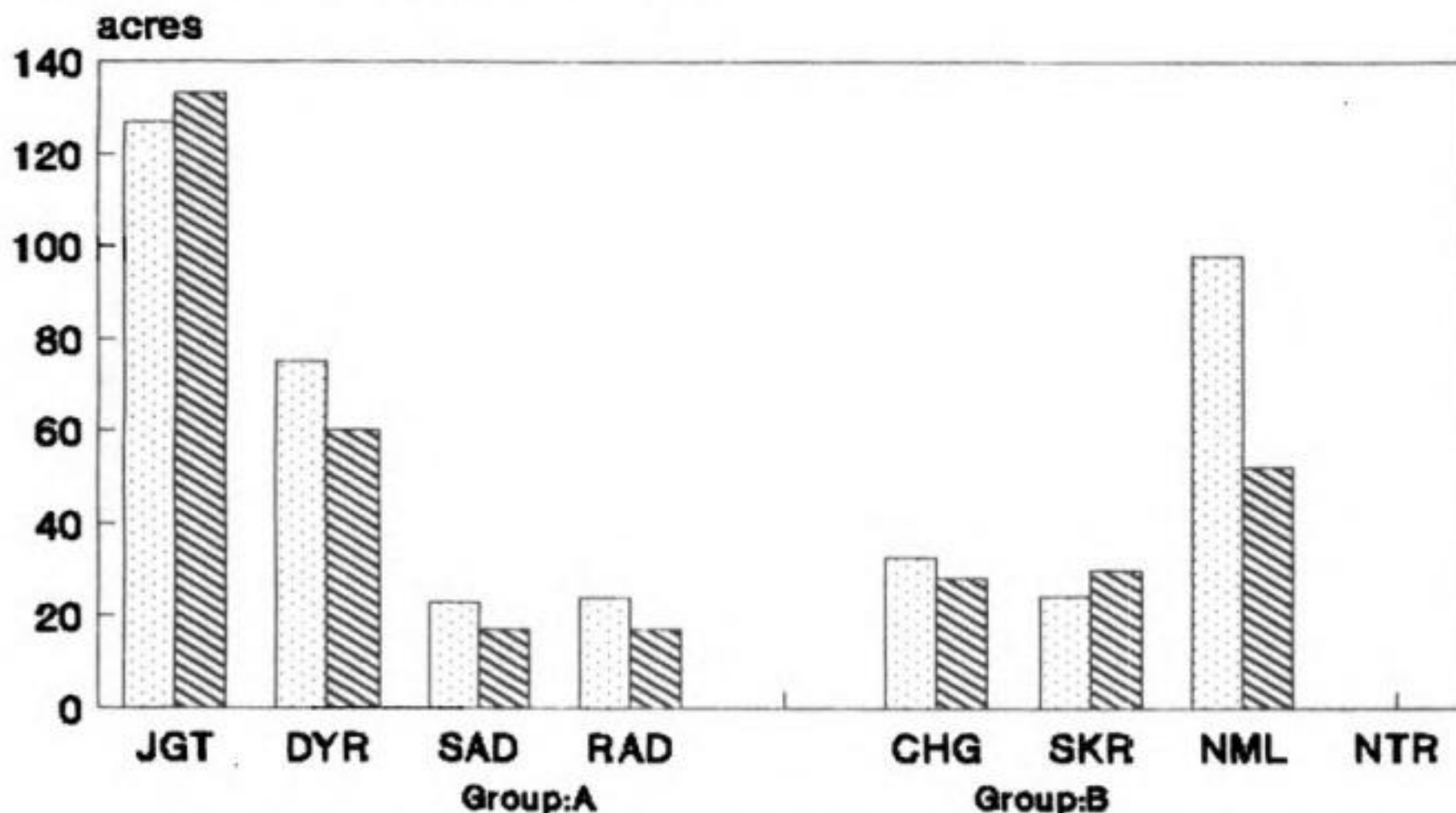
Changes in the *kharif* vegetable acreage (Fig. 10.7) are not very significant. Rahimabad, along the highway, and Nomal and Naltar, away from the highway, have shown a slight fall in the acreage, while Jaglot shows no change. Dainyor and Sakwar, both adjacent to Gilgit, have shown a slight increase in the vegetable acreage.

Fig. 10.7 Change in Vegetables Acreage

Fig. 10.8 Change in Fodder (*Kharif*) Acreage

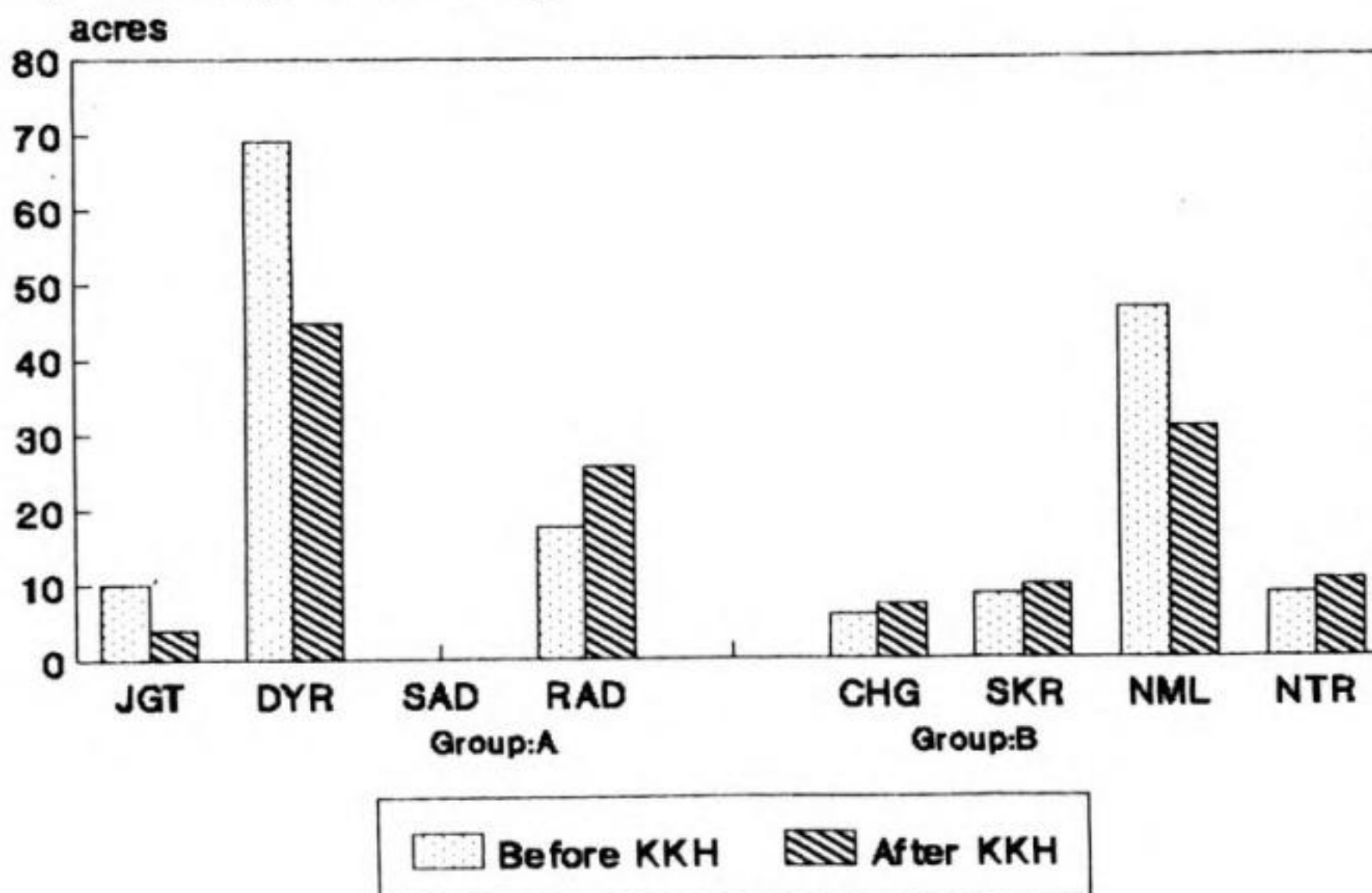
Fodder (*kharif*) (Fig 10.8) has shown a general increase in Group A villages, and some changes in Group B. Fodder (*rabi*) (Fig 10.9) has shown an overall decline in villages both along and off the highway because it has shifted to the *kharif* season.

Fig. 10.9 Change in Fodder (*Rabi*) Acreage



Fruit (*rabi*) (Fig. 10.10) has diminished in Group A villages, because land is now given to wheat. In Group B, only Nomal has shown a slight decline in fruit acreage; all others have shown some increase.

Fig. 10.10 Change in Fruit Acreage



Vegetables (*rabi*) in the villages along the highway have increased in response to urban needs. Sakwar, close to Gilgit, has recorded a slight increase. All other villages show a decrease. Naltar is a single-cropped area and has no *rabi* vegetables.

Chemical Fertilizers

The use of chemical fertilizers were not known in the region before the KKH. With the exception of Naltar, nearly 100 per cent of farmers in every village now use chemical fertilizers. Urea and nitrophos are commonly used, while in one village, Dainyor, nitrate is also used. The price of a bag varies from 200 to 250 rupees. In 1992, Dainyor alone consumed 2800 bags of fertilizer. It is used for a number of crops, but wheat is the most favoured one.

Mechanization

Before the KKH, farming in the Northern Areas was manual and oxen were used for ploughing and thrashing. Since 1973, when the first tractor arrived in Dainyor, it has increasingly been used for ploughing and thrashing. Nearly 100 per cent of the farmers use it for farming. The total number of tractors in the eight villages is ninety-eight. The largest number, that is fifty, are in Dainyor. Mechanization has had the following impacts:

- a. Animals used for ploughing and thrashing have been reduced in number.
- b. Farm labour previously used for ploughing and thrashing is now available for off-farm employment.
- c. Productivity of land has increased.
- d. The size of fields has been enlarged for the economic use of tractors.
- e. As a result of the off-farm income, cultivated waste and fallow land has been brought under the plough, resulting in an increase in the net sown area.

New Crops and Crop Varieties

A number of new crops, fruits, and vegetables have been introduced. They include seed potato, introduced by Integrated Regional Development Programme (IRDP) in the 1980s and occupying a large *kharif* acreage. The potatoes are consumed locally as food and also sold to traders from the NWFP and Punjab. They bring about Rs 200 to Rs 300 per bag, and have great economic potential.

Vegetables

A number of vegetables have been introduced by the IRDP and FAO since 1982. These include: peas, which give two crops a year, raddish, asparagus, broccoli, brussel sprouts, red and yellow onion, and capsicum (sweet pepper). These are slowly gaining popularity among farmers.

Peas mat for instance, are planted in March and are ready in July. They yields an income of Rs 5000 per *kanal* ($\frac{1}{8}$ acres).

Fruit

A number of fruit varieties have been introduced by the IRDP. They include Red Delicious and Golden Delicious varieties of apples, introduced in 1982–83. Recently Stark Delicious has also been introduced. Two varieties of cherries were introduced in 1983. They have now almost replaced the local varieties. These include Napoleon (red) and Early River (black). Recently, two new varieties, Being and Talariam, have been introduced.

Improved varieties of pears and peaches have been introduced. Also, seedless grapes have been brought in from Quetta. Two new varieties of strawberry—Red Gauntlet and Gorilla, were introduced in 1982. Likewise, red currants and gooseberries have been introduced since 1982–83.

Market Availability

1. The KKH has opened the area for tourism, business, and commerce to the Indus Basin. Rice, wheat, and pulses can be transported to the Northern Areas from Punjab. Dried fruit, and in some cases, even fresh fruit is brought down to the NWFP and Punjab.
2. A number of markets are now available for the consumption of farm products. These include Gilgit, Jaglot, Aliabad, Rahimabad, and Sost. These centres, in addition to the garrison population, are also visited by Pakistani and foreign tourists. Tourists hotels, which mostly consume locally produced fruits and vegetables, have sprung up along the KKH.

Use of Insecticides

1. The use of insecticide was popularized by various agencies after the KKH came into being. The farmers' response has been very good. The insecticides have been sold on subsidized rates; yet, owing to the low return to the farmers, their use has not been as popular as that of chemical fertilizers.

Tenure System

In the Northern Areas, nearly every household has a piece of cultivated land. Until recently, land was cultivated jointly by the family. The owners were the tillers. With the opening of off-farm job opportunities, land is now being leased. In some cases, farm workers are now being employed on wages.

Conclusion

The study brings to light a number of significant changes in land use in the Northern Areas consequent upon the construction of the KKH. It shows quite clearly that the villages situated on the KKH have benefited more because of their advantageous situation compared to those which lie off the main highway. One can easily assume that the KKH is going to play a vital

role in effecting changes in the socio-economic and political patterns of the region in the years to come.

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SUSTAINABILITY INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE SYSTEM—TRADITIONAL LAND USES IN THE NORTHERN AREAS OF PAKISTAN AS AN EXAMPLE

*Eckart Ehlers**

Introduction

Discussions about global environmental change and preservation of the earth's natural and cultural diversity have reached a point where new concepts and strategies include the renaissance of experiences from the past. While this obvious contradiction can surely not be labelled as a programme for modernization at large, it is equally obvious that at least certain local or regional experiences are worth rediscovery. This holds true also for aspects of agriculture and pastoralism in remote and ecologically fragile areas. Both terms—sustainability and indigenous knowledge systems—are well-suited for understanding the fact that the high mountain areas of Northern Pakistan have maintained a rural population over centuries. In spite of extreme natural hazards and an overall harsh environment, local populations have developed cultural and social practices that have enabled them to make a 'creative adjustment' and survive.

It is the intention of the following deliberations to discuss concepts of sustainability and of indigenous knowledge systems in regard to traditional land-use patterns in the Northern Areas of Pakistan. Before doing so, however, a few preliminary remarks in regard to both concepts may be appropriate.

Sustainability and Indigenous Knowledge Systems

Since the publication of the Brundtland Report on *Our Common Future* (1987) the discussion on sustainability has experienced what one might call an inflationary development: 'Enduring development is development which meets the needs of the present without taking the risk that future generations will not be able to meet their needs' (Brundtland Report 1987). This by now almost classic definition has occasioned overt false labelling, encouraged by the almost universal use and applicability of the term (Vosti et al. 1991, especially Ruttan in the latter!), but it has also revealed new aspects and ways of interpreting the reality of development theory and practice. The fact that indicators for sustainability have been developed for almost all purposes is both intriguing and confusing (cf. Moldan & Billharz 1997). This statement applies without reservation also to geographic issues.

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There can be no dispute that we need ecologically oriented ways of thinking and patterns of action, and that these should proceed not from a local or regional but from a global perspective. The progressive condensation, as well as integration, of time and space and human beings' tightening bondage to the environment, call for new future and future-oriented concepts of environmental conservation and development work. This not only means reducing the demands and environmental consumption associated with the highly complex systems of the industrialized countries (Dietz et al. 1992) but also addresses the regions and societies of the so-called third world.

One should not forget amid all these considerations that the term 'environment' is also currently subject to rationalization, that is coming to be used in the sense of an object or thing. As history has taught us time and again, this is the doing of our own Western and 'capitalistic' society with its specifically European and/or American system of values and norms. Nature and the environment are increasingly being understood and interpreted as an economic 'commodity', that is, subject to the principle of supply and demand and to be treated accordingly. Environmental economy—environmental damage—environmental management: this and other vocabulary reflect the new 'soberness' typical of environmental discussions centring on sustainability.

This sort of conception of the environment is highly questionable, as can be seen from the countless failures of large-scale Western-style development projects in African, Asian, and Latin American countries. Thus, the conceptual shift in the development discussion from recuperative to sustainable development has almost itself drawn attention to traditional systems of land use and led to a deepened analysis of indigenous, ecologically well-adapted farming methods, for example in agriculture and animal husbandry. The fact that many of today's 'problem regions' were for centuries or even millennia in more or less permanent use without loss of productivity gives us food for thought. This reorientation is incidentally paralleled in Western societies by the return to traditional forms of land use and soil management.

Although not as conspicuous as the term sustainability, traditional and indigenous knowledge systems also seem to be in vogue. Recent years have shown a remarkable revival of interest in these phenomena, land-use practices being a major component of this revival. Publications like those of Brokensha et al. (1980) or those of Warren et al. (1995) reveal the development aspects of indigenous knowledge systems and their importance for sustainable land use and land management. The UNESCO's *World Culture Report* (1998), its first ever, is probably the most convincing testimony to this growing interest.

A very general definition of 'indigenous knowledge' reads as follows: '...The local knowledge that is unique to a given culture or society contrasts with the international knowledge system which is generated through the global network of universities and research institutes. Indigenous knowledge is important as it forms the information base for a society which facilitates communication and decision-making' (Warren et al. 1995: XV). While this general definition may not be very helpful in our specific context, it is undisputed, however, that indigenous knowledge systems go far beyond the traditional local land-use systems as such—be they well-adapted or not! Indigenous knowledge systems pertain to:

- indigenous decision making processes,
- indigenous (social) organizations and institutions, and
- indigenous technical knowledge.

Thus, they constitute a wide range of accumulated and inherited wisdom that constitutes an indispensable part of traditional adaptation to and successful coping with harsh and marginal environments. This holds true for the Northern Areas of Pakistan.

Sustainability, Indigenous Knowledge Systems, and the Problem of Marginal Areas

Before we go into a somewhat detailed presentation of one or two concrete examples from the remote areas of Northern Pakistan, it may be appropriate to reflect on the specific character of both marginal and peripheral regions in which sustainability and indigenous knowledge systems seem to play a very specific and prominent role. Marginal and peripheral regions, by their very nature and location, tend to be those where innovations arrive later and where traditions survive longer and more profoundly than elsewhere.

The conditions prevailing in marginal regions and on the fringes of the oecumene are altogether different from those in core regions of social and economic development. Here, we find populations which are still wholly or at least partly dissociated from the conditions of the world market and for the most part live on subsistence farming or other forms of economy. In predominantly rural areas, there are next to no resource potentials beside crop farming and animal husbandry which could offer an additional source of income. Here, often within very confined spaces, the traditional temporal and spatial organization principles which have proven their worth in subsistence farming still play the same decisive role they have in the past: the finely adjusted incorporation and utilization of all the available, spatially often remote, resources through the course of the year into one household economy is becoming more and more a vital necessity for the populations concerned, especially for fast-growing populations. Their way of organizing spatially differentiated resources and their temporally differentiated use of these resources, both of which are governed by rationales specific to their cultural sphere as well as by economic constraints, ensure their subsistence at a 'low' level of material wealth.

As discussed in more detail in earlier publications (Ehlers 1996, 1997b), traditional societies with prevailing subsistence farming, a high growth rate, and lack of non-agrarian resources basically have only three directions in which to develop:

- Population growth and declining standard of living
- Stagnation in both population and standard of living
- Population decline and growing standard of living

Without our going into further details of these interrelationships, it should be self-evident that a careful and sustainable management of marginal and peripheral regions is not only in the interest of their inhabitants, but also their specific fore- and hinterlands, with which they interact ecologically and economically. Strategies in coping with obvious discrepancies between population growth and a definite limitation in the carrying capacity of a certain region include:

- intensified use of cropping resources,
- organization changes in land use through the optimization of spatial and temporal resources,
- tapping of new economic potentials and the concomitant ecological degradation of their natural basis,
- emigration, and
- import of new and/or non-agrarian economic activities.

It goes without saying that constraints and problems resulting from the obvious discrepancy between a rapidly increasing population and equally rapidly decreasing resource potential become especially apparent in both marginal and peripheral areas. Some of the physical, ecological, and socio-economic handicaps of such regions have been compiled in Fig. 11.1.

Fig. 11.1 Physical, Ecological, and Socio-economic Handicaps

<i>Physical and Ecological Factors (Selection)</i>	<i>Socio-economic Factors (Selection)</i>
Location	Tenure and Property
Isolation	Size of farming enterprises
Distance from markets	Law of inheritance
Accessibility	Field patterns/fragmentation of fields
Environment	Work Force
Topography/relief	Education
Climate	Income from extra-agricultural sources
—Precipitation	Family help
—Temperature	Hired labour
—Radiation budget	
Vegetation	Capital
Soil	Mechanization
Water and other factors	Work animals and equipment
	Credit system
	Rural infrastructure
	Technical Know-how
	Traditional/modern systems of knowledge
	Innovative potentials and other factors
	Proximity to Markets/Distance from Markets and Other Factors

Source: E. Ehlers 1994

It is the purpose of the following examples to demonstrate those close relationships and interactions between environment and society by taking examples from the Karakoram mountains in the Northern Areas of Pakistan. By doing so, the presentation of two case studies serves not only as a contribution to a better understanding of the regional geography of this fragile and marginal environment, but also as an example of the remarkable human adaptation to and coping with it. As such, both examples will help us also to understand better the close relationships between sustainability, regional development, and marginal locations (Kuhnen 1992). Finally, they will hopefully serve to recognize not only the ecological value of 'traditional' land use systems, but also and equally the 'rationale' behind local belief systems and perceptions of environments.

The Karakoram Mountains/Northern Pakistan: Land Use Systems and Their Sustainability

Both geographical and anthropological research within the framework of the Pakistan-German Research Project on the Culture Area Karakorum (CAK) have revealed a great number of new and remarkable insights into the natural and societal features of this area. Without our going into the details of this context, it may suffice to refer to studies on climate (Weiers 1995) as well as to analyses of specific aspects of the human geography of this region (Kreutzmann 1996; Herbers 1998). Important and comprehensive English compilations of this research are contained in the collections of Stellrecht (1997), Stellrecht and Winiger (1997), and Stellrecht and Bohle (1998). These last-mentioned editions are indispensable preconditions for a better understanding also of the following lines and should be seen in close context with this volume and its contributions at large.

Agricultural Land Use—The Organization of Time and Space

The following deliberations on the close interaction and relationship between nature and society concentrate on one specific example: the Bagrot valley and its rural communities. In line with the aforementioned remarks on problems of marginality and periphery, the Bagrot fulfilled until a few years ago (1994) all characteristics of both economic marginality and geographical periphery. Although located only 30 kilometres from Gilgit, the valley community and the side valley of the so-called 'Little Bagrot' (Grötzbach 1984) have been isolated until quite recently. For many years villages like Sinaker, Datuchi, Farfui, or Bulchi and their inhabitants have been linked to Gilgit and the Karakoram Highway (KKH) by no more than a gravel track passable only for jeeps. Admittedly, the linkup to the local power grid in the late summer of 1994 has done much to modernize living conditions; at the same time, however, the arrival of television has meant a sudden and dramatic confrontation of a traditional society (Snoy 1975) with Western values and norms, the consequences of which have not been analysed so far.

Resources in the way of cultivated area, pastureland, and—of great importance for high crop yields—irrigation water, vary from village to village. In no case, however, are they sufficient to support the steady population growth that has persisted throughout the twentieth century in all settlements of the Bagrot (Table 11.1). Scarcity of resources, especially cultivable land, in conjunction with land division has long reduced the minimum size of farms below subsistence level, even assuming very humble standards. Although the available statistics do not permit accurate figures, it is probable that the average values determined for Gilgit District as a whole are also representative of the Bagrot (Table 11.2). The same holds true for the rural social structure: the great majority of farms are owner-occupied. Common forms of management include amalgamations of family farms, joint management of self-owned or of leased land, and combined cropping and grassland farming in family or neighbourhood communities. Here again no data are available for the Bagrot and its villages alone, but those given in Table 11.3 should be representative also for our case study.

Table 11.1 Population Growth and Development of Households in the Bagrot (1928–91)

Village/	1928 ^a		1972 ^b		1981 ^c		1991 ^d	
Locality	H*	P*	H	P	H	P	H	P
Bulchi	44	390	109	741	114	920	126	1120
Datuchi	22	185	61	419	67	543	82	656
Sinaker	34	410	61	419	65	544	70	560
Chira	30	206						
Farfui	49	358	195	1265	205	1538	248	2046
Hope	25	190						
Teisot	45	354	116	686	126	541		
Bilchar	37	288	68	345	55		3	
Hamaren						306	25	176
Jalalabad			189	1134			554	4432
Oshikandas			245	1715			370	3160
Total	286	2181						
Gilgit/subdivision			4721	33050				

*H = households; *P = people

Sources:

- General Staff India, Military Report and Gazetteer of the Gilgit Agency and the Independent Territories of Tangir and Darel (Simla, 1928), p. 139.*
- Government of Pakistan, District Census Report of Gilgit. (Islamabad, 1975), pp. 52, 54.*
- Government of Pakistan, 1981 District Census Report of Gilgit. (Islamabad, 1984), p. 50.*
- Compiled according to data supplied by Monika Schneid, Aga Khan Health Services (1990), and Aga Khan Rural Support Programme (1991). This table in its present form has been compiled by Dr Kreutzmann.*

Fig. 11.2 Bagrot Valley and Settlements

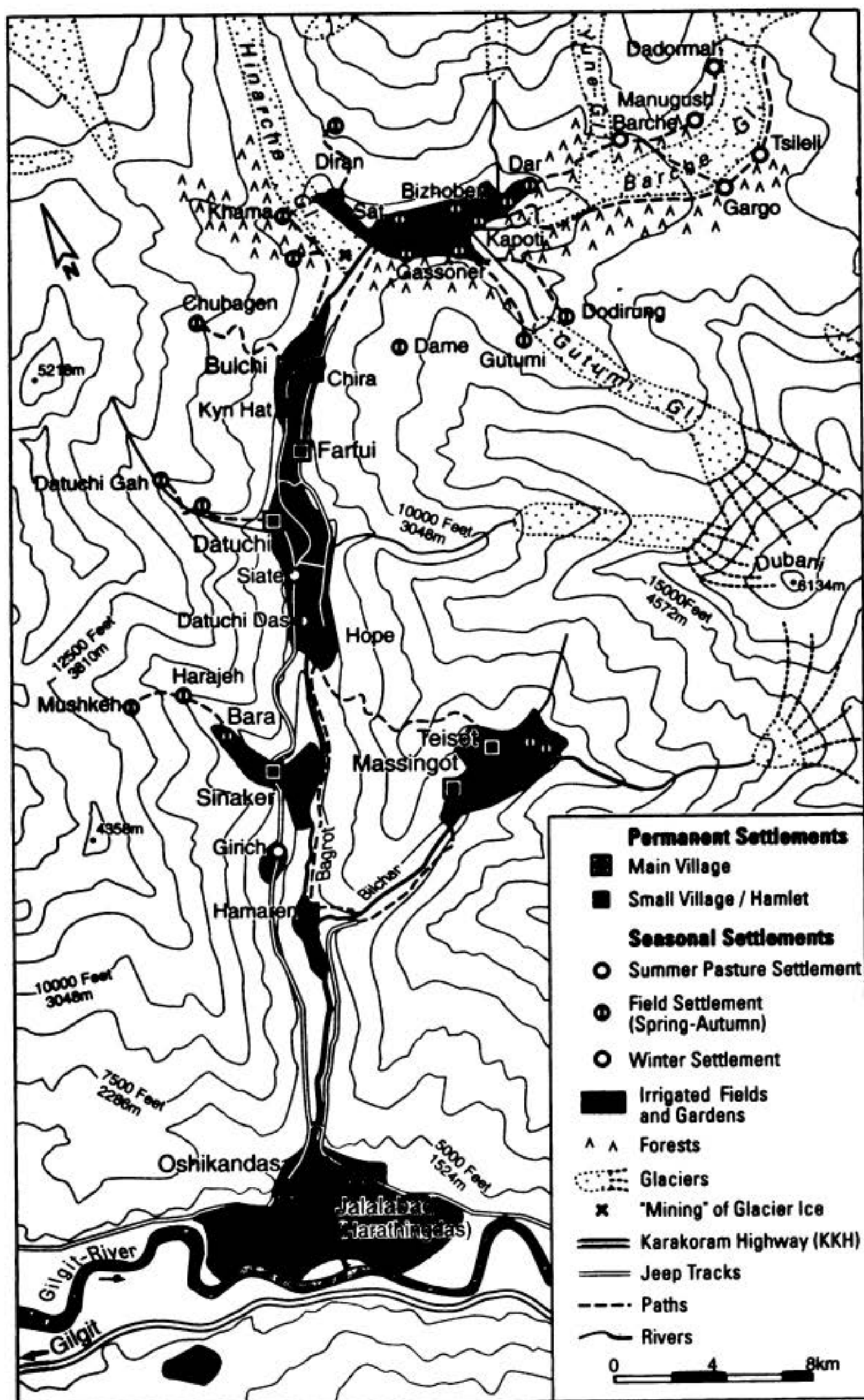


Table 11.2 Land Use in Gilgit District (in Ha)

<i>Type of Use</i>	<i>Total Area (Ha)</i>	<i>Percentage of Total Area (%)</i>
Farmland	20,392	70
Orchards	3,874	14
Crop farming	16,518	56
Fallow land	8,492	30
Cultivable	6,474	22
Not cultivable	2,018	8
Total area	28,884	100

Source: Northern Area Census of Agriculture, 1980; here quoted from Aga Khan Rural Support Programme, 22nd Progress Report, Gilgit 1988.

Table 11.3 Land Tenure in Gilgit District

	<i>Farms (%)</i>	<i>Area (%)</i>	<i>Area/Farm (%)</i>
Property	95	94	1.21
Lease (mixed form)	4	5	1.14
Property and lease (mixed form)	1	1	0.93

Source: Northern Area Census of Agriculture, 1980; here quoted from Aga Khan Rural Support Programme, 22nd Progress Report, Gilgit 1988.

Tables 11.1 to 11.3 give a good idea of the problems resulting from the population's rapid growth on the one hand and its limited agricultural resources on the other. As in many, perhaps even most mountain regions of the earth, scarcity and marginality compels the inhabitants of the Bagrot to seek supplementary forms of farm and off-farm income. Therefore, the inhabitants of the Bagrot—like those of other valleys in the Karakoram—have developed various adaptation mechanisms to cope with the growing discrepancy between population growth and agricultural production and productivity. These include the development of summer villages at elevated, climatically less favourable sites, the utilization of complementary highland pastures for seasonal mountain grazing, the introduction of new crops like potatoes, and the transition from single to double cropping in the vicinity of the home settlements using fast growing spring crops.

As already indicated, traditional settlement and rural economy of the Bagrot are organized in such a way that both vertically and horizontally there are altogether three levels of agricultural and pastoral activities:

- ☐ The permanently used valley bottom with its villages and open fields
- ☐ The periodically used area of the summer villages with its arable land and pastures
- ☐ The periodically used high pastures

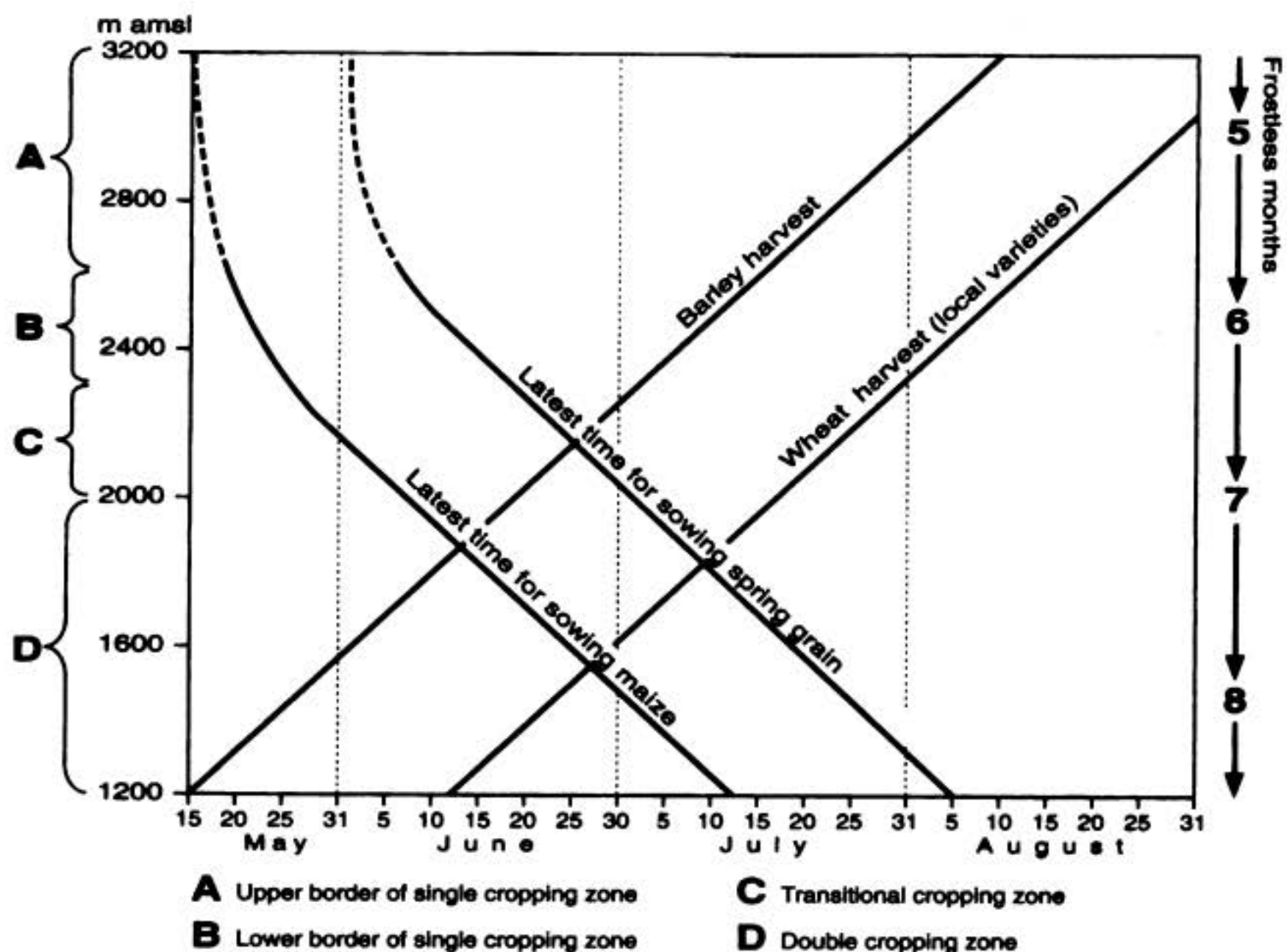
None of these three segments alone is sufficient to support the livelihood of the valley population. While this may have been the case in the past, when the overall population of the Bagrot was low, nowadays agriculture and pastoralism is only part of a broader economy in connection with non-agricultural activities.

The material basis of traditional crop and grassland farming in the Bagrot, as well as in other valleys of the Karakoram, is provided by the terrace fields lining the river, which are cultivated exclusively by irrigation, and the lower slopes close to the settlements. The

agricultural utilization of the valley bottom is extremely intensive and characterized by the following features:

- ☐ Development of all areas that can be irrigated and utilized at reasonable cost through fine division into small lots managed by owners or tenants
- ☐ Forms of collective land use based on irrigation, communal fieldwork and harvesting, and in the case of double cropping, succession of different crops
- ☐ Wherever possible, doubling of the harvested area by the use of fast-growing varieties that allow two harvests a year
- ☐ Cultivation of traditional crops for farm and family requirements; these may be substituted by cash crops such as seed potato or different kinds of vegetable
- ☐ Clear division of land into an 'infield' area, which is reserved above all for intensive farming, and at a greater distance from the villages, an 'outfield' area, which is preferably used for multiple hay harvesting and fruit culture (apricots, apples, nuts, etc.)

Fig. 11.3 Single and Double Cropping Areas in Gilgit



adapted from WHITEMAN 1985

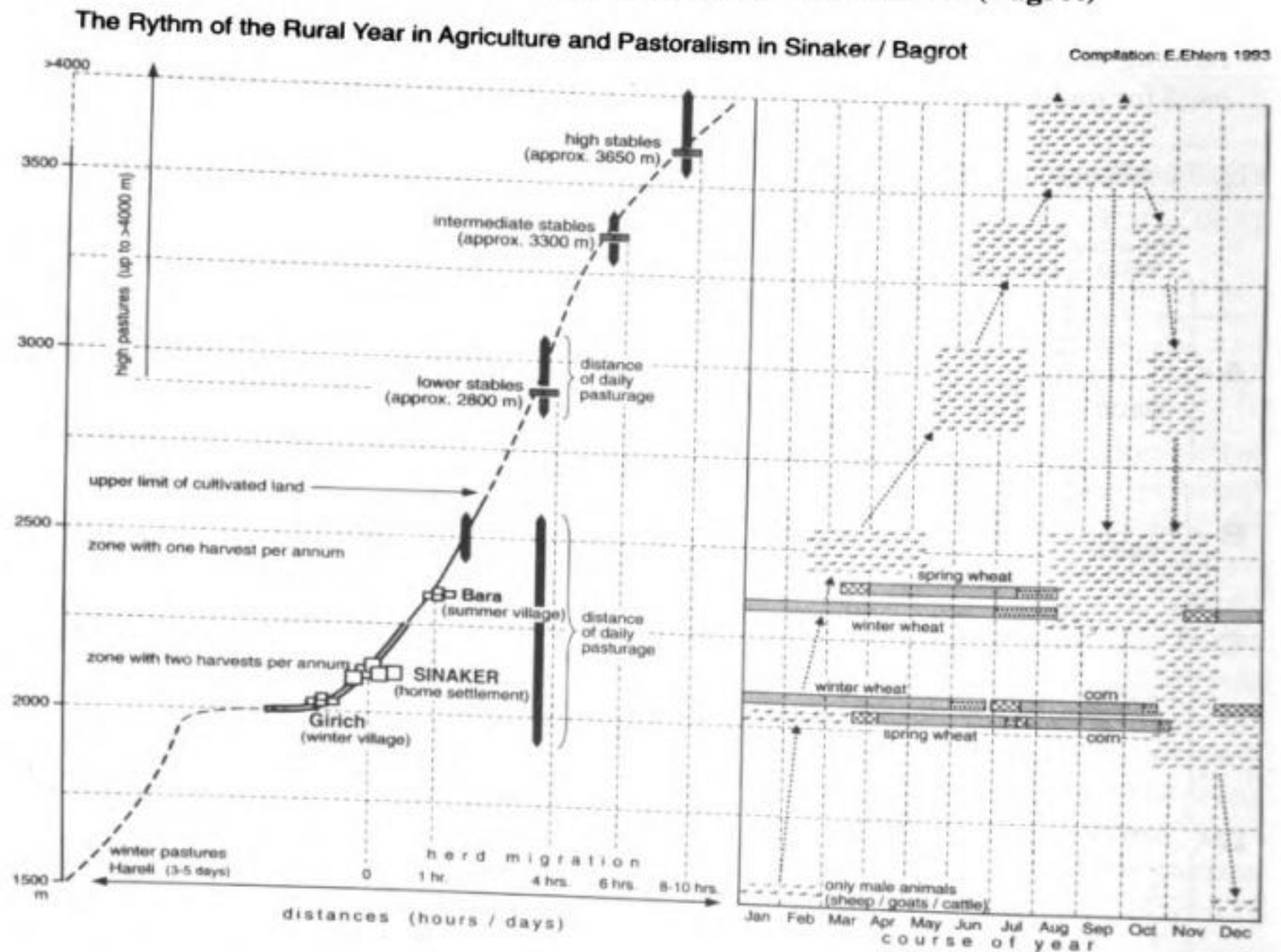
Note: harvest delay is 5 days per 100 mm amsl

The transition to double cropping becomes more difficult the higher the fields and settlements are situated (Fig. 11.3). Whereas Sinaker, which is located in the valley bottom at an altitude of 2070 to 2140 metres, still clearly lies in the double cropping zone, the fields of Datuchi and Farfui, which are no more than about 150 to 200 metres higher, usually allow for

only one harvest a year. Individual farmers in Datuchi do attempt, often unsuccessfully, to bring maize to maturity as a cash crop. The fact that a difference in altitude of one hundred metres can be decisive can be seen from the land surrounding the former winter village, Datuchi Das, where almost all fields bear a cash crop.

Not only in the Bagrot but in almost all valley communities of the Karakoram mountains seasonally used field settlements are a basic element of rural settlement and subsistence patterns. Field settlements may be summer villages or winter settlements. In both cases the field settlement may be located anywhere between the immediate vicinity of the home settlement and a few hours' walk away (Fig. 11.4).

Fig. 11.4 The Rhythm of the Rural Year in Agriculture in Sinaker (Bagrot)



Sinaker, for example, has two complementary settlements, Girich and Bara (Fig. 11.4), the former of which is meanwhile partly inhabited all year round. The former winter village of Datuchi Das has been used in a like manner for some time now. The field settlements, which are completely devoid of infrastructure, are used by individual family members mostly not more than just for a few days during the spring cultivation and harvest time, but also serve as temporary living and sleeping places when the fields are irrigated during the summer.

The land around the field settlements is typically used in monoculture. With the exception of the southward facing settlement of Bara/Sinaker at a moderate 2280 metre altitude, where both spring and winter wheat are sown and harvested, field settlements are characterized by the almost exclusive cultivation of spring wheat. The crop is sown late April/early May and harvested in late September/early October, after which the harvested fields serve the herds

returning from the high pastures as a stubble pasture and are partly used for several weeks as a kind of intermediate pasture in spring.

The example presented here (for more detailed analysis of the Bagrot Snoy 1975 cf. Grötzbach 1984; Ehlers 1996) is by no means unique within the overall framework of Northern Pakistan. Similar land uses have been reported from the Nanga Parbat region (Clemens and Nüsser 1994), from the Yasin valley (Herbers and Stöber 1995) and especially from Hunza (Kreutzmann 1989). They reflect 'creative adjustment' to not only harsh physical environments, but also to constantly increasing socio-economic constraints. The advantages of traditional land use in regard to the montane environment still need to be examined in more detail.

Pastoralism—Mythological Aspects of Sustainability

As indicated earlier, high pastures are an indispensable part of the rural economy. Although firmly embedded in the overall economic system of most rural households, the spatial and temporal organization of pastoralism is distinctly different from the agricultural year, although rationally and positively incorporated into the overall rural production system. While our specific example, Sinaker (cf. Fig. 11.4) is an exception to the overall rule in that respect (that due to its location in the lower Bagrot, Sinaker peasants only have limited high pasture areas, and, moreover, lack a passageway to the meadowland at the heads of the Bagrot valley and its tributaries), the overall principle of their spatial and temporal inclusion into the agricultural year of the home settlement becomes, nevertheless, clear.

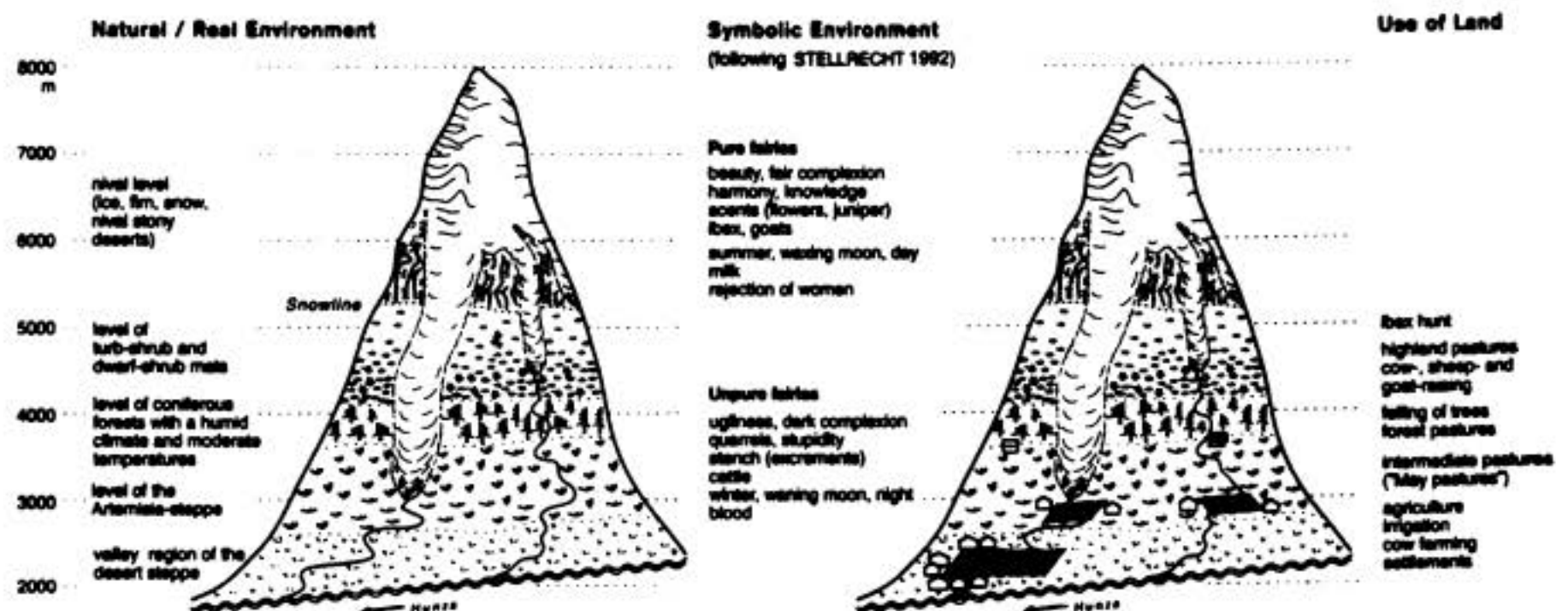
The high pastures are mainly grazed in the time from June to September, the drive cycle of the herds being prolonged by the trek there and back and stops at intermediate relays. As already indicated, the utilization of the high pastures, too, is subject to temporal and spatial differentiation. In this way, adverse ecological effects through overgrazing are kept at a minimum or avoided altogether. This comparatively gentle exploitation of the food supply is made possible above all by the temporally and spatially differentiated utilization of the high pastures and temporary stays in nearby stables. This results in a well-adapted use of the available grazing potential (Clemens & Nüsser 1994) and a more or less intact condition of the high pastures.

Unlike Sinaker, the remaining villages and their affiliated satellite colonies are amply provided with pastures. In recent times, some of this land has even been used below its full capacity. The high pastures, which reach up to more than 4000 metres in altitude, may be grazed in temporally and spatially defined sequences of several weeks' duration each, or they may be frequented during the daily pasturage starting from the main grazing area. Bulchi and Farfui (and their offspring Hope and Chira) are endowed with particularly ample pastures, many of which are only used partially or not at all in some years.

While it is unquestioned that the indicated use of the high pastures as part of the overall rural economy makes sense, it is equally obvious that the regions of the high pastures are connected with specific connotations, values, and perceptions by the rural inhabitants of the valleys, which, to a certain extent, reflect and/or explain their specific forms of animal husbandry. In a recent article, Stellrecht (1992) has published a diagram in which the real and the symbolic environments of the Karakoram, specifically the Hunza region, are juxtaposed. Fig. 11.5 is a revised and somewhat more detailed reproduction of this model. It shows very clearly the existence of ideas of purity and impurity, of clean fairies in the higher parts of the vertical order versus impurity in the valley bottoms and beneath. This symbolism is connected with a wide range of contrasting features and connotations such as beauty, harmony, knowledge

and wisdom, cleanliness, and fragrance and aroma here; ugliness, conflict, stupidity, stench and quarrel there. Vegetational as well as faunistic differences add to the contrast between 'high' and 'low' between the seasonally used high pastures and the permanently settled valley bottoms (cf. Fig. 11.5), giving an overall positive image and perception of the higher sections of the montane system, including the high pastures. Valleys and their economic activities are definitely less favourably perceived in the overall context of this concept of verticality.

Fig. 11.5 Natural Environments, Symbolic References to the Environment, and Land Use



Without overstressing the indicated relationship between natural environments and their cultural interpretation, it should be noted that categories like 'pure' and 'impure' and their attachment to the vertical zonation of the montane environment are obviously common classifications of more than only local importance. Referring to extensive literature on this specific aspect of cultural norms and values, the British anthropologist Parkes (1987) has described similar perceptions from the Kalasha world in the neighbouring Hindu Kush. Arguing from a comparable economic background for the Kalasha (Parkes 1987: 639), he refers to a basic dichotomy which is characterized (p. 640) by 'exclusive domains' as shown in Table 11.4.

Table 11.4 Dichotomies of Exclusive Domains

Mountains	Valley
Pastoral	Agricultural
Male	Female
Pure	Impure
Divine	Demonic

Source: Parkes 1987, p. 640.

In line with these basic antagonisms and referring to comparable observations in the Karakoram by Jettmar, Snoy, and others, Parkes (1987: 649) argues as follows:

...The underlying opposition between these two sets of categories clearly concerns male and female spheres of association, corresponding with the distinct sexual division of agro-pastoral labour in Kalasha society. This opposition is especially embodied in the topographical contrast between

mountain and valley and the highest mountain peaks and pastures (*son*) being considered the special abode of gods and pure *suci* spirits. The natural vegetation of the mountains is also intrinsically connected with the sacred. Most important is the juniper tree (*Juniperus excelsa*) which grows as the highest evergreen forest around the pastures and provides the main source of fuel in the herding camps.

In contrast, the valleys and their economic activities are interpreted as follows:

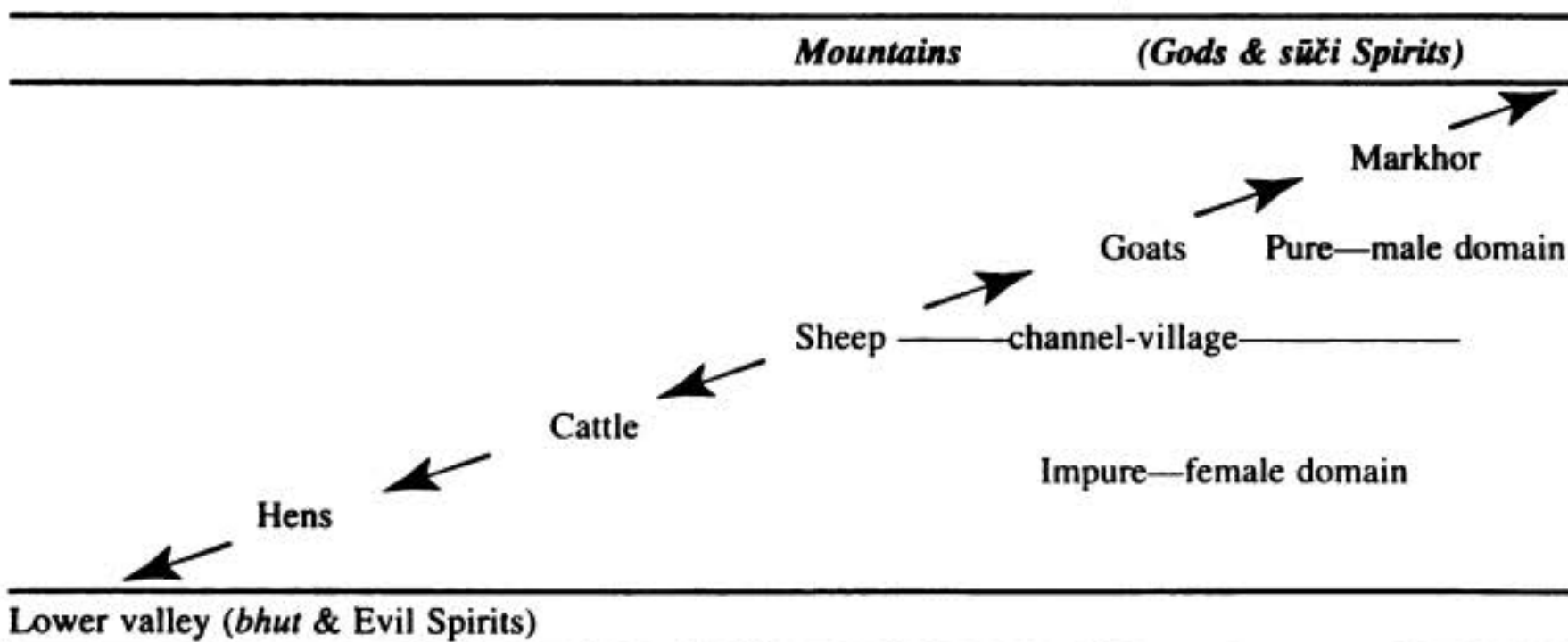
The lower cultivated regions of the valleys, lying beneath the main water channels, are the true antithesis of the mountain domain: those are delegated to women and agriculture, including Kalasha villages. Especially impure are the lowermost parts of the valleys [...], and thence the entire foreign world outside. Two vegetables, onions and garlic, are felt to be emblematic of this foreign world and are considered to be highly polluting like hens and eggs. The gods and *suci* spirits of the mountains are thought to be as repelled by the stench of onions and garlic as they are attracted by the fragrance of juniper smoke. (Parkes 1987: 650)

Table 11.5 Pure and Impure Categories in Kalasha Ritual Thought

	<i>Pure (ōmješta)</i>	<i>Impure (prāghata)</i>
I	Mountains & Pastures Juniper Holm Oak	Lower Valleys Onions & Garlic <i>Rhoŋ</i> Diestuff
II	Markhor Goats Honeybees	Cattle (Sheep) Hens & Eggs
III	Altars Goat Stables	<i>Bashali</i> House Graveyard
IV	Men	Women

Source: Parkes 1987.

Fig. 11.6 Kalasha Animal Values and Relative Altitude



Source: Parkes 1987.

Parkes' research on livestock symbolism and pastoral ideology among the Kafirs (cf. Table 11.5 and Fig. 11.6) is an almost perfect analogy to popular belief systems in many parts of the Karakoram. Although these traditional connotations and interpretations of the natural environments are losing their historic symbolisms and values, it is unquestioned that their

practical consequences remain a powerful fact in the people's daily lives. Could it not also be that these symbolisms are either an outcome of traditional environmental knowledge systems, giving logical arguments and reasoning to the well-adapted, sustainable use of the fragile mountain environments, or, vice versa, are an ex-post-ideology giving meaning to the specific forms of land use?

Environmental Knowledge and Consciousness as a Developmental Potential

The Karakoram mountains illustrate that mountains and mountain ecosystems cannot be comprehended in rational terms alone. Vertical classifications—geographers would say strata or layers—constitute more than just climatic and vegetational levels. Anthropologists have emphasized that real environments have a corresponding symbolic environment.

It is against this background that traditional land-use patterns are not only responses to ecological parameters. On the contrary, land uses also reflect ritual belief systems as well as social norms and societal values. Or, to put it in a positive way, rituals and societal values determine land-use patterns and their sustainability.

During the last few years, debates on sustainability and the long-term effectiveness of development policies and practical development measures has increased the tendency to look to traditional systems of knowledge and their significance as potential ways of promoting careful and sustained development in countries of the third world (Honerla & Schröder 1995). In a recent article, Nakashima (1998) has elaborated on the cultural context of resource management and argued that the following approaches to culture-environment issues have proven to be especially fruitful:

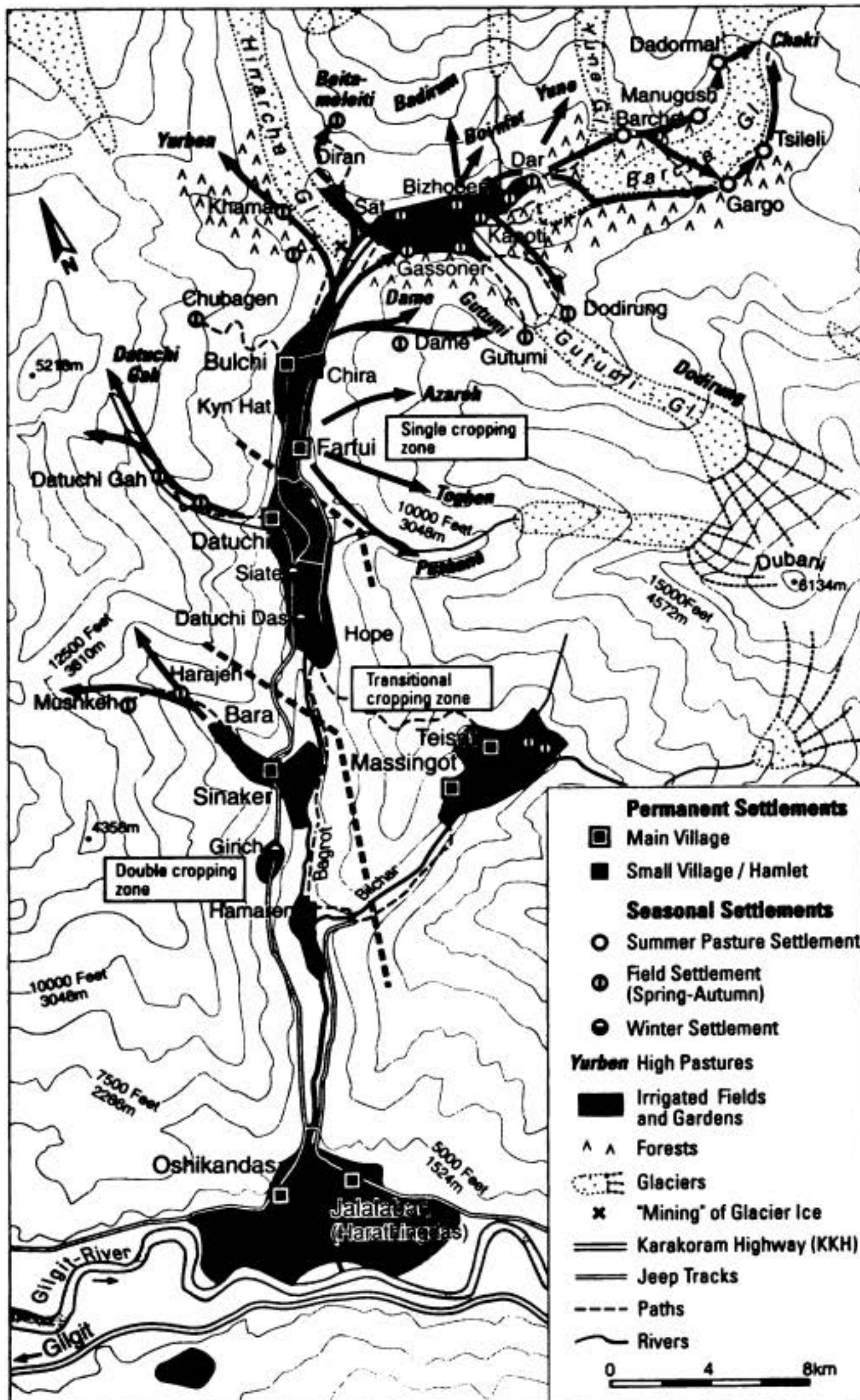
- ☐ Systems of knowledge of the natural environment
- ☐ Technological systems for resource use and management
- ☐ Spatial organization and land-use patterns
- ☐ Common property management systems
- ☐ Social organization of resource use and access
- ☐ World view and spiritual systems influencing human-nature relationships

As regards high mountain regions, researchers have gained insight primarily into the autochthonous environmental knowledge of the mountain dwellers of Nepal and the adaptation strategies for the utilization of land and the organization of space which they derive from such knowledge (Müller-Böker 1991; Pohle 1992). As regards the Karakoram mountains, the studies carried out by Clemens and Nüsser (1994), Ehlers (1995), Herbers and Stöber (1995), Kreutzmann (1989, 1996), and Saunders (1983) contain numerous references to traditional modes of land use without particularly emphasizing their implications for development strategies.

While returning to the criteria for economic marginality listed at the beginning of this article (Fig. 11.1), the cases looked at here, that is, land-use patterns in the Karakoram mountains, pose the question as to the possibility of utilizing traditional systems of knowledge and agriculture of the mountain farmers as development strategies. There is no doubt that in both cases treated here, the locations as well as the limited capacity of the natural environs are handicaps which cannot be changed decisively by technical progress or by scientific know-how. Besides, it becomes very obvious that not only have the ecological adaptations to the fragile montane ecosystem been achieved admirably in the past, but so also has the political structuralization of the valley economy. Fig. 11.7 reveals details of a clear and

ecologically feasible differentiation of the competing villages in the Bagrot valley. Each village and/or community has its own complementary summer and/or winter settlements, as well as high pastures, water sources and resources, specific access to forest stands.

Fig. 11.7 The Spatial and Temporal Organization of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry in the Bagrot Valley

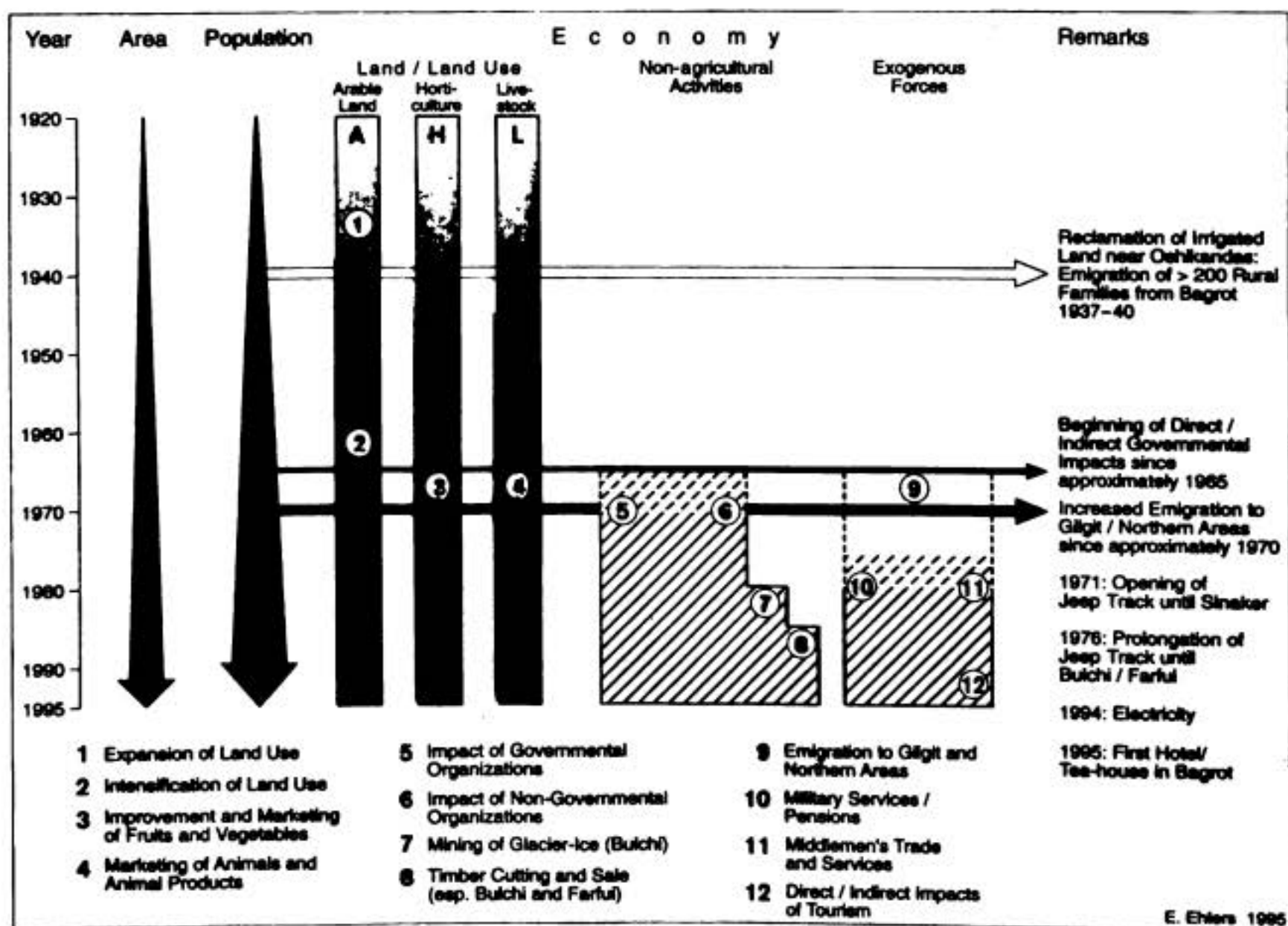


Source: Grötzbach 1984
Names: Schneid 1995
Data: Ehlers 1995

Independent of these analyses, it is obvious that the agrarian carrying capacity of the Bagrot valley—like that of many other valleys—is limited. Neither the mountain pastures nor the arable land of the high mountain valleys can be expanded appreciably or utilized more intensively. However, the question of sustainability versus modernization of agriculture in the fragile ecosystem of the highlands of the Karakoram mountains is difficult to answer. The physical and ecological barriers and limitations of the region can hardly be overcome. Even though it has been possible in part to improve the yield of plants, a long-term adaptation of agriculture and pasture farming to the growing population is only conceivable to a limited degree. The socio-economic conditions are what primarily stand in the way of the preservation or restoration of sustained and long-term effective patterns of land use.

The small-farm structures of agricultural enterprises and the nature of the terrain, which is often extremely disadvantageous, have led to the development of new and more intensive forms of land use as well as the exploitation of non-agrarian sources of income, starting around 1940 and increasing since about 1960. The diagram illustrating the population growth and the agrarian and total economic carrying capacity of the Bagrot valley (Fig. 11.8), shows clearly, however, that the limits of the total economic capacity of this valley as well as of the other valleys has been reached. The selling of glacier ice (Grötzbach 1984) and, more importantly, the deforestation of previously intact mountain forests by external forces as well as the initiation of international tourism, which is not only questionable from a politico-cultural perspective, but also in economic and ecological terms, are expressions of the trespassing of Bagrot's economic carrying capacity.

Fig. 11.8 Population Growth and Carrying Capacity in the Bagrot Valley in the Twentieth Century: A Comprehensive Survey



In view of this situation, sustained long-term agriculture and pasture farming, which in the past made it possible for the population of the Karakoram mountains to survive, seems to be the only economically as well as ecologically sensible perspective for the future. The most important measures which must be taken are:

- ☐ the stabilization of present standards of agriculture and pasture farming;
- ☐ the protection of natural ecosystems, which has to be ensured by the government in the interest of the country as a whole.

The first measure means the protection of existent agricultural and pasture farming enterprises and the preservation of the mountain farmers' traditional systems of knowledge. It includes a return to and intensification of the ecologically acceptable forms of employment for a fast-growing population in and outside of the mountain valleys.

The second measure concerns the implementation of a series of measures to be taken for the protection of the environment in the whole region of the Karakoram mountains. In the view of the ecological control function of tropical and sub-tropical high mountain regions for the arid and semi-arid lowlands surrounding them (cf., for example, Messerli et al. 1993), it is necessary for the government to stop the catastrophic destruction of the forests through deforestation of the mountain forests immediately. Government-funded conservation measures, which include extensive afforestation as well as other forms of conservation against erosion and floods, can present at the same time a useful source of employment for large portions of the population of the Karakoram mountains, which would have a long-term positive effect on the welfare of Pakistan as a whole. The fact that a return to traditional environmental knowledge and consciousness can be combined with the national and economic interests of Pakistan as a whole is an additional argument in favour of such measures.

Concluding Remarks

In the introduction of this article, it was pointed out that the experience gained by the case studies presented here can be transferable to other situations in time and space. For instance, a large number of parallels can be drawn by comparing agriculture and pasture farming in Europe in the past and present (Allan, 1994 Ehlers 1997a). Not only the spatial and periodic forms of organizing vertical land use, but also the division of farming enterprises into agricultural and stock farming components, the settlement patterns, and social structures of mountain farmers and mountain farming societies in the Alpine regions in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries show diverse parallels to the problems of high mountain farmers in Asia in the present. More importantly, however, the rediscovery of traditional forms of land use and knowledge systems contains a wealth of potential for a better and sustainable management of fragile montane environments that should be used for a better future of both nature and its inhabitants. It is, therefore, legitimate to compare high mountain regions and societies not only in a cross-cultural perspective, but also in regard to their historical developments here and there. From a geographical perspective, such comparisons not only unfold new aspects of a 'comparative geography of high mountain regions,' but at the same time—and perhaps to a greater extent—offer a geographic contribution to the problem of sustained development in high mountain regions of the third world.

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Section III

Cultural Anthropology

STATUS IMAGERY OF THE KALASHA: SOME NOTES ON CULTURE CHANGE

Max Klimburg*

The Kalash or Kalasha, widely known also as the 'Kafirs of Pakistan' ('Heathens of Pakistan'), but presently numbering hardly more than 1500, present the unique issue of a survival of polytheistic-animistic belief systems amidst Islamic, that is intensely anti-'paganistic' monotheistically orientated communities. This fact is well-known, of course, and for many decades it has attracted scores of visitors into the three valleys the Kalasha inhabit in southern Chitral. Many researchers were among them, such as the famous Indologist Georg Morgenstierne, who heads the list due to his field work in 1929. He was followed nineteen years later by the religious ethnologist Halfdan Siiger,¹ and then by many others, most remarkably by the anthropologist Peter Parkes, who offers by far the best and most detailed insights into the Kalasha socio-economic and religious setup in the 1970s (unfortunately mostly in unpublished manuscripts). Scores of more visitors and researchers are bound to descend on the Kalasha with the view to experience an 'exotic' looking culture or to collect information on topics already studied or not. There are also many new interesting issues, resulting from the mounting impact of modernization (political, mechanical, medical, etc.), tourism, and Islamic proselytization, constituting the greatest culture change ever for Kalasha Kafir society.

The far-reaching culture change of today has a remarkable forerunner. It was the result of a gradual or sudden increase in the political and cultural relations between the Kalasha and their much more powerful neighbours to the west, the Kati Kafirs of the Bashgal valley in easternmost Afghanistan, the most dominant group of the once famous Kafirs of the Hindu Kush.² These contacts then intensified when leading Kati families left the Bashgal valley and settled in Kalasha territory, fleeing from the Afghan military force which in 1896 Islamized by force all the 'Afghan' Kafirs (then renamed Nuristanis). When, in the early 1930s, the last of these new settlers gave up their old beliefs and became Muslims, the Kalasha were 'left alone' hanging on to their Kafir beliefs and traditions.

These Kalasha traditions include a variety of beliefs and customs of apparent Kati origin which thus survive the demise of the Kati Kafir culture in a Kalasha context. By far the most impressive feature among them is presented by the monumental wooden ancestor images, *ganḍāo*, and smaller images on top of 'triumphal pillars,' the *gunḍurik*—both types resembling corresponding figures of the Kati Kafirs. Generally depicting a standing male person, occasionally a sitting one, rarely a man on horseback, these very numerous *ganḍāo* and few *gunḍurik* represented dead big-men who had built up their reputation with politicking combined with extensive feast-giving, occasionally also with some homicidal deeds. The *ganḍāo* stood next to or in the vicinity of the graves of the respective men. In the 1930s they counted many

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dozens, maybe even close to one hundred, in the three Kalasha valleys, but by the early 1970s only a few of them were left.³

There is, thus, the aspect of a strong influence exerted by the Kati Kafirs, in particular by those living in the upper part of the Bashgal valley. Characteristically, their main local settlement, Bragromatal, is still well-known among the Kalasha under the name Gonagrom or Large Village, denoting its importance for the Kalasha by the reference to its size. Beyond this, all the Kati Kafir ethnic and political entities deserved the adjective 'large' and also 'strong' relative to the small and weak Kalasha communities, who, through the centuries, suffered badly under the frequent Kati raids into their territory.

The Kalasha themselves readily admit that many, partially even most of their religious and socio-cultural features and institutions are derived from Kati traditions. All this is well-known, as already pointed out by Peter Parkes, with reference to the Kalasha feasts of merit: 'The whole corpus of Kalasha festal institutions shares many traits in common with those reported of their Kafir neighbours, and several feasts appear to have been consciously adopted from those witnessed by Kalasha ancestors in Bashgal.'⁴

All this information begs the question as to when this cultural dependence of the Kalasha on the Kati materialized. Was it due to influences which gradually grew or rather to a sudden cultural impact at some time in the past?⁵

Apparently it was due to a rather sudden rise, around 1850, in the Kalasha interest in prestigious looking Kati customs. This led to a number of major socio-cultural innovations which are now regarded as typically Kalasha—such as the *gaṇḍāo/guṇḍurik* tradition. Accordingly, a wide-ranging culture change took place within several decades, establishing new cultural features which since then have assisted the Kalasha in maintaining much more strongly than before an 'ethnic' identity of their own, in spite of all the 'adorning with borrowed plumes.'

In this context one Kalasha big-man stands out in particular. Mahadin from the Dremese lineage in Ramboor is credited with being the main initiator of a series of new forms of feasting which were all copied from the Kati Kafirs. Around 1850 he managed, possibly as the first Kalasha, to establish affinal ties to the powerful Janadare lineage in Bragromatal by arranging a marriage between his son Mehtarzang and a girl from that lineage. Mahadin then felt entitled, so the story goes, to perform feasts imitating in scope and execution the so-called *mū* of the Kati Kafirs. Accordingly, the Kalasha equivalent, called *biramūr* (death of he-goats), was performed by Mahadin for the first time. Thus, Mahadin appears as the first Kalasha headman who developed the idea of entertaining his community with feasts and presenting it also with goats (a standard feature on the occasion of a *biramūr*).

Mahadin reportedly also erected the first ancestor figure, a *gaṇḍāo*, in Ramboor for his father Dremes, thereby copying the Kati tradition of *mute* figures. He felt free to do so because of his good relations with the leading families among the Kati of Bragromatal. When soon afterwards Kalakan, an important man from the Gilasur-dari lineage in Gurul (Birir Valley), also wanted to erect a *gaṇḍāo* for his father, Mamur, he had to travel to Chatrumadesh (the Kalasha term for present Nuristan) to find out about the local customs and to secure the Kati Kafirs' support. After having worked there as a shepherd for several years, so the story goes, he returned to Birir carrying a small figure which then served as a prototype for the first *gaṇḍāo* in Birir.

The contacts between the Kati and the Kalasha must have intensified when in the 1880s Aman-ul-Mulk, the then *mehtar* (king or prince) of Chitral, possibly on the advice of the British, invited a number of Kati families to move into the upper end of the Bumboret valley and to settle there on land given to them.⁶ The idea was that these families would provide a

buffer between the powerful and aggressive Kati and the Kalasha who suffered constantly from Kati goat-raiding.

From that time onwards the interest of the Kalasha in copying more from their neighbours apparently increased further. A good example is given by the story of the Ramboor big-man Amir, who, possibly at about 1890, still at the time of Mehtar Aman-ul-Mulk, travelled to Bragromatal as the *mehtar's* *çarwēlu*, that is, tax collector. Allegedly he succeeded in bringing 180 cattle across the mountains to be presented to the *mehtar*. While attending a funeral feast in Bragromatal, he observed the distribution of liquid *ghee* (clarified butter) in the form of one large ladleful given to each person, and the mixing of *ghee* with porridge made of gravy and millet. Much impressed, he advised his five sons, when back in Ramboor, to do the same on the occasion of the funeral feast in his honour. From that time onwards it is a Kalasha tradition at funerals and certain feasts of merit to both distribute *ghee* and to mix *ghee* with porridge made of gravy and millet, nowadays wheat flour—a mixture still called by the Kati term *bujush-anau*, while normally the Kalasha use their own words *ka'i* for the gravy-millet (nowadays gravy-wheat flour) porridge and *prochona* for *ghee*.

The Kati influence probably reached its climax when in early 1896 many Kati families, in particular the leading ones from Bragromatal, fled from the troops of Afghan Amir Abdur Rahman into Chitral. Most of them settled at the end of the two valleys Ramboor and Bumboret. Members of the top lineage of Bragromatal installed themselves in Brumbutul in Bumboret, while a rival lineage founded the village of Kuneisht in Ramboor. At least initially, the Kalasha felt not too uncomfortable about it, as they hoped for an expansion of the buffer, better protecting them against Kati raids across the border.

In due course the Kalasha developed further activities in the field of prestige and mortuary feasting which are copies of Kati traditions and also often carry Kati names, such as *pimasa*, *gontwas*, *tushgum*, *arisu*, *ulpa*, and so on. The most impressive introduction was the *sharuga*, a funeral feast requiring extensive hosting and the distribution of either thirty or sixty cattle, depending on the wish for an impressive single- or double-horse 'mounted *gaṇḍāo*' to represent the dead big-man. The feast's name is a Kati term, which was never changed into a Kalasha equivalent, which would be *sharugak*.

Also in the field of merit feasts, exemplified mainly by the *biramūr* introduced several decades earlier, a further increase took place by the copying of a very costly Kati feast given the Kalasha term *hazār-pai-pachek-gona-biramūr*. This particularly *gona* or 'large' *biramur* requires, as the title says, the 'showing and counting of *hazar* average goats' before the feast could start, but the term *hazar* does not correspond to the *hazar* known as the word for 'thousand' in Persian, Chitrali, or Kalashamon (the Kalasha language), as it is the Kati term *hazar* denoting 'four hundred.' Accordingly, this type of *biramūr* feast starts with the presentation of four hundred average goats or their equivalents in value, followed by extensive goat sacrifices at the Sajigor cult place in Ramboor and the distribution of many large he-goats to the community.

The first such *hazār-pai-pachek-gona-biramūr* was reportedly performed in honour of Mahamurat (Dremese lineage), the *asakāl* (*mehtar's* valley headman) of Ramboor, possibly already before the crucial year 1896. This feast then also entitled Mahamurat's family to perform in the big-man's name the greatest of all honours known to the Kati, namely the *sharuga* distribution of cattle on the occasion of the funeral feast, and the subsequent erection of a special, monumental *gaṇḍāo*, representing the dead big-man on horseback. However, when Mahamurat, probably already an old man when the Kati refugees moved in, appeared unlikely to live much longer, and an illness threatened to kill most of the family's livestock, it was decided to honour the great man by a small *sharuga* given during his lifetime, with ten

cows distributed on the occasion. This feast became known as a *juno-sharuga*, meaning an 'alive-*sharuga*', but it is the only one of this kind. As the feared illness did not materialize, the herds were complete when the great Mahamurat finally died, a year or so later, possibly in around 1900. Understandably, the mourning lineage wanted to save on the planned 'double' *sharuga* by reducing the number of cows (sixty) to fifty, as ten had already been distributed. However, Shishgumera, the chief of Kuneisht, the settlement of Kati refugees in Ramboor, protested, disqualifying the preceding ten cows and insisting that sixty animals had to be given away if there was any chance of the participation of his people at the feast. The Ramboor family had to give in. It was then fully entitled in Kati eyes to erect a monumental *ganḍāo* showing Mahamurat sitting not only on one horse, but on a pair of horses. This figure was the first 'mounted *ganḍāo*' among the Kalasha, out of the eventual total of six.

When, soon after, Shishgumera died, the Ramboor people threatened not to attend the funeral feast because of Shishgumera's unfair demand shortly before. The Kati village then sent a present of five cattle, as a token of good will, to the family of Mahamurat, and Ramboor decided to attend the funeral. A Kati *sharuga* was performed, and in the following autumn a mounted ancestor figure, called *mute* by the Kati, was erected—the only one ever made in the village of Kuneisht, featuring only one horse (no double horse *mute* is known from any Kati area).

In essence, the two *sharuga* given in honour of Mahamurat and Shishgumera may have been very similar in type and execution—in both cases sixty cattle were distributed to the community. However, the *ganḍāo* made for Mahamurat shows him mounted on a pair of horses, as this was done for top Kati dignitaries in the Bashgal valley. This statue was placed in an enclosure containing also his and his wife's graves. Later two standing *ganḍāo*, representing his two leading sons Mahatomar and Surchai, were placed next to the mounted figure.⁷

A second double *sharuga* was performed in Ramboor at the funeral of Achayak (Mutimire lineage) some ten to fifteen years later, possibly in about 1910–15, therewith obtaining the right to have the dead big-man honoured by a double-horse *ganḍāo*, such as Mahamurat is depicted.⁸ With these top honours bestowed on Achayak, the Mutimire lineage signalled its readiness to fight for more influence against the then leading Dremese lineage, and a factional struggle then started which has not yet ended. This fight reached a climax at the time of partition, when the Mutimire members held on to the *mehtar* and were against the creation of Pakistan, while the Dremese supported the Muslim League.

In Ramboor, a total of three more *sharuga* feasts were given, all of the smaller kind with 'only' thirty cattle distributed, each entitling to a mounted *ganḍāo* featuring a single horse. The last such feast occurred in the 1930s.⁹ Strangely, in Bumboret and Birir no *sharuga* was ever performed, possibly due to a lack of political cohesion or sufficient surplus or, with regard to Birir, the 'offside' location of the valley, being much less exposed to direct contacts with the Kati. Nevertheless, in Birir one mounted *ganḍāo* existed in Biau, made a few years after Mahamurat's death for a big-man by the name of Lachkom (Punjapaudari lineage).

All the *sharuga* the Kalasha know of were thus performed after the flight of Kati Kafirs from the Bashgal valley into Chitral in 1896, and in context with these feasts, all the mounted *ganḍāo* date from the period roughly between 1900 and the 1930s. At the same time the Kati tradition of erecting standing or sitting ancestor figures proliferated in the Kalasha area. These *ganḍāo* were made by men with only some knowledge of the art of carving, as the Kalasha lack a proper class of artisans. However, after the arrival of the Kati refugees in 1896, the Kalasha had the opportunity to employ the enslaved skilled craftsmen, called *bāri*, the Kati had brought with them. All the horse *ganḍāo* and some of the standing figures were

made by Kati *bāri*. Soon after the time of partition the interest in erecting *gaṇḍāo* greatly vanished, probably partially due to the creation of Pakistan as an Islamic state.¹⁰

One wonders, naturally, what the socio-political systems and traditions of the Kalasha may have looked like in the more distant past—before the Kati exerted their cultural domination, before the Kalasha copied the *mū* and *mute* and other traditions of their feared and then suddenly close neighbours, whose inclination to raid and kill had constituted a permanent threat to the Kalasha for many centuries. One wonders even more as to the reasons which had both induced and enabled the Kalasha to introduce such new and costly features into their socio-political life—features which required the saving of considerable surplus in animals and food items for the feasting and the distributions of food and live animals. One wonders, specifically, why the costliest undertakings took place only in Ramboor, why this valley's headmen developed such a singular drive for achievement, and how the affected families managed to collect the needed amount of surplus.

Answers have to remain speculative, in particular until Peter Parkes' extensive study of the Kalasha oral historical traditions is known.¹¹ One can assume, however, that the main reason must have been the wish, in particular of the Ramboor headmen, to impress the rulers in Chitral or their princely rivals with their wealth and authority and their competence in executing the rulers' often very oppressive demands (as to forced labour and enslavement), above all when directed at rivals. A further reason may well have been the desire to compete with or even outdo the high-powered newcomers from the Bashgal valley by adjusting to the Kati Kafirs' terms, but adding a new 'dimension' with the double-horse *gaṇḍāo*. A third aspect may be the impact resulting from the mounting political and also academic interest of the British in the area, counterbalancing somewhat the centuries-old negative attitude of the Muslim communities against the 'heathens' in their midst.

A stunning change in the (presently egalitarian) Kalasha socio-cultural setup thus appears to have taken place in the period between roughly 1850 and 1910, leading to the introduction of feasts and status symbols from the more stratified societies of the Kati Kafirs. Earlier, the Kalasha political structure may well have been rather that of stratified chiefdom societies, with a few families ruling like feudal chiefs, at the grace of the *mehtars* in Chitral, over poor and oppressed, powerless subjects. Then rival families or lineages may have started to invest in increasing their prestige, *namus*, and for establishing themselves as social groups to be reckoned with in competition with the Kati Kafirs and also vis-à-vis the *mehtars*, who, intermittently, also showed some interest in the Kalasha politically, that is, beyond the Kalasha potential source of slaves and forced labourers. When men like Amir were appointed as tax collectors in the Bashgal valley, new important sources of income opened up. Thus, new energies suddenly emerged, and members of well-to-do families started to build up their *namus* by organizing large feasts and erecting figures of their dead, the *gaṇḍāo*, then unknown (or lost?) in the Kalasha traditions. This new readiness to spend a fortune in the fight for status and power can only be explained by new sources of income and authority, and new forms of socio-political competition. Assumedly, the Kalasha headmen were also driven to compete with the Kati Kafirs, thereby enhancing their own status vis-à-vis their own people and the rulers of Chitral as well as a new dominant force in the area, the British. In addition, they may have felt the need to establish themselves more firmly in view of their much more exposed position after the Islamization of the Afghan Kafiristan in 1896. Basically, however, the Kalasha were probably affected by the far-reaching changes of the times, when Britain's 'great game' and 'forward policy' against the Russians advancing in Central Asia made itself felt even in the princely state (or 'petty kingdom') of Chitral, deeply hidden in the mountains of the Hindu Kush.

NOTES

1. Presently his findings, complemented by contributions by Svend Castenfeldt, Mytte Fentz, and the author, are being prepared for publication under the title *The Old Kalash Society*.
2. The author's study on the art and culture of the Waigal and Ashkun Kafirs will be published by Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart, in the spring of 1997. A second part, dealing with the Kati and Prasun Kafirs, is in the planning stage.
3. They fell prey to Western collectors and, much less so, to Muslim iconoclasts. When the author visited the Kalasha in November 1973, there were still some ten old and not-too-old *gaṇḍāo* in Ramboor, while in Bumboret only two new ones were present. He did not visit Birir, the third of the three valleys inhabited by the Kalasha. In 1996 six more-or-less new *gaṇḍāo* existed, i.e., one in Ramboor, two in Gurul (Birir), and three, partially buried in a flood-affected area, in Biau (Birir).
4. 'Alliance and Elopement. Economy, Social Order and Sexual Antagonism among the Kalasha (Kalash Kafirs) of Chitral, (D.Phil. thesis, Oxford, 1983), p. 497.
5. This was one of the author's research topics during his stay among the Kalasha in July–September 1996, made possible by a grant from the Austrian Science Fund. It was his second fieldwork in the area after his brief visit, mainly to Ramboor, in November–December 1973.
6. It is very likely that the two stunning photographs of Kafirs taken by B.E.M. Gurdon in 1895 and published in L. Edelberg and Schuyler Jones, *Nuristan* (Graz 1979), plates 24–25, relate to this newly established Kati Kafir settlement in Bumboret.
7. In 1972 Mahamurat's figure was purchased and exported to Italy. Later it was brought to the United States, from where it returned to Europe and entered the collection of the Museum of Anthropology in Munich. At some time during or even before its odyssey the figure lost its two horse heads.
8. The figure forms part of the collection of the museum in Peshawar.
9. When the presently last *hazār-pai-pachek-gona-biramūr* was staged in 1977 by a big-man in Ramboor who consistently tried to impress on the whole valley his dominant role of leadership, a *sharuga* was more or less expected when the big-man's father died a few years later. It did not materialize. The high costs of the *biramūr* (seventy-eight large he-goats, one ox, many smaller goats, etc.) must have reduced the interest in more undertakings of such tremendous costs. This *biramūr* may well have been the last one forever of the particular large kind, as nowadays other priorities are gaining the upper hand.
10. In 1980 the first and last *gaṇḍāo* since the 1950s was erected in Ramboor. The figure was still standing in the local cemetery in August 1996.
11. See his paper, 'A Minority Perspective on the History of Chitral: Katore Rule in Kalasha Tradition,' in this volume.

13

NO PEOPLE ARE AN ISLAND

*Birgitte Glavind Sperber**

In this study I will try in brief to analyse how the Kalash,¹ through history, socially as well as culturally, have actively responded to different situations and to the impact from the outside world. I will discuss whether globalization is only a recent phenomenon or whether the actual term can also be applied to the past. Emphasizing on the modern situation, I will attempt an analysis of the surrounding world's interests in the Kalash. In this context I will discuss how conflicting views of what 'Kalasha culture' actually means lead to different views on development.

Part of the discussion will be based on the following case from among the Kalash. During our first stay in the Kalasha valleys we easily learned to distinguish Muslim houses from Kalasha houses—the women's dresses of course were striking. It was also obvious, though, that if there were chickens around a house it was not a Kalasha house. We soon learned the myth explaining why the Kalasha religion objects to chicken.² We learned about the *Bashali* system—a basic element of the religion: women in the state of menstruation and delivery are most impure and so have to be confined to protect the community from defilement. During Chaomos in 1983 the *Bashali* women complained to me that they could not take part in the festivities—it was obvious that everybody obeyed the rules. During the later years I saw chickens gradually being taken into some of the Kalasha households. I also heard that some of the women began taking the *Bashali* rules less seriously. During the latest years people worried very much because of a serious disease among the goats which causes problems for the production of milk and cheese. When I came back this summer there were no chickens in the village.

Washlim Gul said to me:

In May all the fifteen *quasis*³ from all three valleys gathered. First they went to Birir, then they went to Bumboret, and then they came here to Ramboor. They told the people that if we didn't stop keeping chickens, it would be the end of the Kalash. The very same night the fox came and ate all my eight chickens. The men killed it with sticks—you can see the skin hanging there in the veranda. I blame the *quasis*—I could have sold my chickens for 800 rupees.

Quasi Khrosh Nawaz said to me:

All we *quasis* gathered because of the problems with the goats: we realized why, and then we explained to the people: The goats are dying because you don't observe the customs: some families keep chickens. Some women do not go to the *Bashali* when they have to, and some men pray without wearing a hat! Now again everybody is following the custom, and soon the goats will be better!

Goats are essential in the Kalasha religion and life, and the condition of the goats, therefore, was perceived as a symptom of the state of the community. Were the goats dying due to what Peter Parkes (1990a) has called 'cultural slackness' in his description of a similar incident in 1975? Those days a shaman told the people why and what to do.

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Were the religious heads, in other words, once again stabilizing the customs from the inside?

Can the classical anthropological tradition of analysing the so-called 'other' like 'islands' in this case be applied to the Kalash, or should the case rather be seen as an active response to the fact that the Kalash are part of a local and a national, as well as a global, world and have been so through history?

In anthropology *tribal societies* have been analysed as isolated units and their entity as a 'mosaic of cultures.'⁴

Even though *systemic views* came in with Barth's (1956) classical analysis of ecological interactions between groups in Swat—'traditional' societies like the Kalash have also often been ascribed a static culture and static time (Fabian 1983), that is, being 'without history' (Wolf 1982). Has the Kalasha culture ever been static?⁵ Historic-economic factors were taken into consideration, when the world system analysts (Amin 1976; Giddens et al. 1985; Wallerstein 1990) incorporated individual communities into a global entity, but there were still problems when accounting for 'culture.'⁶

Most recently, the consequences of the present global flux of information, values, people, and cultural elements of all kinds have been included in the world system analysis (Hannerz 1987, 1992; Appadurai 1990; Giddens 1990; Foster 1991; Friedman 1992, 1993; Lash & Urry 1993). The possible consequences of the so-called 'globalization' are subject to a current debate in anthropology:

- ☐ Will globalization lead to uniformization: in other words will everybody in due time in 'the global village'⁷ be wearing blue jeans, while watching global TV on their Sony and drinking Coke?
- ☐ Is something new created when people living in 'the global ecumene' (Foster 1991; Hannerz 1992) are exposed to the elements of the global flux, making choices and incorporating elements—often in a new way, giving them new significance—'Creolization' (Hannerz 1989)?
- ☐ Or, using the nationalism-ethnicity-discourse, does exposure to globalization and contact with other values lead to a greater awareness of one's own values leading to establishment of cultural or ethnic boundaries (Barth 1971)?

These questions, I think, can never be answered categorically in any area. They can just serve as analytical tools.

History is positional—that is, the past is often reshaped into a version which fits the needs of the present (Hobsbawm 1983)—also sometimes the needs of outsiders. This is possible in particular when the past is scarcely documented.

Where the Kalash initially came from will probably forever be veiled in mists (for discussions see, e.g., Loude & Lièvre 1984). Did the Kalash, as their oral tradition tells, come from 'Tsiam'—their mythical ancestral country said to be near Yarkand, where people nowadays look and speak so totally differently, since the area came under Chinese domination?

Does this fit into the linguistic theories (Morgenstierne 1973; Bashir 1988) about Aryan migrations from Central Asia with the Dardic speakers as an ancient side branch?

Did the Kalash, as their oral tradition also tells (Saifullah Jan 1990), descend from Alexander the Great's brave general Shalak Shah from Tsiam, whom Alexander gave the Chitral valley as a reward? This myth at least is essential for the romantic image promoted by the tourist industry of the fair-skinned, often blond, and blue-eyed people living a pagan Dionysian life in a country flowing with wine and honey. Promotion of this myth may be

responsible for the strong attraction the valleys exert on tourists from other parts of the country. This version of the past might also be the reason why Greek scholars and developers are attracted to the valleys—it seems to be part of the ‘search for roots’ that for many people is a response to modernity.

Do the Kalash have linguistic ties to the old Palestine as suggested by a linguist at the previous conference in Chitral? Or is this just another ‘search for roots’ theory—maybe meant to legitimize the conversion Christian missionairies want so badly? The origin of the Kalash may be discussed forever.

Far less a matter of discussion seems to be that once, probably around the year 1500 (see, e.g., Parkes 1994) the Kalash were dominant in the entire region: the Kalasha oral tradition mentions eight great Kalasha kings—the last one was Rajawai in Bumboret who even fought victoriously in Nuristan. Local people often find remnants of buildings revealing the past way of life. Scientific studies of languages and other cultural traits give the evidence.⁸

After this period of domination, the Kalash gradually became subject to what might be termed a first wave of ‘globalization’ in terms of a ‘global’ flux of information, values, people, and cultural elements: Islam spread from its centre of origin gaining a foothold over most of the old world prior to the age of the European Renaissance and discoveries (Ahmed 1993).

Unlike the globalization processes of today, though, this spread lasted for centuries, as the speed of spread those days was determined by feet and not by electrons.

According to the Kalasha oral tradition, Islam in the Chitral region at first seems to have been embraced by kings who then converted their subordinates more or less forcibly. The most persistent of the Kalash took refuge from conversion in the less accessible side valleys like Ramboor.

As a result, Muslims became dominant in Chitral and the formerly dominant Kalash became marginalized—subjugated people bound to pay tributes to and perform corvée labour²³ (Parkes 1994; Baig 1994) for the *mehtars*, economically exploited by the tricks of their eastern neighbours (Baig 1994) and subject to frequent robbery raids from their western neighbours on the other side of the snowy peaks.

I have often wondered how this little group of people was able to survive culturally under such strong pressure from outside and why the social structure of the Kalash changed from what the Cacopardos⁹ termed a ‘father society’ (hierarchy during the kingdom period) into a ‘brother society’ (egalitarian, or rather with several competing leaders).

I have also been wondering why purification rites are so crucial in the Kalasha religious system and practices.

Mary Douglas gives a kind of explanation in her analysis of ‘enclave cultures,’¹⁰ which Parkes (1994) was the first to use in a Kalasha context.

Small groups surrounded by strong enemies tend to make strategies which aim towards preventing defection and keeping the group as a unit. It is done through religious systems preoccupied with inner purity in regard to the surroundings and maintaining the world order by means of purification and comprehensive rites. A social demarcation *vis-à-vis* the surroundings, which are strong due to hierarchical social systems, makes the enclave egalitarian, which also means a constant preoccupation with rivalry and factionalism.

This summer, the Kalasha historical and cultural expert Khrosh Nawaz explained to me that the basic *ōmjesta/prāghata* dualism in the religion has been there from the very beginning. This seems plausible, as it is a very ancient way of structuralizing the world in pure/impure, we/them, and cosmos/chaos dualities.

Khrosh Nawaz also said that after the Kalash settled in Ramboor (and thus became an enclave due to marginalization), the purification rites increased, mainly ordered by the great shaman Nanga *dehār*—a confirmation of parts of Douglas's theory. Consequently the religious and social systems of the Kalash seem to be their active strategic responses to change due to impact from outside.

The next exposure to 'globalization' came in the last centuries when the British spread out their territories, people, ideologies and systems, which had an enduring impact everywhere. In this region, a visual remnant from the colonial period is the bagpipes and tartans of the Chitrali Scouts (an example of Creolization).

To the Kalash and other people in the region, the daily contact with the administrative, educational, and legal systems of British origin is a result of this process.

Crucial to the existence of the Kalash became the British Durand Line, which made the Kalasha valleys part of the Raj and so part of today's Pakistan. This prevented the Kalash from being forcibly converted like the Afghan parts of Kafiristan. It was in the British period, though, the Kalash had to accept that land in the upper parts of the Kalash valleys was given to refugees from Nuristan.

From about 1800, nationalism emerged as an ideology in Europe and spread with the colonial powers and the local educated elites like a global wave which still has a deep impact on the world of today (Smith 1989; Hylland Eriksen 1989; Anderson 1991; Foster 1991; Bourdieu 1992; Arnason 1993).

After the formation of Pakistan in 1947, this new state entered a stage of nation-building. Since then it has been a goal for the national government to forge into a unit the multitude of ethnic and religious groups as well as the multitude of environments in the country. The Father of the Nation, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the national constitution,¹¹ the flag, and the national anthem are examples of national symbols of unity.

The tools for linking the territories are roads, domestic flights, the administrative and legal systems, the police, and the army.

The tool for joining the people is the creation of a national identity—directly through the educational system and the national mass media—both promoting Urdu as a common language. The Kalash respond differently to education. Carriers of the religious and oral tradition worry that education may lead to loss of the spiritual purity which is needed for keeping contact with the divine. Thus, Quasi Pali Azam explained to me: 'If people fill up their brains with books they lose their capacity for dream-seeing!' Other people have told me that they want some of their sons to stay out of school and remain as shepherds. This might be interpreted pragmatically, but also as a perceived need of pure minds for guarding the pure goats that are so essential in the Kalasha religion. Most people, though, appreciate that education has come. They consider it an expansion of possibilities—for income and in particular for influencing the community and its relations with the surrounding world by means of new insight and language skills. Education means contact—not only with knowledge but also with values.

Deeply rooted in the Kalasha tradition is that honour first of all is acquired through giving and sharing. Education may lead to change of values from communal concern into a preoccupation with personal gain—which leads to less respect inside the community.

A few individuals even use 'traditional attitudes' as a pretext above their changed values while charming contracts from donors from the outside.

In 1969, the Kalash became citizens in a nation state. Nation-building has facilitated the intrusion of influence and change from outside. The most direct impact on the Kalash has been the road construction. In general, roads have been accepted positively, along with the acceptance of hospitals and other services outside the valleys. Among the Kalash, though,

there is a great awareness and concern about the fact that the state also has big economic interests in the valleys which are facilitated by the roads. First of all there is the extraction of resources—for not only timber for the less forested areas, but also mineral prospecting. The Kalash want their legal share of the incomes from the resources and first of all direct influence on what and how much should be extracted from the valleys. The Kalash perceive this as a pressure from outside and have responded strategically with unity—even with the Muslim inhabitants in the valleys.

Roads also facilitate tourism,¹² which can be considered part of the modern globalization processes: tourism is a result of globalization, where 'globalized' people search for 'originality' and want to see what the global mass media talks about. At the same time, tourism is a major globalizing force, as it means contact and exchange between people (Urry 1988; MacDonald 1993).

Tourism on a big scale has to be controlled as it has the potential to destroy its objects. The Kalash are a major tourist object and so of great economic interest for the public and private tourist industries. This is mainly outside Kalasha ownership and control, which of course leads to concern and frustration among the Kalash—not unanimously, but depending on how much individuals are feeling harassed by, or are earning from the tourists. Tourism may be destructive, but on the other hand, it may also be a culture saving factor in encouraging cultural pride. This is obviously growing among the Kalash, however, mainly due to the activities of their own leaders.

The Kalasha culture has always responded to and evolved along with the surrounding world. To some interests, saving the culture means freezing it into a museum of the living past. I have heard influential people complaining that the Kalasha no longer wear hide straps around their feet but have got shoes. Twelve years ago actually most of the women walked bare-footed in the snow—I have also heard people complaining that stoves and electricity are replacing the romantic open fireplaces in the houses. For the Kalasha women these innovations actually mean fewer smoke-related eye diseases and, for example, a greater possibility of keeping the houses clean.

When outsiders complain and the Kalash do not, even though they are very concerned about keeping their own culture alive, it is because of different perceptions of what 'Kalasha culture' actually is. When asked what 'Kalasha culture' is, a Kalash may reply. '*homa dastur!*'—'our tradition'—in brief, mainly words and ways, determined by the Kalasha religion. This is not what matters to tourists. Most tourists come to see the 'culture' and catch it with their camera—an extra eye.' Thus, tourist interests emphasize the spectacular, the big communal rites and the material culture—dresses, houses, and technology—therefore, the complaints about material changes.

The communal rites are religious manifestations sustaining the world and the unity of the community. If someday these rites become reified as tourist objects (like now the dancing has been taken out of the religious context and is done for money), the basic functions of the rites might vanish along with the unity and the world they maintain.

An increasing dependence on tourist incomes influences the material culture—the women's dresses in particular: once the women become extra picturesque, the incomes increase, and once the incomes increase, money is used for extra decorations of the women.

The Kalasha women are very aware of their role as cultural symbols. This fact increases their pride but may also keep them 'traditional,' which later on might become an undesired strait jacket. Tourism means increased contact—also with other values, sometimes causing frustrations. Contact with Western women, for example, may mean contact with feminist ideas, which may cause the Kalasha women to change their frame of reference. In 1990 a

woman proudly said: 'We Kalasha women are very free: we can go to Birir and Bumboret, whereas the Muslim women have to wear the veil and stay in their houses' (Parkes 1990b). This summer she was very frustrated that her husband would not allow her to travel outside the valleys with foreign friends. Now she feels trapped between modernity and tradition, whereas her husband, due to his outside contacts, needs to take into consideration the norms of the surrounding world, where a local woman travelling freely around will be subject to great disrespect. It is no longer tourists alone who perceive capacity for travel as a symbol of freedom.

Democracy as an ideology can be considered part of globalization and has become a symbol of modernity. Sometimes, democracy emerges due to pressures from below, sometimes from above—frequently even from outside as a precondition for aid or political support on the global arena. Part of democracy is political parties and debate. To the Kalash this has become synonymous with politicians and conflicts: the quest for seats by outside politicians means an often aggressive quest for votes, which again has caused a deep disruption of the unity of the Kalasha community.

As the national elites and decision makers to a very high degree are turned outwards, they also use the global 'development ideology' as a tool in the nation-building process—this is often done uncritically. Development introduced from outside always means change. 'The developed,' though, do not always perceive development defined by outsiders as improved conditions of life (Sperber 1993): people may lose influence over their own situation and perhaps also their 'roots' during the development process and are at risk of reaching a 'point of no return.'

Above, I have given examples of globalizing elements and forces—all apparently homogenizing the cultures of the world, some of them disrupting the unity of small communities.

Are the Kalash heading towards a point of no return—is the Kalasha culture and community maybe at the edge of an abyss? That of course depends on factors in the outside world as well as on the inside.

The government should have an interest in sustaining and not destroying the potential¹³ of tourist incomes: this demands attentive control of and influence over the tourist enterprises delegated to the Kalasha community. It also means education of the visitors—from this country too. Sustaining this economic potential should also be taken literally in the sense of sustaining resources—land, wood, pastureland—a strong economic argument in favour of the Kalasha struggle for their resources (Sperber 1992, 1995).

Some people might think that sustaining the Kalasha culture means that the valleys rather should be kept as a game reserve for researchers and maybe heavily paying tourists (Eidheim 1971).

Saifullah Jan has said to me, 'Man has been to the moon, then why should we be kept in darkness?' Of course, the Kalash do not want to be kept like wild animals.

They know about the outside world. They may not want to go to the moon, but they want development on their own conditions. Development, of course, means change, which has always occurred. Maybe the outside world should listen to how the Kalash define their own culture ('our tradition'), and forget worrying about material changes. 'When the kerosene lamp replaced the torches, did it then destroy our culture? So why should electricity?' (Saifullah Jan).

Reverting to the initial questions about the consequences of globalization and whether it is a threat to the Kalasha community and culture, one finds that it means contacts between values and ideas, but not necessarily amalgamation. In many places, contact has led to greater

awareness of one's own values, and even to a strengthening of these, like for instance when young daughters of Muslim immigrants in the West put on the veil. In the globalized world of today ethnic consciousness is increasing, and 'ethnic boundaries'¹⁴ are frequently drawn anew. This is what happened in the case cited at the beginning of this study.

Like most of the Kalash, the religious heads are concerned about the tradition, which is what keeps the people united above political factionalism and daily petty conflicts—the communal rites like festivals and funerals in particular serve as uniting forces and should not be reified into tourist objects.

Chickens to be sold to tourists for money, as well as new ideas, like that going to *Bashali* is oppression of the women, were obviously interpreted as harmful intrusions from outside which might lead to a gradual cultural decay. The goats are fine indicators and gave the evidence that something was wrong. The *quasis* gave their advice, and apparently everybody obeyed. They did so as in the Kalasha religion the individuals share the responsibility for the entire community because individual religious offence may lead to communal disaster.

So, beside the basic resources, the religious tradition is imperative for the survival of the Kalasha community.

At present, the Kalash know this very well. They even strengthen the tradition from inside—a kind of ethnic boundary making—as shown in the example. Through their outward activities and also internally through their culture, the Kalash respond actively to the impact from the outside world as they have always done. The Kalash are not victims of globalization, but active actors on the national and global stage.

NOTES

1. I have asked Saifullah Jan whether to say Kalash or Kalasha. He said that the name is Kalash, but when used as an adjective it should be Kalasha.
2. Khrosh Nawaz (1983) described the mytn thus:
once, when all the people in Chitral were Kalash, there was no place for Mahandeo in Jumur. There was a woman shaman. She was the daughter of Shai, and her name was Mali. She ordered the people in Jumur to level a flat place. When they had done so, she asked them to bring a pot of milk, a pot of wine, a pot of *ghee*, and seven handfuls of wheat to the place. When they had done this and everybody was gathered there, she entered into a trance—she walked around on the flat place they had made—and suddenly a carved piece of wood appeared upon her head. It just came down from the sky. Then she said: this place is Mahandeo. He has come here now; but in three years a new living thing is going to appear on this place. After that the Muslims will come—the new thing is going to bring Islam here. After having said so, the woman shaman died, and they buried her. After this incident people were anxious to see which new thing was going to appear—they did not know what Islam was. After the three years a chicken appeared, and after that the Muslims arrived, and the people of Jumur began to pray like them and became Muslims. That is why we Kalash do not want to keep the chicken.
3. A *quasi* is the religious expert of a Kalasha village.
4. The 'Mosaic Stereotype,' R. Keesing 1975: 111.
5. In my paper from the Hindu Kush conference in 1990 I documented how the traditional is not at all static with the Kalasha dresses, beads, etc., as examples.
6. In this context I abstain from defining 'culture.'
7. The expression was invented by MacLuhan.
8. Augusto and Alberto Cacopardo are working on these subjects.
9. At the Conference for Kalasha researchers held in Aarhus, Denmark, in April 1993.
10. Mary Douglas 1993, which Peter Parkes kindly borrowed for me: based on the period the ancient Jews spent 'in the wilderness' (described in The Book of Numbers in the Bible) Douglas makes a general theory about which strategies small enclave groups surrounded by strong forces will choose to survive.
11. Although Islam was the reason for the formation of Pakistan, the non-Islamic minorities of the country (for example the Kalash) have the constitutional rights to practice their beliefs.

12. The roads may even be there more because of the tourists than because of the local people: if the road to the major tourist target Bumboret breaks due to a flood, it is repaired in a few days. When the road to Ramboor broke in 1991, the repair took three years' work.
13. According to the former deputy commissioner of Chitral in Parkes (1990b).
14. See Barth 1971 and Hylland Eriksen 1989 for a general survey on the ethnicity discussion.

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THE PHOENIX AND KHOWAR MUSIC

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'Of the major arts, music may be the most ancient, because the urge to sing and dance in response to feelings of anger, joy, or sorrow springs from the body itself. Music may also be described as sound shaped by time.' In Kho culture, music has always been an important element. The Kho people, due to their special natural and cultural surroundings, have been able to develop their own music, which is thought to be one of the most ancient in these regions. Unfortunately, so far no scientific study of the musical art of this area has been carried out to find out its roots as well as its special characteristics.

The importance of music in these areas can be imagined from the fact that in the legends and myths of Central Asia and the subcontinent, a number of miracles are attributed to certain tunes of music. It is generally believed that music is food for the soul. Famous saints of the East introduced music in their spheres of influence to popularize the message of mysticism. Music also has its influence on animals like camels, horses, snakes, and deer. Emperor Jahangir used to hunt deer with the help of music. In the valley of the Hindu Kush and Karakoram love for music is very old and equally common. *Qoqnuz* is one of the finest tunes of Khowar music in these areas. The name of *qoqnuz* is actually borrowed from the local name of a bird called the phoenix, which is thought to dwell in the high mountains of Yasin and Yarkhun valleys of this region. As the legend goes, *qoqnuz* lived for 500 or more years then made a pyre of boughs to sit on and there produced melodious music. The mythical bird is thought to have 360 holes in its bill and through each hole it blows a separate note of music, the combined rythm of which makes the '*qoqnuz hang*' of the tune. When the phoenix reaches its musical climax, its tail catches fire and the boughs begin to burn. The bird goes on singing until it is consumed by the fire to become ashes. One day, from these ashes, the bird will be reborn, passing through the same cycle once again. During the so-called concert of the *qoqnuz*, when the whole valley is filled with its sweet melody, the musicians of the surrounding valleys of Chitral and Yasin gather and hide themselves in nearby caves or tree trunks to learn by heart the different melodies of the music produced by the *qoqnuz*, which they later play on their musical instruments to popularize them amongst the masses. However, it is popularly believed that each note coming out of each hole of the phoenix's bill makes a separate rhythm of Khowar music, and there are thus 360 such different tunes in Khowar, which are thought to have been derived from the original music of the phoenix. Now, for a long time the phoenix has not been seen nor heard but its tune is still played in different parts of the region.

The popular songs of Shinu Balit, and Burushaski are also composed on the musical tunes of the *qoqnuz*. There are several songs of Khowar composed from the tunes of Shina songs and there are Shina songs composed from the tunes of Khowar. Dances and musical instruments, that is, *sitar*, *daf*, flute, and drums of the region, are the same. A new addition, *jerikaen*, has been introduced as a musical instrument, replacing the *daf* during the past

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twenty-five years, which, some argue, has lowered the standard of Khowar music. It is believed that the tunes of many Khowar songs have been derived basically from the 'qoqnuz' melodies. During the last two or three decades, due to the exposure of the area to outside influences through the electronic media, certain changes in Khowar music have occurred. For example, different modern music composers have adopted Urdu, Pashto, and English tunes for Khowar songs. Fortunately, these new experiments have not been successful with most of the music fans. The masses still generally prefer to listen to the old tunes derived from the *qoqnuz* or other traditional musical melodies.

Some people compare the original *qoqnuz* music to the well-known 'depak rag' of Indian music, which enjoys the special attribute of inflaming candles and causing heat in the weather.

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DON'T CRY MY DAUGHTER: LULLABIES AS A KEYHOLE INTO KALASHA CULTURE

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This study deals with a charming genre of women's folk songs, '*su'da ishpaDay'ak ghÖ*,' indigenous to the Kalash valleys. While there are as many styles and themes as there are women who compose these lullabies, these I especially like:

Shuar Begim's Grandmother's Song

Na'no tay nama'lo
wakshi' Shuar Begim
May hat'ya as'ta pruST e
ChuL'ikik as'ta pey haw
May hat'ya ta pruST e
Juruk'ik as'ta pey haw

Wa'wali baca' o
Tay mo'ali wazir'

Wa'wo shehe maw
i'a ta bokmacEk'
gol ne kar'im day, e
parwa' ne karim day

tu'ku tu'ku i, e

janat' kaLaSagrom'
Tay bistyak' rAnjen
kui'una pu'ri kay

Your auntie called you
vain Shuar Begim
To me, though, it's fine
even if you are a daughter
To me, though, it's fine
even if you're just a baby girl

Your grandfather was a king
Your mother's brother a ruler

Your grandfather said this:
she's just worthless (kidding)
but I'm not paying attention
I'm not worried at all

hurry, hurry and come

(to) heavenly Kalashagrom
behind you flocks of animals
fill the valley

Akbar Nawaz's Mother's Song for Her Granddaughter

Gambu'ri hardi'es krom
May Gul Zarin' gamburi

Awo gurzen'duna wor kar'im

Chirik'as kay asam tay hat'ya

Flowers are the heart's work
My little Gul Zarin flower garden
gher'ik-o

Your grandmother is sitting in the
garden, smelling [the flowers]

I've made it like milk for you
[i.e., sweet and wonderful]

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TaLe'La chak kay asam tay
hatya

There I've made shade for you

Du pu'ri kow Arapistan' asis

For two full years I was in Arabia

Arap' pay satir' matro' may
Kay
Hinduistan pruSt bacai', goi

I went to Arabia and the president
said to me:
India is a good kingdom, they say

Ne ta Hindu'es baca' manim day,
Ne ta Ruses baca' manim day

I won't obey India's king
Neither will I obey Russia's king

Hish kas ne mi-o tan wut kas
dem

I'll never give my vote to anyone

Tara kursi'una nisim pay-e
thrown

There I [myself] will sit on a throne

Ta dung la dung la dung lo
Gul Zarin gambu'ri

Ta dung la dung la dung lo
Gul Zarin flower

I have reproduced these songs with three purposes in mind. First, on a purely aesthetic basis, they are delightful, insightful, and fun. They are not written for personal glory or gain, but out of love and good humour as gifts for children and as a means of self-expression.

Second, while I first collected songs simply because the women seemed to like singing them for me, I quickly realized that they were more than 'just words'—that with this sometimes flip and silly and sometimes almost tragic genre, women consciously or unconsciously communicate their deepest cultural values to one another and to their children. Some of the best work in feminist anthropology recently has come out of folklore, out of careful attention to women's creative words. Lila Abu-Lughod (1986), Benedicte Grima (1991, 1992), Margaret Trawick (1990, 1991), Joyce Flueckiger (1991), A.J. Ramanujan (1991), Raheja and Gold (1994), Margaret Mills, and many others have all drawn attention to the way women in different cultures use stories and songs to express their own often subversive and distinctive viewpoints. Raheja and Gold point out, for example, that the way that South Asian women understand their cultural world is often overlooked because researchers attended only to 'authoritative' male discourses and practices. In ordinary interviews, Raheja and Gold found that women are often in agreement with dominant discourses about gender, kinship, and politics.¹ Women's creative reimaginings 'only emerged in the particular contexts in which women invoked them' (Raheja & Gold 1994:24).

It is the general consensus that the perspectives of women and their contribution to the making and remaking of Kalasha culture have been neglected in the Kalasha literature—probably because Kalasha formal, public culture is very much male-centric (cf. & Darling 1979; Parkes 1983, 1988; Loude & Lièvre 1988; Cacopardo & Cacopardo 1989). It is important to attend not only to what is grand and exotic about Kalasha ritual life, but also to the ongoing activities of everyday life—life on the ground, the care and feeding of children, the rhythm of work through the seasons, the cycle of generations. The lullabies women make and sing for children are part of this informal, everyday world. Hopefully, by looking at their songs we can get some sense of what individual Kalasha people most value about their culture and one another.

Finally, I want to conclude this paper with thoughts I've been having about a running conversation, partly with Saifullah Jan² (and mostly in my own head) about the value of anthropological research like mine which is, after all, mostly theoretical and descriptive and seemingly not immediately pragmatic or helpful. Do we have anything at all, something concrete and beneficial, to give to the people who have been so generous to us with their time, and with their lives?

I am not a folklorist nor an ethnomusicologist, so I first started collecting Kalasha lullabies simply because women offered them up to me, more or less as gifts. As I became more engaged by them, I went around with my tape recorder and actively asked women to sing for me the songs they had written or the songs they knew. While the creation of lullabies is primarily a women's genre, like most things in Kalasha culture, the divisions are not strict and absolute and men sometimes think up songs for children or grandchildren also. The songs are made for young children, usually for one's own child or most commonly grandchild, but sometimes also for nieces and nephews or neighbours. Not everyone composes songs, of course. It is a special skill and some women are renowned throughout the valleys for the way that their songs trip out of nowhere and stir the heart. Though there are common themes, each song is different, peculiar to the particular child and context, complete with names and places and associated events. Especially lovely or engaging songs are remembered through the years and spread across the valleys as women go home to visit relatives.

One afternoon as I was visiting up-valley, I came across the mother-in-law of a friend of mine who had just had a baby girl. 'Hey, Gilliana Ispress!', I asked, 'aren't you going to write a song for your new grandchild?'

'Oh,' she said, 'no. She's too little yet. Shimindyaka. I don't know her face yet. I don't know what she is like. When she gets a little older, then I'll know her, and then I'll know what it is I want to say to her.' Gillian's mother-in-law thus carefully corrected a flaw in the way I had been thinking. I had assumed that the singer creates a lullaby as a way of associating an undifferentiated baby to the places and relationships which, in effect, give the baby his/her identity. Rather, as Gillian's mother-in-law's comment demonstrates, lullabies are an introduction of a little individual with a unique personality to the community in which she/he will grow up. In fact, the word for lullaby is '*su'da ishpaDay'ak ghÖ*,' which means 'song to greet the child with kisses' (the way women greet relatives and very close friends they haven't seen for a while).

The very particularity of these songs is striking. In comparison, the Western lullabies with which I am familiar seem horribly generic—as if sung from no one to no one. Kalasha lullabies, in contrast, always include many specific people. Specific individuals are always named in songs, and fathers and grandfathers and mothers' brothers, aunts and grandmothers celebrated for their work and lives, while playmates and cousins set the scene of the spirit of the place in the present generation. The lineage of male ancestors is an important feature of Kalasha society, but women's lives tend to be about pulling diverse personalities and situations and faraway places together in the present. Lullabies represent the strong value women place on integration, on holding together both sides of their family. Songs commonly celebrate children's maternal and paternal relative in the same stanza, linking in song important emotional and economic ties which often go unmarked in more formal genres of speech and song.

Associated with each and every person is the place to which he or she belongs, and this points up an important cultural value. From the outside, the Kalasha valleys may look small, but from the inside they are vast and varied, with almost every field and pasture and spring and valley and rise having a specific name. Each place has a particular history of people and their lives and stories and the changes each made in the cultural landscape. Many songs

celebrate the chaos of many visitors tramping through and the children who run by in a blur kicking up dust (like a flock of goats on the mountainside). The relationship of people to one another and the inseparability of human connections to the land they live in and work on is by far the most pervasive theme in these lullabies.

Another important thread is a running commentary about gender, about the configuration and reconfiguration of men's and women's roles, responsibilities, values, and relationships. Like most people in South and Central Asia, Kalasha people hope for at least one, and preferably many sons. Only sons inherit land and immovable property, and so it is to their own boys that parents look for security and care as they grow older. Boys carry parents' names and memories and land into the future. As much as daughters are loved, not to have a son is a great tragedy. Yet as explicitly necessary as boys are, a family's wealth depends on the intelligence, resourcefulness, and diligence of women. This tension, underplayed in everyday discourse, is explicitly highlighted in lullabies. Shuar Begim's grandmother, for example (in the song transcribed above), describes the list of people who teasingly referred to her baby granddaughter as worthless and coy and a list of other unsavoury adjectives, and then goes on to associate the child with the power and greatness of her maternal and paternal grandfathers, and ends with 'come flowing up to heavenly Kalashagrom, flocks of sheep and goats following you, filling the valley.' Thus, an image of daughters as less valuable because they leave their natal homes is replaced by a salient image of women as bringers of wealth and power.

Common to many of the songs I collected, is women's celebration and assertion of their essential freedom and autonomy. Many lullabies begin with the form, 'Don't cry my daughter (or son), I'm not going anywhere (or I'll take you with me when I go).' With this phrase, women express their fundamental autonomy as an essential cultural value. Both in song and in everyday conversations, women affirm their right to move freely through the valley. In reality, most women stay close to home, their responsibilities tying them to land and children (though many women have been to Uyun and Chitral, 'down-valley' to Peshawar and Islamabad and Lahore, and, recently, one girl is said to have gone to England). But freedom for them lies not so much in actuality, as in possibility, in choice. Women feel they *choose* to be wives and mothers, choose whether to stay (with their husbands and families) or to go. Most choose, of course, to stay, but the fact that this choice is theirs to make is an essential ethnic marker, something they feel differentiates them from neighbouring cultural groups.

Indeed in lullabies, women sing not only of their freedom, but also of the importance of autonomy and independence of the entire Kalasha community. They sing of themselves as kings and ministers and presidents, and not, as they are often portrayed from the outside, as weak and threatened and dependent. 'I won't give my vote to anyone else,' sings one of my favourite songwriters, 'I myself will sit on the throne.' 'Your grandfather was a king, and your mother's brother a great minister.' Or, 'Your father took barren land and built a sweet bazaar.' These songs continuously express pride in being autonomous people and in taking care of themselves.

Moreover, much popular literature deals with the Kalasha as a cultural isolate, a clue to the region's past perhaps, but not a player in the present political scene. In fact, many songs display remarkable knowledge of the world outside of the valley, as well as considerable interest and insight into local, regional, and international politics. M.P. Bandara (owner of Murree Brewery and former minority representative) makes his way into two or three songs, as does the district commissioner, and 'Sadar' Bush. Women sing of Peshawar, Islamabad, Kabul, Saudi Arabia, India, Germany, France, London, America, and Russia. Some songs make complicated links between family and regional politics, as in one song in which a

woman compares being cast out of her son's house because of a dispute with her daughter-in-law to a dispute some years ago in which most of the residents of Ramboor marched out of the valley to protest a dispute over the forest.

In these lullabies then, politics run up every level, from family life to global issues. Kalasha women are clearly interested and involved in the political world, and see political issues as key elements they wish to pass on to their children—the intricacies, disappointments, and joys of living in the Kalasha community, and the relationship of this community to the larger world.

My conclusion is probably already obvious; however, I propose that spelling out the obvious is what anthropologists do best—perhaps it is all we can do. And yet it seems to me that often what is most obvious is most often overlooked—by development workers and government agencies and by local people themselves. Arjun Appadurai (1990) writes that one contribution cultural anthropologists can make is to say the obvious, to identify values which are fundamental to the community so that these ideas can guide the ultimate trajectory of development projects (rather than values which are imported and therefore sometimes ineffective or inappropriate).

One reason these *su'da ishpaDay'ak ghÖ* are interesting to me is that they are not about things outsiders like me usually think about when we think about the Kalasha valleys—they aren't usually about festivals or costumes or Sajigor or Mahandeo or merit feasts. The songs express ideas even more simple and obvious, and so they also offer us the opportunity to learn what women think is important to teach their year-and-a-half-old children:

- ☐ The reverence for the physical place in which they live and the essential connection of people to land
- ☐ The freedom and independence of Kalasha women and their right to make choices about how they live their lives.
- ☐ The great pride in the autonomy of the larger Kalasha community and inseparability of Kalashadesh from Chitral, Pakistan, and the rest of the world.

As to the well-founded question about the practical value of purely academic research, this, then, is what I have to offer:

I think that intelligent, indigenous projects which honour these principles will be both successful and beneficial.

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NOTES

1. See also Keesing (1985).
2. Saifullah Jan is currently the elected representative for the Kalasha. He has worked closely with every Western researcher and development worker who has come to the Kalasha valleys, and quite rightly, has begun to question the value of work like mine. Because I too struggle with issues of representation, anthropology as a continuation of Western colonialism, and the pragmatic value of purely academic research, I valued our conversations for his creative and multisided insights.

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TRADITIONAL DANCE OF CHITRAL AND GILGIT

*Rahmat Akbar Khan Rahmat**

Dance should not be considered in isolation; it has developed under the influence of other things, including the musical instruments and the vocal accompaniment of the dance—the songs sung, their rhythms, and their meanings. Dance is the movement of the parts of the body in specific prescribed motions in times of happiness in accompaniment to instruments and voices. From ancient times, human happiness has been born in the mind and expressed by the body. Wherever human beings live they engage in forms of dance in times of happiness or on special occasions. In the beginning, perhaps, humans danced without any particular order; then later, gradually, different styles of dancing developed—fast or slow—depending on the instruments or the vocal accompaniment. Just like other aspects of human culture, dance keeps on developing and progressing. At first, people struck their hands together to produce sounds, i.e. clapping. Later, stones or sticks were struck together to produce sounds, and words were joined and linked with rhythm and melody to give songs. Then dance developed according to different rhythms and melodies. In order to further the development of dance, people continued to invent new musical instruments. Progressing from sticks and stones, they also began to use skin (leather) and iron in their instruments. Now there are innumerable kinds of music and musical instruments. Every region and every group of people has its own types of musical instruments; styles of dance are also unique to each part of the world. Dance has continued to and will continue to develop and progress. As old dance forms are lost, new ones arise to take their places, and new types of instruments are invented. Now let us turn to traditional Khowar dance.

Traditional Khowar Dance

How did traditional Khowar dance begin and how has it developed? My opinion about Khowar dance is that, without learning it from anyone else, the Kho people have developed a unique style of dance, music, and instruments. After using their old, simple methods, the people of Chitral have from day to day, learning new methods and composing new songs, continued to develop their dance and musical culture. Progressing from the use of sticks and stones, they began to make use of leather and wire. The tambourine (*daf*), drums (*dol*), a large wooden flute (*surmai*), the *damāma*, a pair of small drums (*bam* and *zil*) held between the feet and played with small sticks, *sitar*, and flute came into use. Composing different tunes and rhythms, people began to dance in different styles. From ancient times, the peoples of Gilgit, Chitral, Baltistan, and the adjoining areas have shared a common way of life; in fact, they were a single people. History tells us that these areas were at times under a common rule.

* Chapali, Mastuj. Tehsil The original paper is in Khowar; the translation was done by Elena Bashir.

Even now, many aspects of material and non-material culture—items of daily use, festivals, and life rituals—are common to the peoples of these regions. In particular, the style of singing and dancing has not changed. In spite of having many different languages, the style of singing is common; a single *hang* (style) is sung both in Khowar and in Shina. The names of the old song types (*hang*) are the same, and the style of dancing is the same. The people of Gilgit and Chitral have contributed together to the progress of culture in this area.

To bring beauty to their music, the people of Chitral and Gilgit took melodies from the birds and rendered them with their own voices and instruments. It is appropriate to give an example of this. There is a bird called *qoqnuz* which collects pieces of wood for an entire year and sits on the collected wood on an appointed day, flaps its wings, and begins to sing. Some of the young men of Chitral took their *sitars*, and hiding from the *qoqnuz*, copied its songs with their *sitars*. Each of these young men selected a specific tune for himself and named it after himself. These tunes are played on the *sitar* even today; the names of these songs and those people's names are: Ali Sher Khan, Shah Murad Khan, Berangi, and 'Krui Kumooru' ('The Red Girl'). In addition to these, the Kho people, composing their own original poetry and songs, have given them various names. A song which is sung very slowly is called *peréez* (slow, drawn-out singing); some songs are sung in an intermediate style, neither very fast nor very slow (*ausét*); and some are sung very fast. Dance styles are also identified corresponding to these three styles of singing: slow, medium, and fast.

The best-known styles (*hang*) of Khowar singing are the following: *dáni*, *barwazí*, *šabdaráz*, *šištuwáar*, *tatáli-wawáli*, *hunzigwáar*, *náno žan*, *khongóro sáwz*, *lalo žurgoLót/lekžuúr*, *žuúržaLúung*, *thámnaT*, *sawz*, *žangwáar*, *ɣaLwáar*, *aLɣaniwáar*, *muráli*, *Cóong rigíSi*, *noxtik*, *pasték*, and others.

***dáni*.** These tunes are danced slowly and 'heavily' from the beginning. Both in the beginning and at the end there is a series of jumps. Dancing the *dáni* tunes is more difficult than the other styles; it requires much delicacy and subtlety. It has to be danced with great care and attention, listening to and following the changing rhythms of the *dol* and *surmai* or flute. The following *dánis* are very famous: *sardár metáro dáni*, *mir walí metáro dáni*, *Laspró hakímo dáni*, *yarxúno hakímo dáni*, *loT dáni*, *aráp xáno dáni*, and others. It will be appropriate to tell a little about the background of each of these dances and give a few lines from the songs that accompany them.

1. *sardár metáro dáni*. Sardar Mehtar falls in love and writes a song to his beloved. In spite of hearing his song, she remains silent, showing neither pleasure nor anger. A few words of his song are:

awá lu doóm tu ko xut
kháaL briúšian xut ba xut
don durdána šun yaqút
žanó sáar xoš tu táan
Daq bathánáar bewatháan
dust ki máte no bosáan
ma kya haját ya batháan

I speak and you are silent—but why?
All too soon we will both die.
With teeth of pearl and ruby lips,
You are dearer to me than life.
I will forsake my homeland, choosing homelessness.
If you will not be my friend!
What need have I of this land!

2. *mir walí metáro dáni*. The background of Mir Wali Mehtar's *dáni* and a few lines of it are as follows. Mir Wali Mehtar's beloved is the daughter of an important landholder of the area. She has a big dowry (cattle, bedding, household goods); as she takes it to her husband's house a great number of cows and many dozen goats pass through the lanes of the thickly settled

village. The poet's beloved has gaps between her teeth; delicate bubbles come through the gaps between her teeth, which burst when she speaks. The poet likens these bubbles to buds which burst into blossoms. For him, this is balm for his soul. Mir Wali (the lover) describing this, says:

Duúm dehó mužén, mažáán
raféq jéez angói, nó-aa
mut donán Zengén, žan-ée
žanó wéez angói, nó-aa

Through the deep lanes of the dense village, o my dear
My beloved brings her dower goods.
From the gaps between her teeth of moonstone
She brings balm for my soul.

3. *Laspró hakimó dání.* The real name of the *hakim* of Laspur was Mir Shah, whose beloved was a very famous woman. Her mother would send her here and there on spurious errands to prevent her from being taken away by her lover. At the end, when they give her to another man, Mir *hakim* says the following:

ta nan ta kureén kaseé ta gudáaz areér
asmanáar sayúurj xomí xošó Dáaz areér

Your mother wore you out, sending you here and there.
A falcon swooped down and snatched away my beloved.

Using unusual complimentary language about his rival, the poet compares his beloved's husband to a falcon.

4. *yarxúno hakimó dání.*

Yarkhun is Chitral's northernmost frontier—near the boundary of Wakhan. Abdul Murat Khan, the Hakim of Yarkhun, was a very sophisticated and sensitive person. This song was sung by his beloved to his friends on an occasion when he had gone to play polo. He was a very good polo player; she praises him in the following words.

hakím jalsoóte bíran-
hakímo vesúur.
ma kuhó babaáti mayún
sarháda asuúr.
awá ju kaLúm nezíko
tu kos žibós bíim?
išqó kormán jam huS korói
yarxúno hakím.

My hakim is going to a polo match—
Wait for him.
My golden oriole, worthy of the lush lowlands,
Bides in the harsh frontier.
When I compose a few lines of song
Why do you become fearful?
The hakim of Yarkhun
Knows well the ways of passion.

barwazí. This song is written about an old woman named Barwazi. She is an important personage, preceded by an impressive reputation. When she is travelling to distant places orders are given for her reception and help in all the villages. Thinking that she will have a lot of baggage, the people arrange for a party of men to carry her baggage; arrangements for her meals are also made. All the people are interested and eager to see her; she is a very important woman and they want to meet her. But when Barwazi comes they see that there are no people accompanying her, nor is there any baggage. She has only one skin bag of wool and one skin bag of *SoSp²*, her food for the road. Then, complaining about their disappointment in her appearance, the people sing the following satirical song.

barwazí waw-ée
 barwazí xomiítai
 áan díti xomiítai
 wáwo báar ambóh-ée
 i burdíkia poSp-ée
 i burdíkia SoSp-ée
 utáxan bLatsháwuur
 ser pónan sawzáwuur.

Old Lady Barwazi—
 Barwazi has descended on us.
 She came down over the mountain.
 Hey, what a lot of baggage she has—
 One skin bag of wool,
 One skin bag of SoSp!
 Collect everything for her needs,
 Fix up all the bridges and roads!

While dancing *barwazí*, the dancers wear the *šuqa*³ and move from side to side and forward and backward taking slow, elongated steps. The style of this dance imitates the actions of an eagle. In the old days, the dancers placed their hats on the ground, imagining them to be partridges hiding from fear. Spreading the sleeves of their *šuqa*, they imitated the flight of an eagle. They approached the hat with arms held close to their sides, imitating a bird of prey stealthily stalking a partridge. When they are not able to catch it, they again spread their arms (wings), go back, and fly around. During the course of the dance they repeat these motions several times. By the end of the dance they still do not succeed in catching the partridge (hat). The dance of *barwazí* is very difficult; very few people are able to do it.

šabdaráz (long night). This is also a heavy, slow dance, and is danced while wearing the *šuqa*. The poet of *šabdaráz* thinks about his beloved all night and is not able to sleep. Thus, the night seems very long to him. For this reason, the word *šabdaráz* is repeated from time to time during the poem, and the song is also called 'šabdaráz.' His beloved is in love with an older man. The poet addresses these lines to her.

zarúo dust mo gané
 sulúkan huS no korói.
 se beqaidá.
 juwáan ta qadró korói
 se ta faidá, éé šabdaráz
 ta don dílo mut
 ta goóL bayáz, éé šabdaráz.

Don't take an old man as your love;
 He won't understand how to treat you properly. This is not proper.
 Your teeth are moonstone from Delhi,
 A young man would appreciate you;
 That would be good for you, o long lonely night.
 Your throat as transparent as glass,
 O, my long lonely night.

šištuwáar. This is a very old style (*hang*). It is accompanied by the drum and *surmai*. A large number of men wearing the *šuqa* form a line, following the leading dancer and imitating his movements. Following one after another, the line of dancers move in a circle. Then coming to stand in a line facing the musicians, first putting the right foot forward and moving it around in a circle while tapping the ground,⁴ each dancer slowly makes a complete revolution; then he does the same thing while keeping his right foot in place and moving his left foot, and then once more, keeping the left foot in place and moving the right foot—for a total of three revolutions. Returning to his original standing position, each dancer *salaams* the musicians then begins a quick dance, rotating in circles with each dancer maintaining his own position. This is the last movement of the dance.

tatáli-wawáli (ducks). This dance is also danced with the dancers wearing the *šuqa* and following each other in a line, as in the *šištuwáar*. Like the *barwazí*, this dance is also the imitation of birds. The dancers follow each other in a circle, imagining that the sleeves of their *šuqa* are wings, and imitate the motions of flying. One dancer, holding a rifle or long stick in his right hand, makes a waving, shooing motion with his left hand, waving the sleeves

of his *šūqa* to drive the ducks into a position favourable for him—stalking, moving here and there, aiming his gun, pulling it back and moving to another place, waiting until a time when all the ducks are lined up, to get a better shot. His hands and feet follow the rhythm of the music, becoming faster or slower according to the music. During the dance, the dancer playing the hunter moves around the other dancers at a distance. At the conclusion of the dance, when the dancers ('ducks') form a line, the hunter moves into a position imagined to be a breastwork (*bánguT*), aims his rifle and cries, 'Tááx,' imitating the sound of a gun firing. The rest of the dancers, mimicking ducks flying up in disorder from the duck pond, moving hither and thither in front of and behind each other, leave the dancing ground. This dance is very enjoyable.

hunzigwáar. The *hunzigwáar* is danced in a slow, heavy manner, swaying the body from side to side. It is a *sawz*-rhythm dance, that is, a fast dance, but it is the slowest of them.

thámnaT. The *thámnaT* is a very fast dance. Both the instrumental music and the dancing are fast. This dance comes at the end of a festival or dance programme (*išTók*).

aLyaniwáar. In the *aLyaniwáar* style, Khowar words are sung to an Afghan (i.e., Pashto) rhythm. This is a fast dance.

lálózáng. This is another fast dance.

muráli. On the night preceding the circumcision of a son, dancing of many different dances and singing continue all night until dawn and even on until broad daylight. The boy to be circumcised is dressed in new clothes; a handkerchief is tied around his neck and a garland of apricot kernels is placed around his neck. Then a man takes the boy and dances with him. This is done to dispel the boy's fear of the coming circumcision. In this dance style (*hang*) the drum and *surnai* are played. Other people also come to dance before the boy in order to make him happy. After this, the circumcision is done.

hamáangi. At the time of sending off a daughter to her (new) husband's home, this song is sung. The dancers precede the girl, dancing along in a procession. This dance (*hamáangi*) and *žuúržuLúng* are performed in Yasin even today.

žuúržuLúng. This dance is performed on the occasion of the marriage of a youngest son and also on the occasion of the circumcision of a youngest son. Lighting a fire on top of a large iron griddle (*taw*) to provide light, the dancers dance in a circle around the fire holding each other by the hand. Releasing each other's hands, they continue dancing in a circle and then again take each other's hands. This sequence is repeated five or six times. Performing this dance is called *žuúržuLúng korík*. The words of the song accompanying this dance are as follows.

žuúržuLúng kóman hanún ma žawó anús;	On this day I perform my son's circumcision rites,
ažélian xošanío kóman ma nang ožo namús.	Celebrating my children and my own honour and pride.
Chetráarar Dóok táw angóom;	From far Chitral I will bring a domed griddle;
hatéra jam rošt koróm.	And on it light a bright fire.
bujáyoó ⁵ dróxum surnai	The surnai of the House of Bujayé is of silver;
jam bápo nowés jam birái. ⁶	The grandson of a good grandfather will be a good man.

noxtík. This is a unique dance. It was very famous in the *sarhad* (distant, rugged, high-altitude) parts of Chitral. In a house where a celebration, for example a wedding, was taking place, this dance was danced first of all. It is done as follows. About five to ten young men holding each other by the hand form a line and set out singing for the house of celebration. They start singing the *noxtík* songs in loud voices outside the wall of the house compound or in the courtyard of the house. Hearing the song, the people inside the house clear a space for them. Then the *noxtík* starts. A pair of young men at one end of the line start to sing the *noxtík* song. When the pair at one end finishes singing, the pair at the other end begins to sing. These singers at the ends of the line do not dance; they only sing.

In the centre of the line of *noxtík* dancers, an experienced dancer squeezes the hands of the two men next to him in line, to signal to them that the next movement of the dance is to begin. The signal is passed on down the line from dancer to dancer by each dancer squeezing the hand of the person next to him. Each new movement of the dance is signalled by the leader in this way.

Then all the dancers stamp their feet in unison and call out, '*háa láál, háa ha*' in unison. The sequence of movements is as follows. (1) First, standing firm on the left leg and keeping the heel of the right foot on the ground, they tap the ground with the right foot. (2) Then they raise the right knee quickly and put it down several times, waiting for the signal for the next movement. (3) Then, planting the left foot slightly behind the right foot, the dancers bend their right knees, dipping progressively closer to the ground. At the signal, they touch their right knees down to the ground and then rise quickly. Then they kneel down on one knee quickly and rise quickly several times, waiting for the signal for the next stage of the dance. (4) In the next movement, the line sways first to the left, the dancers extending the left foot sideways; then the line sways to the right, the dancers extending the right foot sideways. Then, at the signal, standing on the left foot, the right foot is swung forward and to the left. This motion is repeated several times. Then, the dancers standing on the right foot, the left foot is swung out and to the right. At the next signal, the dancers jump up and stand very straight, then kneel down quickly on one knee. Repeating this several times, they end up in the kneeling position. This is the end of the dance.

Two songs accompanying the *noxtík* are '*máal*' (or *zrinžéeri*), and '*Dúsra bap*.' Two lines from '*máal* (*zrinžéeri*)' are:

zrinžéerio taw dráaru, kya máal-ée máal'
taw dreé maylís wa kardú wa

They started baking bread for your celebration, o Maal.
Then they held the festivities.

'*Dúsra bap*' is a humorous satirical song, poking fun at a man named Dusra and his hunting. It goes very well with the dance style of *noxtík*. Some of the words are:

Dúsra háte bápo bayúot maSkuúr
Dúsra háte bápo samánan angyóor
Dúsra háte bápo pušíri kirkóT
Dúsra háte bápo čantrúken Zikán.
rom čhíti ta múuLtu Cokít
Dúsra háte bápo thuék čikít.

Call Old Man Dusra to go hunting;
Bring Old Man Dusra's hunting gear—
Old Man Dusra and his foot wraps of cat skin⁸
Old Man Dusra and his laces of vine stems.⁹
The herd has broken and is coming up toward him;
Old Man Dusra's rifle is only a popgun.¹⁰

Pasték

The singing for the *pasték* begins right after the *noxtík* finishes. To begin the *pasték*, three men sing '*háa, láal, háa hah, šáabáš háa hah,*' in unison. Clapping once in unison, all three

men face inward toward each other; then turning quickly and clapping once they all face outward away from each other. Repeating these motions, the group of three describe a circular path. After this circuit, they take each other's arms, they lift their legs and bending their knees, gradually dip closer and closer to the ground. Then they sit down quickly and get up quickly. This sitting down and getting up is done while revolving in a circle. The dancer rises in the same place where he sits down; that is he sits down, revolves, returns to his initial position, then rises. Several circuits like this are done first to the right and then several to the left. The two singers near them sing from the beginning to the end of the dance.

The songs that are sung with the *pasték* are (i) '*guláh*' and (ii) '*dáledarbánd*.' In *guláh* the lover addresses his beloved. Some of the words are:

ma gul wa γechário taít, ée wóorgóLióo	My Gul, you are a charm against the evil eye; o, fragrant-throated one.
froskío kuThúa ta nezím reém, la ma žan-ée.	I would fasten you to my right shoulder, I wish; o, my dear one.
ma gul wa boyák bíti bis, ée wóorgóLióo	My Gul, you are going away; o, fragrant-throated one.
ma kyaní korí bis reém, la ma žan-ée?	What will you do for me before you go, I ask; o, my dear one.
xoi ma kos hósta táan det, ée wóorgóLióo	Either give me into someone's care; o, fragrant-throated one
xoi ma ganí táan bogé reém, la ma žan-ée.	Or take me with you, I plead; o, my dear one.

A few verses from '*dáledarbánd*' are given here. The lines are addressed by the poet to his beloved, who lives in a place called Daledarband.

dáledarbánd-ée miránan babaát	O, Daledarband, worthy of kings.
gsko-ée goóman-áá γóoš no boói.	Were you to call me I would come; but I don't have the chance.
dáledarbánd-ée xuránan žayá	O, Daledarband, the abode of <i>houris</i> .
gsko-ée goóman-áá γóoš no boói.	Were you to call me I would come; but I don't have the chance.
dáledarbánd-ée čilfkio táan čháay	O, Daledarband, cool shade of the weeping willow.
gsko-ée goóman-áá γóoš no boói.	Were you to call me I would come; but I don't have the chance.
dáledarbánd-ée SabLúkio táan gáaz	O, Daledarband, fragrant fields of clover.
gsko-ée goóman-áá γóoš no boói.	Were you to call me I would come; but I don't have the chance.

Cóong rigfSi (beard that sticks out horizontally). This is a playful dance in the form of a drama. It is also called *aLók samaá*. This dance drama used to be performed in the frontier areas of Chitral on special occasions. It is a happy shepherds' festival, celebrated when the goats are brought back down from the high pastures to the village at the beginning of winter. The village shepherds¹¹ take along other young men to sing and dance with them, starting at the top or bottom of the village and visiting each house turn by turn. Dancing from house to house, they receive the items of compensation due to them¹² and at midnight gather at a selected house, cook a meal, and sing and dance all night.

Another version of this dancing and singing (*išTók*) is as follows. A big pumpkin shell is prepared, and holes for eyes and mouth are cut to fit in front of the eyes and mouth of the wearer. Big teeth of white wood are fixed into the mouth, and a big nose made of dough is attached; then mustache, eyebrows, and beard made of goat hair are glued to the pumpkin shell. One of the most experienced shepherds fastens it over his face and dances. At night, the shepherds play the tambourine first in the courtyard of the house to announce their arrival. The people of the house, even if they are asleep, let them in. They begin to dance in the area

near the door used to store firewood (*šom*) or in the area around the central hearth (*phéran lašT*). During this time, wearing the pumpkin shell on his face like a mask and wearing frightening clothes and carrying a bundle bound on his back, the main dancer (*bap* 'old man') comes forward in front of the other dancers. Seeing him, the children are frightened. He sings the following song while continuing to dance.

Cóong rigíSi, Cóongi bááp,
Cóong rigíSo dóna det;
just awánan méha det.
bap ki pišawúr bayái
tan wáwote kyaáy angói?
sot batí gizgíz angói;
wáwo asmanén angói.

You with your beard sticking out—sticking-out bearded old man,
Grab your sticking-out beard between your teeth;
Tie both skirts of your *šuqa* behind your back.
If the old man goes to Peshawar,
What will he bring for his old woman?
Seven *batí*¹³ of *gizgíz*¹⁴—,
He will take his old woman to heaven.

There are many humorous and bawdy verses and songs sung during the *bap*'s (the shepherd with the pumpkin mask) dance. At one point during the *bap*'s dance they dress up a stick in women's clothes and drape it with a veil, making it into the shape of a woman. Then they bring the woman figure to the front of the crowd of people standing around. The dancing *bap* sees it and is delighted. While he is dancing he asks for a pipe to smoke. They give him a lighted piece of wood as a pipe. He puts one end of the stick in his mouth and begins to cough in imitation of the effect of smoke going down his throat. After this, the *bap* resumes dancing. He advances toward the woman figure and pretends to be afraid, then retreats, dancing all the while. Then he approaches her again and taps her quickly. When he does this the onlookers encourage him by clapping and playing the tambourine. He grabs for her and retreats three or four times, then finally he seizes the woman figure with both hands and holding her around the waist begins to dance with her. While dancing with her he also wrestles with her. Twice he falls backward with the woman figure falling on top of him (giving the appearance that the woman has knocked him down). The third time he knocks her down and falls on top of her. The wooden woman figure breaks. Then a group of people take the role of her father's relatives and two of them say to the *bap*, 'You have killed our daughter; give us her blood price.' Then the *bap* approaches each person in turn and asks for a contribution toward the penalty. He sits in the lap of each person and does not get off until that person has given him something. Thus each person gives him something or other: someone gives him money, someone gives him a handkerchief, someone gives him something else, and so on.

The shepherds play this game at each house. In this way they manage to collect a lot of things and money, since the shepherds are owed payment by every household. The mature goats grazed by the shepherds during the summer are slaughtered at the beginning of winter. The ribs of these goats are the shepherd's share. They are also given tea, salt, *ghee* or fat, and firewood. Until midnight they go from house to house. Then at midnight they gather at another, pre-arranged, house, cook the foodstuffs they have received, and sing and dance until dawn. Since they are not able to visit all the houses in the village in one night, they visit the rest on another night and do the same thing. This song-and-dance drama is called *bap bík* or *qalamdarí*.

The preceding paragraphs have discussed some of the traditional songs and dances of the people of Chitral and Gilgit. Now, it is necessary to discuss the proper rules and conventions of Khovar dancing.

Rules and Conventions of Khowar Dancing

Every art has its own rules, methods, principles, and rules of courtesy and protocol. When a person dances, he draws the attention of a large gathering of people to himself. Thus, the dancer should observe the rules and principles of the dance. If the dancer's pride and self-confidence, his skill, his emotion, and his enthusiasm are expressed in a precise, controlled, and structured way, everyone will enjoy his dance. Then he will be considered a skilful and principled artist.

Today, however, the principles of dance are not being observed. The dancer simply comes forward and moves his body and hands to the rhythm of clapping or of the drum and tambourine. He just displays his youth and strength, his enthusiasm, and his technical skill to get praise from the spectators. Most of the onlookers also do not know the rules and proper order of the dance. Even a horse or a kid will dance to the music of a beautiful tune, but human beings should follow principles. For this reason, it is necessary to describe the rules and principles of dancing, so that the difference between the disordered jumping around of the *aLganiwáar* style and the controlled movements of the Khowar style can be understood.

In the old days, dancing and singing for the *mehtars* was very important. To earn the praise of the *mehtars* was considered great good fortune. For this reason, people interested in dancing went to a teacher to learn it properly. The *mehtars* invited very distinguished people from their areas to dance at their gatherings. Sometimes the *mehtar* would invite the members of his cabinet and the royal family to very special, exclusive gatherings. Even some of the *mehtars* themselves danced in these exclusive groups. For this reason, everyone tried to learn the proper rules and principles of dancing, so that if they became good dancers they would be invited to the *mehtar's* special gatherings and have the opportunity of getting close to the *mehtars*.

Among the dances, the *dáni* style is the most famous. There are many different *dánis*, as I have outlined above, for example, *sardár metáro dáni*, *mir walí metáro dáni*, *Laspró hakímo dáni*, *yarxúno hakímo dáni*, *loT dáni*, *aráp xáno dáni*, and others. Some dancers would specialize in one *dáni*, and others would master another. The dancers would request the instrumentalists to play a certain *dáni*, and it became known which dancer preferred to dance to which *dáni*. Sometimes, the *mehtar* would order a certain man to dance; then the musicians (*Dom*), knowing which *dáni* was preferred by this dancer, would play it even without being asked.

In the old days in the Gilgit area, each *qaum* (tribal or lineage group) had a music style (*hang*) exclusively associated with it. No one except the people of that *qaum* danced in that style. The members of the *qaum* would consider it an insult if anyone else danced in their style.

To dance in the *mehtar's darbars* (courts) was an honour, and if the *mehtar* ordered a person to dance, he was very happy. Those people danced according to the rules, principles, and protocols of the dance. These rules and principles were also followed in other gatherings.

Proper Sequence of Dance Movements

This paragraph describes the proper sequence of dance movements, as they used to be observed. After the drums would begin to play, the dancer would come forward facing the musicians and salute the *mehtar* if he was present, or the other distinguished and high-ranking persons present. Then, in a fixed order, according to the rhythm, he would jump—first

touching the right foot to the ground and then jumping up, then touching the left foot to the ground and jumping. He jumped in this way six or eight times. After this he would face the musicians and spin around in place very fast. Next he would turn around, touching his right foot to the ground while keeping his left foot stationary. Then he would turn to the left, tapping his left foot and keeping his right foot stationary; and then once more reverse direction and tap his right foot. After completing the *tsopík* cycle, he would *salaam* the *mehtar* once, then extend his left hand straight out bent at the elbow, keeping his right hand by his side, and rotate in place to the left. Then he would do the same thing again, this time extending his right hand and rotating to the right. After the sequence of turning in place was executed, the dancer and musicians would pause for a moment.

Then, coming forward to face the drummer, the dancer performed the *tsopík* movements, the quick turning, and the pause in front of the drums. After a pause, the drums played very softly and the dancer slowly moved backward to the far end of the dancing ground, moving backwards in a zigzag sideways progression. Then he would come back toward the musicians, increasing his speed as he approached. At this time, the drum and tambourine would play fast and loud. Then the dancer, with his left hand extended straight out and bent at the elbow, would make two or three fast circuits of the entire dancing ground. He would stop at the far end of the ground and then make two or three circuits in the opposite direction. At the end of the last circuit he would stop at the far end of the dancing ground and, facing the musicians again, perform the same jumping movements that he began with. Next he would come forward to face the musicians and turn rapidly in place, first in one direction, then in the other. After this he would tap his foot on the ground (*tsopík*) while rotating—first to the right, then to the left, then to the right again. Next, he again would come to face the *mehtar* or honoured personalities and salute them, after which he would leave the field.

This order of steps should be followed with each dance type (*hang*), but with the *sawz* and *aLganiwáar* styles it is not followed. With the *dáni*, *hunzigwáar*, and other slow styles, however, it is absolutely necessary to follow these rules.

Conclusion

This has been a description of some of the traditional dance, singing, and music of the peoples of Chitral and Gilgit. Dance, singing, and listening to beautiful sounds and melodies play a great part in creating happiness for human beings. By nature, people do not like to listen to sounds or words of sorrow; one listens to them only out of necessity. Rather, people prefer to give their attention to actions or words which tend to make them happy, and try to keep such things close to themselves in their life. If a person spends one day happily, he or she will remain happy for several days. Since this is so, it is natural for people to take interest in music and dance. If one looks at history, one sees that religious figures of olden days also used music and dance as part of their religious teaching, attracting people to themselves with the sweet sounds of music and then beginning their religious teachings. For example, Maulana Ruum, Moihuddin Chishti, and Nasir-e-Khisrau adopted this method. Even now, the *qawwalis* of *faqirs* at the shrines of saints are important evidence of this. The people of every region should work for the preservation and development of their culture.

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NOTES

1. Here 'friend' means 'beloved'.
2. *SoSp* is similar to the *halva* of the lowlands. It is made from flour ground from sprouted wheat, which gives it a delicate natural sweetness.
3. A *žuqa* is a long, cloak-like coat of homespun wool with long sleeves.
4. This movement is called *tsopík*.
5. *Bujáoó* is (probably) the name of the house in which the ceremony of *žuúržuLúing* is being celebrated.
6. The last two lines are in ritual praise and celebration of the family lineage.
7. *Maal* is probably the name of the man whose wedding is being celebrated.
8. Catskin foot wrappings would be very flimsy and not durable.
9. Laces, i.e., thongs to bind the foot wrappings, were usually made of leather; thongs of vine would be weak.
10. A *čikít* is a gun which fires only a tiny bullet.
11. All the villagers' goats were taken out collectively to pasture by four or five shepherds, who were paid compensation by the other villagers.
12. These things include the ribs of one goat, wheat flour, salt, fat from a goat or *ghee*, tea leaves, and two or three pieces of firewood.
13. One *batf* equals 10 *pou* or 2 1/2 *seers* (1 *seer* is slightly less than 1 kilogram).
14. A mineral substance used as an aphrodisiac.

THE LONGING FOR A PARADISE ON EARTH: ETHNIC TOURISM TO THE KALASHA

*Jürgen Wasim Frembgen**

Introduction

For many years some of the most outstanding destinations of ethnic tourism have been tribes and peoples such as the Toraja (Celebes), Tuareg, Eskimo, Indians in North, Middle, and South-America (e.g., the San Blas Kuna in Panama), Australian Aborigines, and the Polynesian islanders. In South, West, and Central Asia, however, individual and group travellers unequivocally focus on the archaeology, art, and nature of the respective countries. This region, which was predominantly characterized by ancient civilizations, is also travelled by the ethnic tourists, who chiefly visit villages, observe dances and ceremonies, and buy arts and crafts. Tibet, as well as the Hunzukuts in the Karakoram in Pakistan (as a combination of natural and ethnic tourism) and the Kalasha¹ at the outermost north western border of the country, are the most popular destinations.² The minority of the Kalasha (approximately 2500 people, two-thirds of which are non-Muslim) living in three valleys of the remote Hindu Kush belong, together with the ethnic groups mentioned at the beginning, to the so-called 'fourth world.' Valene Smith remarks on these destinations of ethnic tourism: 'Frequently these tourist targets are far removed from the 'beaten path' and attract only a limited number of visitors motivated by curiosity and elite peer approval' (1977: 2).

The Development of Ethnic Tourism to the Kalasha

In comparison with neighbouring ethnic groups of north Pakistan, the Kalasha are scientifically very much explored: at least sixty publications (monographs and articles) are recorded. They are well-known in Pakistan as well as in Western countries due to travel literature and tourism advertising. Attention has been focused on them because they remained the last 'non-believers' (*kafirs*) preserving a pagan culture, which the neighbouring Nuristanis (or Kafirs as they are called in scientific literature) lost in the process of Islamization. One can agree with A.S. Ahmed when he writes: 'There has been, perhaps, more speculation on, and fascination with the Kafirs, than with any other race in Central and South Asia' (1986: 23). Still, anthropologists particularly like doing research among minority cultures—this shows the case of the Kalasha, too. There were about twenty anthropologists in the field (some continue their studies even today) and some younger colleagues planning to do so. Besides these, a considerable number of individual travellers have visited this area since the 1960s and partly tried to live together with the locals for a longer time. A.S. Ahmed (1986:27) says—obviously referring to the 1980s: 'The density of visitors to native population is probably among the highest in the

* State Museum of Ethnography, Munich, Germany.

world including the obligatory Japanese anthropologist and Cambridge female undergraduates in Kalash dresses, gone quite native.³ Fascinated by a still pagan population that tries to preserve its traditional culture, hippies frustrated by their own civilization and presumably one or another anthropologist imagined themselves to be in an ideal land, an Arcadia. Here, like elsewhere, the lines between 'alternative travellers,' adventure tourists, hobby-anthropologists, and professional anthropologists are often very blurred⁴—particularly from the perspective of the Kalasha. It is quite interesting to note that the local Pakistani tourists and the so-called study tourists, who since the 1970s have often come for day trips to the Kalasha valley of Bumboret in the course of their programme, never reach an intercultural dialogue. Concerning the touristic development and exploitation, Maureen Lines (1988:191) writes:

The road which opened up Bumboret in the seventies soon brought this, the widest of the three valleys, to the attention of visitors, and before long unscrupulous entrepreneurs from outside the valley, ventured in, tricked the local people out of a number of their walnut trees..., and some of their land, on which they built ramshackle and primitive hotels, and left the Kalash little chance to make even a few rupees from the new and meagre tourist industry⁵. It should be added that tourism gives only a few Kalasha a second occupation worth mentioning; as Karl Wutt remarks in a letter, 'especially to those, who are anyway relatively rich, for instance some christianized and a few persons converted to Islam, who exploit their own people and present them to foreign visitors.'

The Kalasha in the Mirror of Tourism Advertising

The adoption of Kalasha culture in travelogues, touristic handbooks, catalogues, reports, and films of journalists unveils something about the exotic points of attraction, dreams, and the longing of the individual—and group travellers, and thereby the motivations to embark on such a tour.⁶ Light fiction like this, which provides very little information, is mostly the only source of preparation for the concerned area. It influences the tourists' expectations as well as their actual experience and behaviour. In German speaking countries, the chapter on the Kalasha in Helmut Uhlig's book *Am Thron der Götter* (1978; pp. 76–86) seems to have been used as a guide for textwriters of travel brochures and for journalists. In English speaking countries, and in Italy, Fosco Maraini's richly illustrated description of the Dionysical and paradisiacal life of the Kalasha in his *Where Four Worlds Meet* (1964/original Italian edition 1963; pp. 242–70) will have inspired several to take a trip. Many French tourists have read the books of the anthropologists Jean-Yves Loude and Viviane Lièvre before coming to the Kalasha.

The 'Greeks' of Asia

An important aspect of the Kalasha image in tourism advertising is—as with the Hunzokuts—their alleged descent from the soldiers of Alexander the Great, and in connection with that the emphasis on blond hair, light skin colour, and blue eyes.⁷ The journalist Hilmar Pabel sees the ethnogenesis as quite simple and clearly attributes it to Alexander's soldiers as a 'historic fact': 'The Kalash are a living proof of their successful endeavours to gain the favour of the local beauties' (1984: 34). The 'myth of the Greek blood' of the Kalasha and neighbouring Kafirs (Nuristani) was mentioned again and again in scientific publications in the past, and recently even in two dubious notes of Kurt Horedt (1990, 1991) in the otherwise respectable

Mitteilungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, one of which bears the title 'Macedonians at the Hindu Kush.' A Kalasha girl and two children are depicted on a new poster printed in 1997 by WJ Classics (Rawalpindi), the accompanying text leaves no doubt:

The Kalash tribe, remnant of the Greek army which accompanied Alexander the Great in 326 BC. The fair features of the Kalash race are specially obvious in some of the young children with blond hair and blue eyes. Their centuries old traditions and culture has not changed with the passage of time.

Tourists as Voyeurs: Festivals, Dancing Women, and Shamans

In the afore mentioned light-fiction-feeding-ethnic-tourism, the Kalasha are very idealized. The special emphasis on their animism ('Naturreligion') and figural art and, above all, on their festivals, rituals, and dances, is noticeable. As main attractions, the experience of the spring festival and the dances of female groups and shamans are extolled.⁸ In brochures of Studiosus Studienreisen 'The Special Tour—The Spring Festival in Chitral' is one of the headlines. This event is called one of 'the few original non-commercialized festivities in our age.'⁹ It is concealed that the local Pakistani travel agency has to pay its contribution to the administration in Chitral Town.

The Kalasha women have the reputation of being especially beautiful and elegant. A.B. Rajput writes for example: 'Beaming with healthiness and favoured by a clear and fresh complexion, the women can be counted among the most appealing representatives of female beauty' (1964: 3).¹⁰ In a trekking-guide it can be read: 'The Kalash women are often very attractive and have an outgoing manner that is disarming, delightful, and unexpected in a region where *purdah* is generally practiced' (Swift 1990: 93). For photographs for tourists they mostly pose only for money, which is sometimes decently mentioned.¹¹ Women of the still pagan Kalasha, not committing themselves to *purdah* rules, have also attracted the curiosity of the Pakistani tourists, who—in the feeling of absolute liberty—'want to admire and photograph the women extensively' (Jettmar 1975: 327). Annoyances by tourists not seldom seem to get out of hand and become a virtual chase after women.¹² More commercialized relations between hosts and guests are hardly to be imagined. The women are highly valued as photographic subjects during dances, which originally belonged to religious rituals. The geographer Klaus Haserodt remarks on this topic:

One has built rest-houses for tourists (in Berer and Bumboret), where nearby unveiled women and girls show excerpts from old ritual dances accompanied by simple songs and drum beats of the men. Such, 'shows' have been taking place for quite a number of years now plus an officially confirmed considerable collection of fees, especially for tourist groups. These fees are considered a reimbursement for the earlier voluntary contributions, yet they lead—understandably—more and more to corruption. (1989: 158, 161)

Here religion becomes commercialized. The dances artificially presented for the tourists in Bumboret and Birir (in the Ramboor valley they were in the meantime forbidden by Saifullah Jan, the official representative of the Kalasha)¹³ transmit a 'staged authenticity' (Dean MacCannell). If the Kalasha live up to the expectations of travel agencies and tourists such as these, then they are on their way to degeneration into a collection of odd people. This is what most tourism planners apparently would like for marketing purposes. Until the end of the 1970s, some strategists of the tourism industry demanded a permanent performance of exotic

attractions out of the 'stock' of traditional customs in the sense of a perfectly organized show ignoring the annual cycle of festivals. The Kalasha complied with this concept, as Graham Hancock writes: 'It is thus possible to watch both harvest and crop-sowing festivals in the same day with a few wedding dances thrown in for good measure' (1983: 68). Even if something might have changed in the attitude of travellers in the course of the more considerate 'soft' or 'adapted' tourism propagated in recent years, there is no doubt that the voyeuristic interest in rituals and especially in dances has remained. The foreigners are fascinated by the 'paradise experience' of a jointly performed ritual in which the mythical prehistoric times become present again.¹⁴ A further aspect is attributed to the dances of the Kalasha women, who have been performing for tourists for a fee since the end of the 1950s.¹⁵ Writers focus extensively on 'orgiastic ritual dances' in which people drink wine, and they ascribe to the Kalasha 'loose moral values.'¹⁶ It is perhaps due to this image that a traveller like Hans von Meiss, who already at the end of the 1950s, would go so far as to slap a half-grown-up girl jokingly on her bottom.¹⁷ In another travelogue it is written: 'Their women are not regarded as prudish. This inspires the fantasy and mood of our Muslim companions' (Kregel 1986: XXII). And Maureen Lines observes: 'Numerous jeeps and wagons crammed with young Pakistani males head towards the area in search of sexual adventures with the Kalash women who are erroneously perceived as being promiscuous' (1994: 85). Alarming consequences are reported by a Gérard Rovillé (1988:164), who writes:

The young girls, and preferably the unmarried, are employed as servants by businessmen or officials in Rawalpindi or Islamabad for miserable wages, and being non-Muslims they have a reputation for being loose women, at least in the big cities, and are wanted for this rather than for simple household duties. This reputation appears to have grown among the city population and is threatening to lead to forms of internal tourism oriented towards prostitution.¹⁸

Enjoyment of the pleasures of life and sexual liberty belong to the paradises of which the literati write about and to which many travellers are longing for (cf. the myth of the South Pacific).¹⁹ Among the Kalasha, this image certainly intensifies their position as a religious outsider within the Pakistani society—they are becoming an indecent curiosity depicted on postcards, posters, and, since 1994, also on T-shirts sold by Islamabad's Naksh boutique.

To the inhabitants of a paradise on earth, where people live together happily, naturally, simply, and in harmony,²⁰ belong the shamans.²¹ One should think about the boom of books published on shamanism in the field of popular anthropological and esoteric literature. The trance specialists of the Kalasha are emphasized and described in many travelogues. For the Shaman, the emotive word 'magician of the mountains' (H. Uhlig) is used; he is also called 'magic priest,' 'shaman priest,' and so on.²²

The Discovery of Ethno-art

A feeling of uneasiness with their own culture and the search for naturalness also led painters to the Kalasha. Uwe Topper (1962, 1963, 1966), Horst Beck (1964), and Mohammad Bugi (1980 and end of the 1980s), to name a few, were inspired by the local ornamental art and wooden sculptures.²³

Bugi (also written Boogy), a painter belonging to Lahore, has recently tried to revitalize the 'primitive' tribal art of the Kalasha.²⁴ Aware that many effigies were stolen by unscrupulous art dealers and eventually reached Western museums often through winding paths (though some had already been sold since the end of the 'fifties by the Kalasha themselves),²⁵ Bugi

encouraged carvers—like Mirzamast from the village of Brun in the Bumboret valley—to take up adze and knife again and prompted children to paint. Bugi devoted himself to the preservation and promotion of traditional Kalasha art, but not without the aspect of commercialization. In a souvenir shop near Brun (exaggeratedly called ‘gallery’ and situated near the Benazir Hotel) drawings of Kalasha children, wood carvings of Mirzamast, and other objects of ethno-art were sold.²⁶ In the meantime, one could also buy them in a tourist shop in Karachi and there were several sales exhibitions in Lahore, Karachi, and Islamabad as well. But isn’t folk art here gradually going to be deformed into souvenir art? It seems more doubtful that it will really lead to a recollection of art forms, materials, and techniques, which were handed down to the Kalasha. This process ought to be rooted in the context of life and could be supported by other nativistic elements. Probably the breeding ground for a revitalization of the already atrophied art is too limited facing the massive pressure by the Muslim neighbours and the own converts, after all. It is doubtful if the Kalasha can fulfil the demands mentioned by de Kadt, who writes: ‘To be authentic, arts and crafts must be rooted both in historical tradition and present-day life; true authenticity cannot be achieved by conservation alone, since that leads to stultification’ (1979: 15). Keeping in mind further phenomena of folklorization, there remains the question to which cultural identity they will find their way back in—if at all. Will it be a mere cliché marked by nostalgia, an ideal model of their own culture, which was, moreover, induced from outside? Ethnic arts and crafts will only express the cultural identity of the Kalasha properly if authentic pieces of quality are produced in a limited number and do not become standardized objects adapted to the taste of the tourist. The recent change started by Mohammad Bugi and planned as a kind of aid for development seems dubious considering the new functions which are now attributed to these ‘objects of art.’ Not until commercialization began were traditional graffiti and soot paintings converted to the completely new material: paper.²⁷ Comparably even worse is an incident reported by Birgitte Sperber:

While staying in Bomburet Mr Bugi got what he considered the brilliant idea of decorating the Bashali [menstruation house] in Anish. So he entered the area and made big colourful pictures on the outside walls, in what he considered an authentic style—including that of a woman with naked breasts. These pictures on the place the Kalasha want to be unnoticed, of course, attracted tourists and the picture of the woman confirmed the Muslim beliefs that the Kalasha women are ‘easy’. The Kalasha men were upset, but could not prevent him—he had important connections, and they cannot go to the Bashali area themselves (1993: 18).

Apparently, the short-lived project of the Lahori painter has, however, hardly left any other marks among the Kalasha.²⁸

Conclusion

In popular travel literature, which promotes ethnic tourism to the Kalasha, the myth of an ideal but dying out culture is portrayed. The foreigner projects his or her longing for harmony, peace, security, mystery, and for an integral life rooted in mythical origins onto the Kalasha. Among them he or she looks for a concrete paradise on earth, an Arcadia, which is not yet ruined by the rational, highly industrialized civilization of the West.²⁹ Contrary to the aggressive ‘culture’ of Europe and America the Kalasha, who are romanticized as people of antiquity, personify peaceful ‘nature.’ They are consequently also called ‘children of nature’ in some travelogues³⁰ and considered representatives of a childlike period in the development

of humanity which is closer to nature. Besides the longing for an ideal world and the yearning for idylls, another motive for travelling is the alleged isolation of these 'Greeks of Asia.' They are thought of as still unspoiled by negative influences from outside. 'There is no theft nor crimes of violence among them...' (Lines 1989: 43–54).

People who bewail that 'a mountain tribe dies out'³¹ refer not to the demographic situation, since the Kalasha have a growing birthrate, but to the massive religious and social pressure and to economic exploitation by the neighbours which will eventually lead to the loss of this 'paradise on earth.' In each case a more effective protection of the religious minority of the Kalasha has to be demanded from the Government of Pakistan, instead of the commercialization of their traditional culture in the course of an exotic tourism, which plays its own part in the process of destruction.³²

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NOTES

1. Besides this proper ethnonym, the Khowar word Kalash (name given by the Chitrali) is mostly used in the literature.
2. Cf. Haserodt 1989: 99; Frembgen 1989: 52. The present article explicitly continues the topic of this earlier study.
3. Concerning the development of tourism in the Kalasha valleys cf. Rovillé 1988: 150, 152, 156, 158, 164; Haserodt 1989: 158, 161.
4. Fischer 1982: 50–51.
5. Cf. Rovillé 1988: 158; Lines 1989: 55; Parkes 1990: 12.
6. Cf. Gyr's statement: 'It is extremely revealing what travel-handbooks cut out, reduce, or ignore of the cultural reality' (1988: 233). Cf. Frembgen 1989, Lauterbach 1992.
7. Meiss 1958: 70–71; Maraini 1964: 243–44, 258; Rajput 1964: 3; Balneaves 1972: 79–81; Afzal Khan 1975: 68; Uhlig 1978: 79–80; Stede 1979: 36; Adamson & Shaw 1981: 173; PTDC, catalogue 'Pakistan. Northern Areas' 1981; deputy commissioner Chitral 1982: 42; Pabel 1984: 34; Buschmann 1984: 238; Indoculture Tours, catalogue 1984/85: 54; Senft 1985: 3; Studiosus Studienreisen, catalogue 1985: 232; Indoculture Tours, special programme 'Pakistan. Jeep' 1985/86: 4; Marco Polo-Reisen, catalogue 1985/86: 35; Minitrek-Expeditionen, catalogue 1985/86: 14; Ikarus Tours, catalogue 1986: 19, catalogue 1997: 97, 99; Senft & Senft 1986: 186; Lines 1989: 52; Amin et al. 1989: 95; Shaw 1989a: 345; Chughtai 1991: 77; Twigg 1992: 16; Anon. 1993: 25 ('Kafir Kalash...a pagan tribe, practising the ancient Greek rituals. Look at the Kafirs, and you'll say this is the legendary land of health and beauty'); Bokhari 1994: 35; Follath 1994: 146.

Loude and Lièvre have already critically mentioned the alleged Greekness of the Kalash:

Despite 70 years of linguistic research of the Hindu Kush and recent conclusive evidence dispelling the myth of Greek origins of the Kafirs and other peoples of these high mountain ranges, that myth is still spread across the pages of the tourist brochures on Pakistan and feeds the eye-catching titles of hastily prepared reports recently devoted to the Kalash (1987: 11) Cf. in more detail: Loude 1980: 152–62. For comparison with the stereotyped Hunzukuts see Frembgen 1989: 60–61.

8. Meiss 1958: 76–77; Maraini 1964: 252–53, 257–58; Rajput 1964: 26; Balneaves 1972: 77–78, 100 ff.; Afzal Khan 1975: 76 ff.; Uhlig 1978: 82–83; Stede 1979: 40 ff.; Hauser Exkursionen, programme in detail 'Pakistan—Nanga Parbat' 1984: 4–5, catalogue 1986/87: 21; Studiosus Studienreisen, catalogue 1984: 122, 201, catalogue 1985: 135, 232, catalogue 1992: 172; Senft 1985: 4; Indoculture Tours, special programme 'Pakistan. Jeep' 1985/86: 4–5, cf. catalogue 1984/85: 54; Minitrek-Expeditionen, catalogue 1983/84: 9,

- catalogue 1985/86: 12; Senft & Senft 1986: 199–202; Lines 1988: 224–32; Lines 1989: 56; Shaw 1989a: 347 (recommendation to visit festivals); Chughtai 1991: 78 (list of all the Kalasha-festivals with detailed information); Mummunka & Hasan 1991: 36–37 (under the section 'holidays' all the festivals are recorded); Twigg 1992: 16 (recommendation to visit festivals); Gruber 1993: 6–7, 14–15; Bokhari 1994: 35 (with exact festival dates); cf. also Burgbacher 1959: 95–116 (chap. 'Durchs rätselhafte Kafiristan': the Bumboret valley as the scene for an adventure story).
9. Studiosus Studienreisen, catalogue 1984: 122, catalogue 1985: 135.
 10. Compare, e.g., Balneaves 1972: 96–97; Inamullah Jan Afghani 1973: ill. opp. pp. 8, 9; Amin et al. 1989: 97; Shaw 1989b: 173.
 11. Treichler 1976: 53; Adamson & Shaw 1981: 170; Rosiny 1983: 297; cf. Jettmar 1975: 327–28; Rovillé 1988: 158; Bokhari 1994: 35.
 12. Compare, e.g., Hahn 1982: 37; Nasir Jamal 1989: D; Parkes 1990: 12; Lines 1992: 17. Another incident of ugly misbehaviour by tourists is reported by Maureen Lines, who writes: 'In Bumboret, according to a Western tourist, a group of young men from Lahore desecrated Kalash coffins. They then took photos of one another holding skulls beneath their arms which they later tossed away' (1992: 17).
 13. Lines 1992: 17.
 14. Rössner 1988: 48–50; compare, e.g., Maraini 1964: 252–53.
 15. In 1984 the fee was 400 rupees for one performance (Senft & Senft 1986: 185); in 1992 it increased to 1500 rupees, in which every dancer (mostly younger girls or old women) had to be content with 10 or 20 rupees, the rest went to the male agent.
 16. Meiss 1958: 77; Balneaves 1972: 102–03; Inamullah Jan Afghani 1973: 15; Gruber 1983; Pabel 1984: 31; Senft 1985: 4; Gruber 1986: 34–35; Kregel 1986; Senft & Senft 1986: 193, 202.
 17. Meiss 1958: 76.
 18. Cf. Bokhari 1994: 35 ('It is true that groups of people from the Punjab come to these valleys in search of women for sex. They may succeed in their attempts, but that in no way means that the Kalash people are surviving on the money they get through prostitution').
 19. Cf. Rössner 1988: 36.
 20. Meiss 1958: 70; Maraini 1964: 250; Rajput 1964: 26; Pabel 1984: 34; Gruber 1986: 35.
 21. Rössner 1988: 37, 41.
 22. Uhlig 1978: 77, 83–85 (his term 'magician of the mountains' was again and again taken over by other authors); Ikarus-Expeditionen, catalogue 1981/82: 19, catalogue 1986: 19; Gruber 1983; Minitrek-Expeditionen, catalogue 1983/84: 11, catalogue 1985/86: 14; Buschmann 1984: 239; Hauser Exkursionen, detail programme 'Pakistan—Nanga Parbat' 1984: 4; Senft 1985; Senft & Senft 1986: 183 ff., 193–96; Studienreisen Klingenstein, catalogue 1985/86: 51; Gruber 1986: 35.
 23. A heartbreakingly kitschy colour postcard has been sketched by Aftab Zafar and Salwat on behalf of the Pakistan Art Institute (Karachi) depicting Kalasha girls, one of them playing hide-and-seek behind a wooden effigy.
 24. Nasir Jamal 1989; Qudsia & Maher 1989; Wutt 1990: 30–31; Oreilly 1991; Sperber 1993: 18.
 25. 'Die beiden allerbesten Stücke meiner Sammlung sind natürlich die zwei lebensgroßen Holzfiguren. Die eine konnte ich auf der Begräbnisstätte von Karakal und die andere in Brun erwerben. ... In beiden Fällen wurde mir die Figur vom nächsten Verwandten des Verstorbenen zum Kauf angeboten, so daß ich mich keines Friedhofraubes schuldig gemacht habe'. (Meiss 1958: 76)
 26. Oreilly 1991: 5.
 27. With the remarkable exception of the Austrian anthropologist-cum-architect Karl Wutt, who for scientific purposes encouraged Kalasha children and adults to paint in order to study their religion and symbolism. His sensible approach has nothing to do with Bugi's rough and thoughtless 'project.'
 28. Letter by Karl Wutt.
 29. The ideal world of the Kalasha valleys has, however, got its drawback: some years ago a Swiss couple was murdered in Bumboret after the lady was raped. In October 1992, in the same valley, a French girl was raped. However, in both cases the culprits were obviously not Kalasha. So also in the press it is noted: 'The local Kalash, it may be mentioned, never indulge in such excesses, for they have the reputation of being a very peaceful community' (Behroz Khan 1992: 5).
 30. Gruber 1983; Santiago 1985: 328.
 31. Deputy commissioner Chitral 1982: 42; Gruber 1983; Nasir Jamal 1989. Cf. Lines 1989: 56 ('The Kalash, now numbering 4,000 are on the increase').
 32. Maureen Lines herself laments 'Will Tourism Kill the Kalash?' (title of an article from 1991), but this has not prevented her in her new travelogue (published 1988) from introducing the chapters devoted to the Kalasha

(pp. 179–237) with the headline 'Shangri-la' and thereby evoking associations with a mythical dreamland of bliss and happiness. No doubt her book promotes tourism like all the other travelogues, articles, and films.

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Section IV

Development Issues

CHITRAL DISTRICT: A BRIEF SURVEY OF RESOURCES, PROBLEMS, CONSTRAINTS AND FUTURE DEVELOPMENT

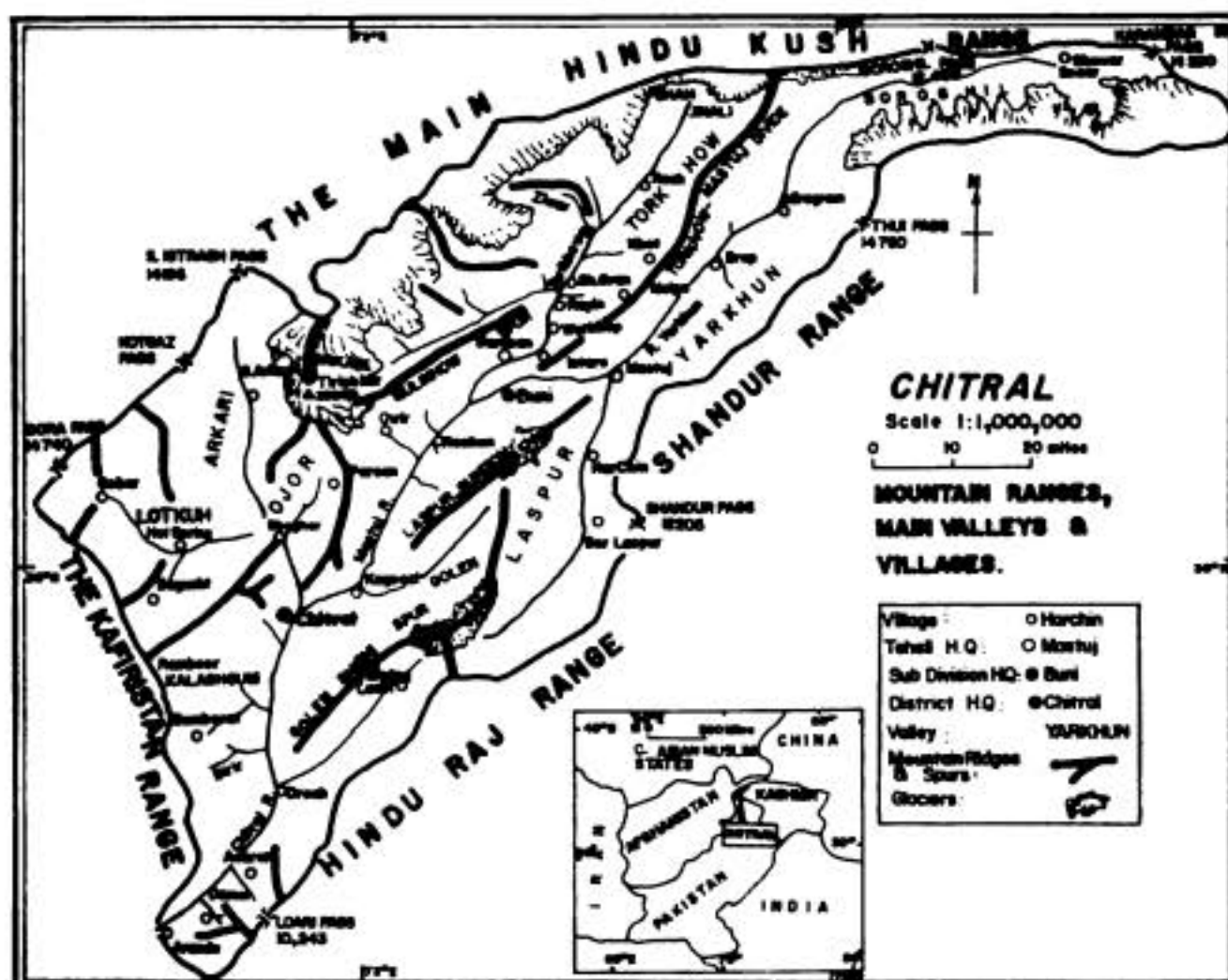
*Israr-ud-Din**

Introduction

Location

Chitral District lies between latitudes 35 degrees 15 minutes, and 36 degrees, 35 minutes north, and longitudes 71 degrees, 12 minutes, and 73 degrees, 55 minutes east. It is the northernmost district of Pakistan, having a common boundary with Afghanistan on the north and west, with the Northern Areas of Pakistan on the east, and with Dir and Swat districts towards the south. It is surrounded by 15,000 to over 25,000 feet high ranges of the Hindu Kush and Karakoram and is one of the loftiest tracts of land in the country. It is separated from the rest of the country by the Hindu Raj Range, the only contact being through passes over 10,000 feet (Fig. 18.1).

Fig. 18.1 Chitral District: Locations, Valleys, and Villages



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Chitral District was a princely state of Pakistan which was merged as settled parts of the country in July 1969 and covers an area of 14,850 square kilometres.

Relief

Chitral District is extremely rugged and mountainous, with deep, narrow, and tortuous valleys, through which run the river Chitral and its numerous tributaries. The mountains include the Hindu Kush and its offshoots, which gain the highest magnitude towards the north where there are more than 170 peaks above 20,000 feet, the highest being the Tirich Mir (25,263 ft). In these parts, the average elevation reached is between 16,000 and 20,000 feet and here the jagged peaks, precipitous slopes, and glacier-bound valleys give the region its special characteristics. The lowlands are confined to the valley bottoms along the river Chitral and its tributaries, which stretch to all parts of the region. The whole of the main valley of the Chitral River, from its source to the place where it enters Afghanistan, is about 220 miles long. The average width of the valley would not be more than half a mile. Sometimes, however, it opens to about three miles or so and other times it narrows to a defile of less than 200 yards. The many side valleys which join the main valley at various places are even narrower and there the average cannot be more than a quarter mile.

The open areas comprises all the fan deposits which are found at the mouth of the hill torrents or streams. With a few exceptions the settlements and cultivated lands are generally found on these alluvial fans subject to the availability of water and other favourable climatic factors. The valley floor rises gradually from 3,577 feet at Arandu, the southernmost village at the border of Afghanistan, to 12,270 feet at Showar Shoor in Boroghil, the northernmost settlement.

Climate

The climate of Chitral is distinctly continental. It is hot in summer, ranging from very hot in the lowlands to warm in the uplands and cool in the higher elevations. The extreme maximum temperature recorded in Drosh is 45 degrees celsius for the month of July, while in Chitral it is 44 degrees celsius for the same month. The mean maximum temperature for the same month for Drosh is 36 °C and the mean minimum temperature is 23.2 degrees celsius. The summers at high altitudes such as Baroghil, Sor Laspur, Gobor, Bogusht, Kiyar, Arkari, Owir, and Rech are cold and windy, with extremely cold nights.

In winter, most of the valleys are in the grip of cold northerly winds and blizzards. The winters are less severe in the lowlands as compared to the uplands. The extreme minimum temperature recorded at Drosh and Chitral stations have been -3.8 degrees celsius and -9 degrees celsius for the months of January and -2.2 degrees celsius and -12 degrees celsius for the month of February, respectively.

Chitral District receives between 250 and 1000 millimetres of rainfall. The rainfall increases in January and the maximum is reached in March when 135.9 and 135 millimetres of rainfall is obtained at Drosh and Chitral stations, respectively. The rainfall from December to April amounts to 448.2 millimetres in Drosh or 68 per cent of the total annual rainfall. The rainfall in the upper parts of Chitral is low, although the percentage derived in winter and spring is more or less the same. The winter and spring precipitation is very important because it.

firstly, provides moisture for the *rabi* growing season, and secondly, the whole year's flow of springs, streams, and rivers depends on the snowfall in these seasons.

The summer and autumn rains form only about 32 per cent of the total annual rainfall. It is received from the thunderstorms, which often give torrential rains and cause great damage through floods. Dust storms also occur during July and August, particularly in the afternoons. They rarely bring showers. Nearly all the moisture content of the monsoon rains is exhausted over the plains of India and Pakistan before reaching these remote valleys. Chitral, therefore, benefits very little from them.

Settlement Distribution and Siting

In Chitral, settlements spread from 3272 feet elevation at Arandu, the lowest point in the region, to the 12,000 feet contour line at Boroghil. As mentioned earlier, most settlements are found on the alluvial fans, or on certain river terraces, wherever soil fertility coincides with easily available water. Villages are also located on the beds of abandoned river courses where similar conditions obtained. Besides, there are vast tracts of uninhabited areas due to adverse physical factors. There are also many such habitable stretches scattered in the region which are at present not settled because of precarious conditions of water supply. Settlements are generally sited on the raised side of alluvial fans, which contains mostly infertile and stony lands. Thus, the fertile lands are spared for cultivation. Hill torrents and streams are also important determining factors, several being avoided because of their being prone to flooding. The banks of deeper and less dangerous streams are, on the other hand, favourite sites for settlement.

There are certain socio-economic factors in settlement foundation and locations which result in the establishment of certain individual hamlets and dwellings amidst the cultivated land. From place-name evidence and ties of kinship, it is evident that many such settlements are due to the increase in population on older sites. Another reason is the feudal system that prevailed in the region till the 1950s. The then rulers of the area had the supreme power to seize any land and grant at will. In this way, the landlords, who were given tracts of village land, settled there and surrounded themselves with a number of agricultural labourers or tenants and their relatives. The inheritance system prevalent in the region also plays an important role in this respect. Because of this system the holdings of villagers are scattered in fragmented pieces of different sizes. Many who inherit land in different parts prefer to settle near their holdings.

The distribution of village localities according to the revelation in the following table shows that 60.6 per cent of the villages are located below 7500 feet, where two cropping seasons prevail, while 39.4 per cent are situated above 7500 feet, where only one cropping season predominates.

Table 18.1 Altitudinal Distribution of Villages (1981)

<i>Altitude</i>	<i>No of Villages</i>	<i>%</i>
3500–4900	169	33.7
4901–7500	130	26
7500–11,500	174	34.7
11,500 and above	28	5.6
Total	501	100

Source: Government of Pakistan, District Census Report of Chitral–1981 Population Census Organization (Islamabad:).

Demographic Characteristics

The total population of the district, according to the 1981 census, is 208,560 (107,948 males and 100,612 females). The distribution of population follows the lines of streams and rivers and is concentrated on the alluvial fans where water can be easily obtained, or on the gentle slopes or hill terraces which have fertile stretches and where water is available.

The density of population is fourteen persons per square kilometre. This is low because of the vast tracts of barren mountains and glacier-bound valleys, which are uninhabited.

The population of the district has increased 427 per cent since 1900. The first census of the area was taken in 1941. Since then the growth has been 192 per cent, while the last decade (1972–81) has shown the highest rate of increase so far, which is 3.4 per cent per annum while the growth rate compared to the same decade for the whole country was 3.1 per cent. At present (1995) the population is estimated to be 310,000, raising the density to 20.7 per square kilometre. There are 30,225 households in the district with an average household size of 6.9. Number of villages by population size is as follows:

Table 18.2 Number of Villages by Population Size

<i>Population Size</i>	<i>No. of Localities</i>	<i>% of Total Localities</i>	<i>Population (1981)</i>	<i>% of Total Population</i>
2000–4999	4	0.8	10,275	5
1000–1999	43	8.5	55,097	26.4
500–999	99	19.7	67,662	32.4
200–499	175	35	56,070	26.9
Less than 200	180	36	19,456	9.3
Total	501	100	208,560	100

Source: Government of Pakistan, District Census Report of Chitral–1981 (Islamabad: Population Census Organization).

Communication

Chitral has inadequate means of transportation and communication, which have been a main hindrance in the economic and social progress of the district. The difficult topographic conditions and the limited resources of the former state greatly hampered the construction of roads in the area. The mileage of roads for vehicular traffic remained limited till late. Since the merger of the state as a district, a number of roads have been constructed which have made most of the remote areas accessible. Among these, the Ashret Chitral Road is metalled and negotiable by heavy vehicles. The rest of the valleys have been connected by 'jeepable' roads. Only certain remote parts, for example, Boroghil, Shah Jinali, and certain small side valleys lack any roads. Lately, the widening of the Chitral-Buni Road has been undertaken, which when completed would facilitate heavy traffic to Upper Chitral. Despite these developments the district still faces the serious problem of isolation for almost half of the year when the Dir-Chitral Road, which connects the district with the rest of the country, remains closed due to snow on the Loari Top.

The district is connected with the rest of the country and the world through the microwave system and direct telephone and telegraph systems. Post office facilities are also available in all different parts of the district. Paksitan International Airlines (PIA) flies two to three daily Fokker flights between Peshawar and Chitral which are subject to weather conditions.

Economy

Ninety percent of the population of the district is engaged in farming. The total cultivated area is 22,500 hectares; 80 per cent of the farmers' possess less than 2 hectares and only 1 per cent has 2.5 or more hectares. As can be expected, subsistence farming is universal, cereals being the dominant crops, and a small number of livestock and cattle are also being kept in, more or less, every house. However, at high altitudes, where there are good pastures and crops cannot be grown, stock raising is carried out. Examples of this are found in Boroghil and Gobor. There are also other areas that have rich pastures near the villages. In such cases a sort of mixed farming is practiced in which importance is given equally to both agriculture and to the stock. This is found in Khot, Rech, Upper Yarkhun, Upper Laspur, Melp, Owir, Tirich, Ojor, Upper Lotkuh, Upper Arkari, Bumboret, Birir, Ramboor, Shishi Kuh, Biyori, Ashret, Damel, Urtsun, and Arandu Gol. In the remaining parts there is a shortage of pastures and, therefore, subsistence agriculture is practised.

The crops grown include wheat, maize, paddy, barley, pulses, grams, potatoes, onions, and vegetables. Horticulture crops are mainly fruit and are found near the settlements, below 9000 feet. These include apples, pears, apricots, peaches, grapes, mulberries, and precimums. In recent years certain villages, for example, Brep, Chapali, and Buni have developed to grow good quality apples which are in demand even outside the district. Vegetables produced include tomatoes, cabbages, spinach, radish, carrots, and brinjals grown mostly in kitchen gardens attached to almost every house. Lately, villages located near Chitral Town and Drosh have started growing vegetables as a cash crop and allocate special plots for them.

The crops grown in different seasons are called '*Lot Zho*' or winter crop, '*Crizi Zho*' or summer crop, and '*Bosoon Degh*' or spring crop. The growing periods of these crops overlap in areas which are located above 7500 feet elevation. Those below 7500 feet have separate growing period for '*Lot Zho*' and '*Crizi Zho*' while having no '*Bosoon Degh*.'

Irrigation is an important aspect of agriculture in the region. As the rainfall is insufficient, irrigation is essential for cultivation of crops in the area. A network of irrigation channels of different capacity and lengths has been taken out from the mountain streams and constructed along the hillsides with considerable skill and labour and maintained with great difficulty.

The census (1981) shows the total working population to be 63,000, out of which 77.77 per cent are engaged in agriculture and related activities. The rest are occupied as follows:

Table 18.3 Occupations Other Than Agriculture (1981)

Occupations	% of Population
1. Teachers, dispensers, medical practitioners, etc.	2.85
2. Other govt services	1.73
3. Shopkeepers, traders, etc.	2.54
4. Private servants/maids	6.82
5. Labourers	6.35
6. Miscellaneous	1.94
Total	22.23

It is to be remembered that most of the population shown engaged in other occupations also practice farming in some way or other. Thus, the actual share of farming goes to above 90 per cent.

Resources

The area is endowed with substantial natural resources, including land, water, forests, pastures, wildlife, minerals, and water, which need to be developed to improve life conditions in the area. The region also offers great potential for tourism development. The various resources are discussed below:

Land

The land-use statistics of Chitral District are shown in Table 18.4. Four per cent of the land is cultivable waste. This is because of lack of irrigation facilities. There is need to irrigate these lands by construction of channels. Many of the cultivated lands in Mulikhow, Urghuch, Broze, Lawi, and other places do not get sufficient water for irrigation, therefore, irrigation facilities for these should also be improved to enhance yield per acre and also to increase food production.

Table 18.4: Land Use

Land Use	Area (Ha)	%
1. Total area reported	98,671	
2. Cultivated area	22,552	23
3. Cultivable waste	4053	4
4. Forests	41,588	42
5. Not available for cultivation	30,478	31

Forests

The total forest coverage in Chitral District is estimated to be 41,588 hectares, which is 42 per cent of the total reported area. The forests are found mostly in the south and southwestern parts of the district.

These forests occur between 3000 and 11,500 feet above sea level and comprise deodar, spruce, fir, and Chir pine. Fir and spruce mainly occupy the highest altitude while deodar is found immediately below them. Oak is also found, but scattered and mainly on those hill slopes which are exposed to the sun. Birch and junipers are also found in abundance. The hills in most parts of the district, especially in Upper Chitral, are almost barren. However, in valley bottoms occasionally one comes across thick wooden patches of birch and xerophytic shrubs. Poplar, walnut, and plane trees are found in most parts of the district below 8000 feet. But they are planted wherever soil is suitable and water is available so they go side by side with the settlements and other cultivations.

No trees whatsoever are found above the altitude of 12,000 feet and only grasslands are reached. The forests face different problems caused by natural, human, and biological factors. The natural factors include snow, wind, hail, frost, and lightning, which cause considerable damage to the trees every year. Human beings cause great damage to the forests through ruthless cutting, grazing, fires, lopping and felling, touchwood extraction, etc. Different types of wild animals, for example, bears, ibexes, urials, markhors, monkeys, and porcupines, destroy the forest species by damaging the young plants or by eating the seeds. Certain birds like pheasants and chikors are also responsible for uprooting.

After the merger of the former state of Chitral into districts in 1969, the Government of Pakistan succeeded the state government as owner of the forests. Since then certain circumstances have resulted in indiscriminate cutting of these forests so much so that most of the holly oak forests are facing extinction. Even the pine forest areas are being depleted day by day at an accelerating rate. The reasons have been mainly:

1. construction of roads to forest areas;
2. grant of royalty rights to local people; and
3. inefficiency on the part of the Forest Department.

In recent years the Aga Khan Rural Support Programme (AKRSP) and Chitral Area Development Project (CADP) have, through village organizations, contributed a great deal to afforestation programmes in different parts of the district. This trend needs to be further encouraged so that the acreage under planted forest is increased. Lots of rough pastures and barren lands lie vacant above settlements; these would be very suitable for afforestation if irrigation channels are brought to them from the rivers and streams.

Fauna

Numerous species of fauna are also found in the region. The important mammals are ibex, markhor, and urial. Ibex is found above the snow line, while markhor is found in lower altitudes. Marco Polo sheep are also found in the Boroghil area. In addition, leopards, snowleopards, cheetahs, bears, and marmots are also found. Various species of birds, like ramchikors, partridges, pheasants, golden pheasants, falcons, various species of ducks and geese, are also in abundance. The area is situated on the flyway of migratory birds and makes an important stopover zone. Therefore, it is suitable for the establishment of bird wildlife sanctuaries.

The wildlife in the area is facing threats of over-hunting, habitat destruction due to deforestation, agricultural extension, and overgrazing. Establishment of the Chitral Gol National Park and Sanctuary by the Government of Pakistan is expected to help greatly the conservation of bio-diversity in the area. More such parks and sanctuaries need to be developed in view of the intensity of the problem.

Pastures

Thousands of acres of grasslands and summer pastures are found scattered throughout the district along the main as well as the side valleys. These areas are also very rich in many different species of medicinal plants. At present many of these pastures cannot be used to the optimum due to lack of accessibility and remoteness. Proprietary rights of different clans or individuals also hinder the proper utilization of such areas.

Traditionally, the villages in the region used to practice a common management system of utilizing the grazing grounds. But in recent years the villagers have started engaging nomadic herdsmen or Gujars for the purpose of grazing and pasturing. This practice is badly affecting the pasturelands because of the ruthless attitude of the nomads who generally do overgrazing or intensive form of grazing without any regard to the carrying capacity of the land. In order to save the precious grazing lands, some sort of restrictions need to be laid on the practice of

employing Gujars for grazing/pasturing in these Alpine pastures. A rotational grazing system can also be introduced for proper range management by involving the village communities themselves as in the past. Some attention to the development of rough pastures above the village margins can be given by extending water channels to such areas so that these are developed into meadows. Such measures would improve both the grasslands and the environment in general.

Water

Numerous perennial rivers and streams, fed by melting snow and glaciers flowing throughout the different parts of the district, offer a great potential for irrigation and hydroelectric generation development. The Sarhad Hydel Development Organization (SHYDO), Government of NWFP, has identified a good number of schemes in various parts of the district promising to be economically and technically feasible for hydroelectric development. The total capacity estimated is as follows:

1. Upper Chitral	107	megawatts
2. Lower Chitral	83	megawatts
3. Total	190.6	megawatts

The SHYDO has also undertaken the construction of the Reshun Hydroelectric Project since 1989–90. The implementation of the project was first initiated through Federal (PSDP) with an approved cost of Rs 151.388 million, including Rs 20 million FEC (as German grant). The project in the first phase will have a generating capacity of 2.8 megawatts, to be subsequently enhanced to 4.2 megawatts. The power supply will cover fifty villages, having a population of 50,000 to 60,000, from Mastuj to Chitral Town.

The CADP and AKRSP have also planned to develop a number of small hydel projects in different areas through village organizations. If the plan is fully implemented then by 1998 up to more than 5000 kilowatts electricity will be generated in more than one hundred power stations to serve about 10,000 households.

The future of hydel development is very bright in the district. The resource should be fully developed so that heating and fuel needs of the area can be met and also extra income can be generated from the export of surplus power to other areas.

Minerals

Chitral District is believed to be blessed with untapped mineral resources which, when fully utilized, would lead not only the district but the whole province to a prosperous and bright future.

The various minerals found in Chitral include Antimony, Iron, Copper, Silver, Arsenic, Gold bearing boulangerite, Marble, Dolomite, Mica, Talc and Fluorite. The Iron discovered in Damil Nisar is reported to be the best quality magnetite type having more than 60% iron content. There is lot of potential for mineral exploration in the area.

Scenic Spots

The region with its shimmering glaciers, snow-covered majestic peaks, attractive lakes, numerous species of flora and fauna, and diverse ethnic and linguistic groups offers a lot of potential for development of the tourist industry. For the economic well-being of the people, a proper plan for the development of the industry by introducing the required infrastructure is required.

Problems and Constraints

The problems and constraints lie broadly in the following areas:

1. Natural resources: these include erosion, deforestation, and natural disasters caused by earthquakes, landslides, glacial dams, rockfalls, avalanches, flash floods, and human activities.
2. Human and social problems: these include weak infrastructure, population pressure, lack of public awareness, participation, and support.

Erosion

This is a very important problem in the whole district caused mostly by the river Chitral and its tributaries. The area contains large glaciers in its upper parts. Chiantar and Darkhot glaciers have been notorious for surging and blocking the river and causing floods. Thus, hundred of acres of land along the river course have been eroded. Even in normal years the river is flooded due to melting of snow and the many glaciers. *Chati boi* is a local expression for the flooding of a river due to either surging glaciers or too much melting.

Deforestation

Too much cutting and lopping of forests by the local population as well as by the forest mafia has reduced the forest cover to a great extent. If this continues, very soon the forested areas will turn into barren scrubs. The problem has already started affecting soil stabilities, water regime, landscape appearance, and wildlife habitat adversely.

Natural Disasters

The whole area lies in the earthquake prone zone, therefore, it experiences earthquakes of high intensity causing damage to life and property. The earthquakes also cause large landslides, glacial dams, rockfalls and other disasters. Too much snow and avalanches are other problems faced in certain parts of the region.

Infrastructure

A major constraint in the way of progress of the district has been poor means of transport and communication. Though jeepable roads have been extended to most parts of the area the roads are narrow, zigzagging, *kutcha* (makeshift), and stony, causing different problems.

The upper parts of the Yarkhun valley, up to Boroghil, and the upper Torkhow valley up to Shah Jinali, are still served only by mule tracks. During summer floods these areas remain cut off because of erosion of tracks and lack of bridges. During winters, too much snow in most parts of Yarkhun, Lotkuh, Laspur, and other higher areas hinders transportation. In winter and spring the whole district remains inaccessible from the rest of the world due to snow on the Loari and Shandur passes, which remain closed for almost five months. As a result, not only does mobility within and without the district become a problem, but also the procurement of commodities becomes difficult and the prices of goods are raised very high in the region.

Population Pressure and Migration

The impact of population pressure in the region cannot be assessed by considering population-growth and density. The major concern is with the population resources ratio and population resource-use system. This can be witnessed in the damage done to life-support systems, deforestation, utilization of marginal lands, erosion and lack of economic opportunities. As a result, large-scale migration is taking place from these areas into lowland parts of Pakistan. Such migration generally consists of the young and physically fit members of the families leaving behind the old and the least fit. It is to be remembered that these migrations are, generally, not permanent. The people migrate to other areas on a temporary basis to return home when circumstances permit.

Developments

At present different government and non-government organizations are busy in implementing various socio-economic development projects in the region. The government agencies include the following:

- a. People's Work Programme
- b. Local bodies at district and union council levels
- c. Agricultural Department
- d. Irrigation Department
- e. Construction and Works Department
- f. Forest Department
- g. Health Department
- h. CADP

The only non-government agency working in the area is the AKRSP, which was established by the Aga Khan Foundation. During the last many years, the AKRSP has successfully completed many projects, including irrigation, afforestation, land protection, and improvement of livestock. The CADP is a government project working on the same pattern as the AKRSP and has been making good progress during the short span of its establishment.

Future Development and Conclusion

Despite the fact that a lot of development schemes are being undertaken by the government and non-government organizations in the region, a lot still needs to be done to improve the conditions of the inhabitants as well as of the environment.

It is imperative that development strategies be self-reliant and based on local conditions and have the participation and support of the local people. This is the reason that the schemes undertaken by the AKRSP and CADP have been successful, and the organizations have hereby gained the confidence of the local people. The actions that would help to maintain a good environment and improve the living condition of the people include the following:

1. Although rainfall in these areas is low, there are hundreds of areas of scrubland and barren patches where afforestation can be done with the help of artificial irrigation. The planting of fast-growing trees for fuel, timber, and livestock forage can be successfully undertaken.
2. Small hydroelectric power plants should be constructed in as many villages as possible.
3. The introduction of more efficient ways to use energy for cooking and heating must be earnestly considered.
4. Food supplies should be increased by improving yields per acre as well as by the extension of cultivable areas. Moreover, a diversification of the diet should be promoted by encouraging the farmers to grow vegetables.
5. Raising farm incomes by enhancing fruit and nut trees and by introducing small volume, high-value agricultural activities (such as honeybee keeping, silk culture, medicinal plant farming, etc.) would tremendously boost the economy of the area.
6. Improving livestock productivity by controlled breeding and better animal husbandry practices is also essential.
7. Encouraging tourism by providing infrastructure and other facilities would further help the development of the area.
8. Development of village industries, for example, fruit processing, dairy farming and the production of cheese and butter, woodworking, and leatherworking, should be encouraged.
9. Providing a domestic potable water supply to the villages is a dire need of the region.
10. Education and training to provide the people with economically usable skills are also essential.
11. Public health and nutrition services should also be introduced in many remote villages.
12. The most important development needed is the improvement of road and communication systems within the district as well as with the rest of the country either by providing an all-weather road by tunnelling through the Loari Ridge or by some alternate means.

DEVELOPMENT AND SELF-DETERMINATION: A KALASHA POINT OF VIEW

Saifullah Jan*

At the last Hindu Kush conference, five years ago, a lot of recommendations were made, but so far little has happened. The main problem that the Kalash are facing now is that actions are taken above their heads without their being consulted; it is especially so when some well-wishing foreigners from overseas make their own NGOs for the so-called protection of our people. In particular, it is a problem when such actions interfere with our religious places. Such projects adversely affect the unity of our people. I would like to give a few examples:

A few years back we got some funds from our member of the National Assembly (MNA) and member of the provincial assembly (MPA) to build a *jeSTakhan* (temple). It is not finished yet, so now the people are accusing each other of misusing the funds, but the money was not sufficient to finish it. Also, when political groups are involved in a project like that, some people say: 'We don't belong to that party, so why should we cooperate?' So the unity is gone because of that money.

Some outsiders have found some money to build new *Bashali*, the menstruation houses for the women. But they never came to discuss with the women here their needs and the way the buildings were to be made. They just made them in a new way, with too little space. So now all the women are upset as how to use them. Moreover, these outsiders just involve a few individuals in such projects and the rest of the people stay away. They just say: 'Okay—there is an NGO at work, then why should we do it for nothing?' So in that way our people stop working together.

The expenses for the religious places should be met by the people themselves, because then they will get together, and they will discuss how to build them and when to build them. They will find out what they have to do. And this kind of meeting will bring unity among the people. We have been used to doing things in this way for a thousand years. We have been carrying on by ourselves, and we have been doing quite well so far. But if somebody starts interfering with our religious places, then the unity of the people will be finished.

Also, if we can't get these funds all the time—because someday these outsiders will get old, or die—then who else will take care of the Kalash? Then these people will die out, waiting for funds from outside.

If outsiders start giving money for our religious things, for our customs—if they pay money for that—that would be problematic because we have so many different customs in our religion. Our funerals, for example: all the people together share the costs for the funeral. Then—if these outsiders start giving money, and if then somebody dies, then people will wait for money, and they will keep this dead body unburied for days and days, and it will get spoiled, and in the end we will have to bury it with a spoon. Life will be very difficult for the Kalash, if things continue like that.

* Kalash leader, Ramboor Valley, PO Uyun, Chitral District, NWFP, Pakistan.

Outsiders also want to teach us to wash our hands and faces. We are in the twentieth century now, so everybody knows how to wash his or her hands and face. The problem is this: we do not just sit in offices doing business, not touching anything. We are farmers. Of course, it is impossible for us to stay very clean. We have to work in the fields and in the stables. We do not die because of our hygiene standards. We are quite healthy, because we are used to being dirty. Nowadays many boys and girls go to school. They learn cleanliness there. We don't need anybody to teach us hygiene!

Also, when some outsiders come here and give out a few pills which are not sufficient for treatment, they are fooling the people. Because of that, the people will think, 'Their medicine is magic, so why should we go to the dispensary?'

There is medicine in the dispensary—the same medicine—and the doctors there know how to treat the diseases. They are qualified. They give all the pills needed.

But because of the few pills given out, the people refuse to go to the dispensary, even though the government has sent some qualified people to give out the medicine for free. There are even some Kalash employed at the dispensary. There may not always be everything but the medicine is given properly. So why are these people coming here giving out a few pills and saying to the whole world that they are helping the Kalash?

We are not crying for help! We are just trying to do what we want just by ourselves! If we need help, we will just ask our government or their government to send us some experts. But we don't need it at the moment: there are enough experts in Pakistan. There are enough doctors here!

Some outsiders also think that our language is going to die. They want to make schools and school books for us in Kalasha. But we speak this language all the time. We have a strong oral tradition. We don't need to be taught what we already know! We don't need pictures of what we see every day! We need modern education, which is offered to us in the government schools. We need to learn Urdu and English besides Khowar to understand what is going on in the world around us.

We need the qualifications for jobs and for dealing with our Muslim brothers on equal terms. And that is already offered to us in our government schools. These outsiders—I feel pity for them. They should first of all understand themselves. Then they can come back to this area and do some work. But if somebody says: 'I am saving the Kalash!,' then I don't believe them.

Because in our world, in our valleys, the Kalash own their own houses, their own fields—all the necessities. But in most of the countries I know of, most of the people don't own any fields, any house, any property. So these people who want to help the Kalash—if they really want to help somebody, they should first of all help their own people in their own country! These outsiders—I am not blaming them. They can come. They can stay for years. If they are coming as refugees from the Western countries, then they should come to me, and I will give them a free room. I will give them free food. They can stay in the Kalash valley free of cost. I will even send them back in a coffin, when they die—as long as they don't interfere with the Kalash society and the politics of Pakistan!

They are crying, 'We are saving the Kalash!' and, 'We want to protect them!' But we are protected already! We have no difficulties from the Government of Pakistan. As long as the government allows us to live in accordance with our culture, we are completely free, we are facing no danger. We need no NGOs or any other thing to be brought here from outside, because we live in Pakistan. Of course we need some things to be improved, like roads, paths, bridges, irrigation channels, and protection walls against the floods—some productive schemes

which can be of benefit for most of the people—things that can be done by the community itself. I would like these things to be done either through the government or our local NGOs.

The government is building the bridges, schools, hospitals, roads, and electricity infrastructure. It is all right. It is not interfering with our religious places. It is not harming our religion, our culture.

Our local NGOs—like the Aga Khan Rural support Programme (AKRSP) and Chitral Area Development Programme (CADP)—they are asking the people. Projects can be done through them. Their way of doing things is very good. Mainly they are setting up some productive schemes, like channels, link roads, electricity— what the people need. It is the decision of fifty to sixty people from every village. These NGOs always ask before taking any action: mostly it takes the fifty to sixty people a year to come together to create a village organization themselves. Then they hold several meetings about what they want. Finally, when they have decided what they want, they present their papers to the AKRSP or CADP, and then the NGO workers come out and make a site plan. Then this society, this village organization, will do the work itself. That creates unity in the community.

So through this Hindu Kush conference I request that no more actions be taken above our heads—in particular no actions that can destroy the unity of the people and be harmful to our religion and culture. We have to plan our own future in our own way!

GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT: A LESSON FROM AKRSP CHITRAL

Noor Shahidin*

Background

In developing countries, women are the poorest and the least educated and work the most. In Asia and Africa, according to some sources, women produce more than 70 per cent of all the food produced but rarely hold ownership of the land. Worldwide, women put in two-thirds of the total work-hours but receive only 10 per cent of the income and less than 1 per cent of the property. Much of their work is, however, unpaid. In most countries, women work longer hours than men. For instance, in Uganda women work more than twice as many hours as men (Rogers et al. 1988). Yet they are seldom consulted in family decision making.

Until the 1980s, women were not considered in designing development programmes. But once development experts became more sensitive to issues of equality of women as part of the paradigm of development, much greater emphasis was placed on equality consequences of development programmes. In some cases like credit, women accomplished impressive results when they were involved in the programme because women are widely reckoned to recover the loan and spend their money in a more beneficial way than men, such as on children's education, healthy food, and medicine (Harper 1994).

The overall quality of life for women in Pakistan is poor. By any social indicator, Pakistani women, when compared with women in developing countries or with the male population within the country, show low life expectancy, primary school enrollment, use of contraceptives, and so on. For instance, primary school enrollment for women in Pakistan is among the ten lowest in the world. Maternal mortality has been estimated to be more than six per 1000 live births, which is very high by any standard. Females aged 1 to 39 have higher mortality rates than males of the same ages (Shah et al. 1989). Also, there is evidence indicating that female infants have an even lower rate of immunization than male children.

In Chitral, the condition of women was very similar to that in any of the rural areas of Pakistan before the intervention of NGOs. For instance, the literacy rate, without including students,¹ was only 3.94 per cent among the female population (Mian et al. 1986). They were least involved in family decision making. Sometimes they were the last to eat when there was a shortage of food. They were considered alien in their own homes, a concept with appears in Chitrali social thought as *žuúr khuro roi*, meaning that a daughter is affiliated with another's home or a daughter is a member of the household where she gets married. However, with the arrival of NGOs, particularly the Aga Khan Rural Support Programme (AKRSP), the Aga Khan Education Services (AKES), and the Aga Khan Health Services (AKHS), and umbrella NGOs, like the Chitral Area Development Programme (CADP) and other social interventions by the government, the condition of women in Chitral has changed recognizably during the

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last decade.² The literacy rate increased significantly during the last few years to 39 per cent, which is higher than the national figure of 34 per cent. It is believed that female literacy has gone up to 20 per cent. Also, women's role in family decision making has increased considerably—they are quite involved in matters concerning children's education, marriage, and the family budget. The participation rate in primary education is 79 per cent, which is considerably higher than the overall Pakistan figure of 66 per cent (Bhatti *et al.* 1994).

The pace of change is more than encouraging and improving though there are still some cultural constraints and barriers like inside and outside dichotomy—as women are considered baby producers and home managers and men are considered providers and workers outside the home. This thinking is a barrier to women's empowerment, access to property ownership, and participation in the major family decisions even though they play a substantial role on the productive side.

The AKRSP is working through different technical assistance and training programmes for specific women's production packages (home-based poultry, nurseries, vegetable production) and labour saving and value-added technologies, as well as training in organization and management. The results of these efforts are highly visible. More than 208 women's organizations (WOs) have been operating in the region. Through these organizations, women's skills and economic power have improved. Besides, gender awareness through relevant workshops is believed to be essential to the process of changing the traditional socially and culturally constructed roles of women.

The AKRSP is a private, non-profit body established by the Aga Khan Foundation to help improve the quality of life of locals in the Northern Areas and the district Chitral of the North-West Frontier Province. The programme was established in Gilgit in 1982 with the objective of upgrading living conditions through different income generation schemes. The programme started its experimental projects in Chitral in 1983 and a fully-fledged office was established in 1986.

From the outset, the programme focused on three conceptual packages: (i) the institutional or social model through organizing village people, (ii) human resource development by training the locals in different activities, and (iii) capital formation through savings and credit. The purpose of these three packages was to support and achieve programme objectives, which were to increase the incomes of the locals and the viability of the programme itself for replication in other locations.

Theoretical Support

Resource access and control is part of the Harvard and Analytical Framework, which is presented here to see whether women can access AKRSP resources. Resources include everything that people need to accomplish the tasks they do as determined through activity analysis. Resources include land, credit, technology, education, labour, income, health, transport, information, and socio-political power, *et cetera*. In the succeeding section, we analyse whether these resources are available to women in Chitral when the AKRSP intervenes. However, from the outset it should be made clear that this study deals mainly with women specific projects.

Methodology

The empirical data for this study is drawn from a number of AKRSP sources, mostly from the programme management information system (MIS), quarterly progress report (QPR), annual review, and other impact and evaluation studies.

Analyses and Discussions

Growth of Local Female Staff

The AKRSP has become a prototype in addressing women's issues. A special section, Women in Development (WID), was initiated for the development of women in the region. In the initial stage, non-locals were employed as locals were not available due to cultural constraints.³ Over a period of time, however, economic necessity drew local women towards rural development organizations where they work in certain departments such as education.

Change was natural but the pace of change was not forced. The WID section was responsible for carrying out projects which were specifically designed for women. The major task of the section was to organize the local women for forming WOs and to give them a sense of power and importance parallel to village organizations (VOs), which were dominated by men. Social mobility and development continued and the WOs were given different productive packages for economic uplift like vegetable growing, fruit nurseries, and appropriate technologies. Credit was also extended to many WOs for different activities and enterprise development.

In the initial stage, the programme had to employ non-local women as local capacity developed gradually. During the programme working period the local staff increased and a local was appointed as section head. At the time of writing of this report there were eighteen staff members working in different positions, as shown in Table 20.1.

Table 20.1 Employment of Local Females in Different Positions

<i>Position</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Level of Education with No</i>
Women Social Organizers	4	MA (1)BA (3)
Field Coordinators	3	BA (2) FA (1)
Valley Supervisors/Village Accountant	11	BA (1) FA (1) Matric. (9)
Total	18	

The programme continues to foster skills and advancement of the staff. A promising initiative taken was the Accelerated Professional Development Programme. The objective of this programme was to improve the educational standard of the local women. During this time one senior staff member was selected for training abroad and another was sent for a full course of education in agriculture besides many in-country short training and exposure trips.

Evolution of Women's Organizations

Initially, a social model was developed only for the male population ignoring the female section, which accounts for 50 per cent of the total population. Then it was realized that optimal development is not likely to occur without involving the female population and social development is not possible without female emancipation and empowerment and that women can play a major role in the local economy. Analysing the emerging situation, the management of the programme decided to approach the female population through the formation of WOs, giving them projects which were specifically designed for household women although integrated packages were already there to benefit them. The purpose of this assistance to the women (through the Women in Development section) was essentially twofold: to increase productivity, through providing improved inputs to agriculture, forestry and livestock management, and through training in related skills; and to reduce the work load of traditional tasks through the development and dissemination of appropriate technology. To this end, separate organizations were formed for women. In 1987, the first was formed in Chitral. To date, 208 WOs have been formed, as shown in Table 20.2. A large number of WOs were formed in Shoghor, Garam Chashma, Buni and Mastuj areas, where structural favourability⁴ attracted the programme packages, as compared to other areas where resistance to change regarding women's social development and mobility was visible. Though failure or success of any package is linked with other variables also like awareness, education, and availability of infrastructure, a sectarian composition was observable in the programme area.

Table 20.2 Number of WOs and VOs

SOU	WOs	VOs
Drosh	4	70
Chitral	11	93
Shoghor	55	64
G. Chashma	55	58
Mulikhow	9	81
Buni	30	56
Torkhow	8	85
Mastuj	36	86
Total	208	593

Dynamics of Savings

Saving has a major role in women's development as, without an economic motive, one can hardly be mobilized for this purpose. When seen area-wise there is a marked difference in WOs formation. Also, there is a significant variation in saving among the WO members. As the Drosh area has less than 2 per cent of WOs, the per member savings are the highest among (SOU) members in the region, which is due to an Ismaili-populated village called Madaklasht. Comparative analysis with CADP intervention related to WID in the same SOU area supports the view that there is a significant difference regarding WO formation, per member as well as per WO savings, because of sectarian composition as the area is populated by Sunni Muslims except in Madaklasht village. In the same SOU, the CADP has thirty-one WOs where per member savings are Rs 375 and per WO savings are Rs 8069.⁵

Chitral and Mastuj WOs have low achievement regarding savings per member as well as per WO. In Chitral, per member savings are only Rs 295 while in Mastuj they are Rs 568. In Chitral, some WOs are found in the Kalash valley where poverty is a factor of low contribution towards WOs savings while Mastuj, Mulikhow, and Torkhow areas are not as developed socially compared to the Buni and Garam Chashma area (see Table 20.3)

Table 20.3 WOs Savings, Membership, and Per Member Savings

<i>SOU</i>	<i>WOs</i>	<i>Total Members</i>	<i>Savings (Rs)</i>	<i>Per Member Saving (Rs)</i>	<i>Per WO Saving (Rs)</i>
Drosh	4	126	209,700	1664	52,425
Chitral	11	451	133,387	295	12,126
Shoghor	55	1860	2,026,241	1089	36,840
G. Chashma	55	1537	1,156,414	752	21,025
Mulikhow	9	319	312,137	978	34,681
Buni	30	881	1,464,299	1662	48,809
Torkhow	8	145	114,172	787	14,271
Mastuj	36	1133	644,122	569	17,892
Total	208	6452	6,060,472	939	29,136

Development of Indigenous Facilitator

A cadre of local specialists, men as well as women, were trained in different fields in productive packages and management. Some package or developmental approaches were specifically for women, like vegetable production, poultry management, disease control, food processing, and accounts. The trained women specialists are playing a major role in changing the local social structure. These specialists are agents of change at the local level, where they meet the household women in meetings and informal gatherings to solve their problems, change their values, and give them strength and hope for a better tomorrow.

Altogether, 379 WO members were given training in poultry farming while 480 women were given training in vegetable production, the highest number among the packages trained. One hundred fifty-nine household women were trained in food processing. An innovative training programme in accounts and book keeping was also extended to twenty women in three SOUs. Besides, training in stitching also given to thirty women in two localities, where participants paid fees, and which remained very successful when follow-up visits were made by the concerned section (Table 20.4).

Table 20.4 Training Achieved in Different Fields

<i>SOU</i>	<i>Poultry</i>	<i>Vegetable production</i>	<i>Food Processing</i>	<i>Accounts</i>	<i>Stitching</i>
Drosh	28	19	19	-	14
Chitral	9	-	-	-	-
Shoghor	115	86	51	-	5
G. Chashma	59	70	22	5	11
Mulikhow	24	5	4	-	-
Torkhow	27	12	0	-	-
Mastuj	80	98	0	3	-
Buni	54	260	63	12	-
Total	379	480	159	20	30

Traditionally, a training facility used to be held for men in similar projects as they are considered the earning members of their households. Moreover this training used to be held at a venue where mobility for women was difficult. In the case of AKRSP intervention gender biases in training were removed and more than 1068 women were trained in different fields of production and management. In view of the restricted mobility of local women, this training was held at the doorstep of the beneficiaries. These meetings also provided an opportunity to the local women to share their views regarding local concerns and exposed them to new ideas related to socio-economic uplift and betterment. Moreover, the training gave them a sense of power, respect, courage and value in front of their husbands, fathers, brothers, and other men.

Credit

Women have almost no access to agricultural credit. At the five Pakistani banks that keep records of loan by gender, women accounted for less than 0.1 per cent of lending (Operations Evaluation Department 1990). Compared to this national figure, the AKRSP credit programme is showing encouraging results as many windows are open for credit to women. Advances are made to the WOs as well as to individuals. This access, naturally, gives a sense of ownership and consequently a greater chance for emancipation (Table 20.5).

Table 20.5 WOs Access to Credit for Micro-enterprises

<i>SOU</i>	<i>Purpose</i>	<i>No of Loans</i>	<i>Total Amount (Rs)</i>
Shoghor	i) HBP*	2	30,000
	ii) Puttee	3	
Drosh	i) Vet. Store	1	50,000
	ii) Poultry	2	
G. Chashma	i) Puttee	33	364,000
	ii) Wood Stock	1	
	ii) Embroidery	1	
Chitral	-	-	-
Buni	-	-	-
Mulikhow	-	-	-
Torkhow	-	-	-
Mastuj	-	-	-
Total	-	43	444,000

* HBP=*home-based poultry*

It is now widely accepted that micro-enterprises and self-employment are healthy for the economy and should be encouraged, and that the informal sector is a very important source of jobs in developing countries (Harper 1994). Using the micro-enterprise credit programme of the AKRSP, the women of three localities—Shoghor, Drosh, and Garam Chashma—have used credit for different purposes. The major portion of the credit has been used for puttee⁶ making, which is considered a major income source, particularly in the Garam Chashma area. The other localities have not availed the credit programme due to one reason or another—as there may be little opportunity for utilizing the credit or there is lack of information on the part of the social organizer regarding the use and availability of the facility (Table 20.6). Women's Organization Credit Programme (WOCP), which is a village-level banking system based on their savings collateral, has been used liberally. To date, in the region, 583 WOCPs

worth Rs 1.38 million have been adopted and used for a variety of purposes ranging from purchase of livestock, establishment of brooding centre, puttee making, and financing other basic household requirements.

Table 20.6 Women's Organization Credit Programme (WOCF)

<i>SOU</i>	<i>WOCs</i>	<i>Type of Loan</i>	<i>Beneficiaries</i>	<i>Amount (Rs)</i>
Buni	3	Short-term	112	365,000
	1	Medium-term	62	100,000
Drosh	1	Short-term	17	392,000
G. Chashma	1	Short-term	23	80,000
Mastuj	1	Short-term	106	92,000
Shoghor	5	Short-term	263	352,000
Torkhow	-	-	-	-
Chitral	-	-	-	-
Total	11		583	1.38 million

Productive Packages and Appropriate Technologies

Besides the training and credit programme, the AKRSP has extended a number of productive packages in agriculture, livestock farming, and forestry because these three components are very crucial for the survival of the growers. A number of developmental interventions and appropriate technologies have been provided for the increase of production and income. In agriculture, vegetable production and training has been made a major task of the programme. As has been stated in the preceding parts of this chapter, 480 household women have been trained in vegetable production. Up till now twenty-two vegetable introduction plots have been made for the household women, as well as providing seeds provided to many individuals. Plastic tunnels have been provided to many households for producing off-season vegetables in order to improve the nutritional level. Better varieties of fruit plants have also been introduced in many localities and individual households.

Table 20.7 Distribution of Appropriate Technologies and Other Packages

<i>SOU</i>	<i>DC</i> (No)	<i>FN</i> (No)	<i>FrN</i> (No)	<i>BC</i> (No)	<i>ST</i> (No)	<i>CP</i> (No)	<i>SW</i> (No)	<i>NC</i> (No)	<i>SP</i> (Kg)	<i>VIP</i> (No)
G. Chasma	3	9	8	37	59	3100	4	1	936	9
Shoghor	4	2	2	350	25	2500	3	1	540	6
Chitral	-	-	-	-	-	800	-	-	300	-
Drosh	-	-	1	-	-	200	2	-	150	-
Buni	-	5	8	20	89	1300	4	1	850	5
Mulikhow	1	-	2	14	45	300	3	1	350	1
Torkhow	-	1	-	8	19	411	1	1	250	2
Mastuj	-	10	10	33	38	712	6	0	600	6
Total	8	35	31	196	276	9323	23	6	3980	29

DC = drum carder FN= fruit nursery FrN= forest nursery

BC= brush carder ST= sulphur tent

CP= chick provided SW= spinning wheel NC= nut cracker

SP= seed provided VIP= vegetable introduction plot

Besides, to date twenty-one micro hydels have been completed in the region.

On the livestock side, poultry management and disease control has been a useful package for the locals. Chicks were provided to many households and brooding centres and training for disease control and management were offered. To date, 379 women have been providing training for poultry rearing and disease control.

Various appropriate technologies have been provided for saving labour time and increasing income. Some of the more successful at the farm level, are sulphur tents, drum carders, and micro hydels. With the help of sulphur tents the household women have increased their income and saved time. By selling fruit dried through sulphur, the intervened households increased their income more than three times (Shahidin 1995). Availability of drum carders has been very useful regarding saving time and increasing productivity besides creating hygienic conditions for household women. The work load has decreased significantly as 1 kilogram of wool used to be carded in the traditional way in one week. Availability of drum carders has eased the task by saving much of the household time and allowing the same amount of wool to be carded in 15 minutes, which is a very remarkable achievement on the part of the intervention of appropriate technologies (Fayyaz 1995).

Similarly, lighting of small hydel power has immense benefits in terms of time saving, making handicrafts, and better household management for the local women (Iqbal 1994; Table 20.7).

Conclusion

On the basis of the preceding discussion it may be concluded that the women in Chitral have more access to and control over different resources than they had a decade ago. They have access to wage earning in the AKRSP, as well as other similar organizations, which is now culturally accepted by and large.

More than 208 organizations have been operated specifically for them where they hold different positions and manage the organization for different socio-economic activities and linkages with other bodies. Their sitting together and sharing information helps in empowering them and raising their skills.

Women have access to and control over savings, which total more than Rs 6.06 million, for development of different productive activities in their localities. This practice has empowered them as they are now owners of large capital, which was considered a male domain a few years ago.

Information and skill development is another area where more than 900 household women have been given training in different productive activities. Access to this resource enables them to be a productive force at the household and community level.

Credit, traditionally given only to men, is another crucial area, where household women have focused in order to enhance their economic power. They have access and control to different windows of credit like MECF and VOF. Using the window of MECF, women have utilized the amount of Rs 0.4 million for different small-level enterprises and mobilization of their personal resources. VOF, which is available at their doorstep, has allowed to achieve than Rs 1.38 million against their collateral.

Besides, women have control over and access to different productive packages (like vegetable, fruit, and forest, production, etc.) which have increased their awareness and that is why these activities are imperative to a balanced development at the household and community level. Poultry management and disease control has significantly increased their income and nutritional level as this activity has many benefits at the household level if managed successfully.

They have access to and control over different appropriate technologies like drum carders, sulphur tents, nutcrackers, and spinning wheels. Some of these have saved their labour time and increased productivity. Similarly, small hydels have increased their working capacity, providing them a better environment at the household level which would help them in better home management and child care. In short, women are moving ahead to a better life due to these activities and projects.

NOTES

1. It was observed during various field visits that children at school going age, both male and female, were hardly seen at home, even in the remote villages. They attended schools wherever the facility was available.
2. Although this paper specifically deals with the intervention packages of the AKRSP, the contribution of the AKES and AKHS is also substantial as fifty-one girls schools (thirty-five primary, fifteen middle, and one high) are operating where thirty-nine trained local females are employed. The AKHS has twenty-one health centres where two lady doctors and forty-four lady health visitors are employed. Similarly, the CADP has provided employment to eight local women who are helping in organizing and improving concerns through different intervention packages replicating the AKRSP model. To date, 125 WOs have been formed in the region.
3. Within the programme, interaction of the female staff with the male staff remained limited and marginalization of the female staff was perceived. It was part of the cultural constraints which cause women to feel uneasy with strange men. During programme meetings the female staff segregated themselves and hesitated to participate in discussions. In the field, the male staff were reluctant to share the programme resources with their female colleagues, particularly vehicles. This attitude also stems from a culture where women are not considered at par with men. It was observed that such a situation may lead the female staff into seclusion and the development of local women may be jeopardized in the name of WID. Realizing the situation, the management group of the programme decided to abolish the WID section last year and integrated the packages with other sections. Another bold step was to appoint a female as a manager of the Field Management Unit (FMU) in the Gilgit region when structural changes were made in the programme. This had a very positive impact on the female staff, particularly in the Chitral region. One of the positive signs was seen during the regions' meeting when the same FMU manager was in Chitral for attending it. She encouraged the female staff of the Chitral region to take front seats during the meeting. Since this meeting, the female staff in Chitral have participated in discussions.
4. Structural favourability means where the programme intervention is made without resistance from the locals, meaning that their response is functional. The areas where favourable conditions were found were mostly populated by members of the Ismaili sect, who are more open-minded due to religious teachings encouraging modern education and development than Sunni Muslims. Social scientists believe that religion and religious leaders play a great role in shaping the values of the people (Stockwells & Laidlaw 1981).
5. Information was collected from the WID section of the CADP. This organization is run by the Government of NWFP and its major sources of funding are the Asian Development Bank and IFAD. Working procedure at the field level is similar to that of the AKRSP. This organization is preferred in Sunni areas to the AKRSP as the latter is linked with the Ismaili sect. The areas where members of the Sunni sect live are resistant to the programme due to politics supported by religious views.
6. *Patti* is woollen cloth made locally and is one of the important exports of Chitral.

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MOUNTAIN TOURISM IN NORTHERN PAKISTAN—TOURIST REGIONS AND PROBLEMS OF FURTHER DEVELOPMENT

*Erwin Groetzbach**

Tourism has mainly been a matter for economists, human geographers, sociologists, psychologists, and others for decades. In recent years, however, there has been a growing awareness among social and natural scientists of the fact that tourism concerns them also. For tourism not only depends largely on the natural environment but also can impair nature. This has been experienced in European countries where mass tourism has transformed large tracts from rural to semi-urban areas. This process has chiefly affected mountain environments which were subject to measures like deforestation for ski runs, construction of ropeways and lifts, mountain roads, mountain hotels, restaurants, and other tourist attractions. It is winter sports, mainly Alpine skiing, which have caused the greatest damage, such as soil erosion and deterioration of the vegetation. Although a strong ecology movement in countries like Switzerland, Austria, and Germany opposes tourist over-development, economic interests have usually prevailed against environment protection.

It is a great challenge to examine mountain tourism in Pakistan in the light of European experiences. However, as far as I know, there are no empirical studies in this field so that, first, basic data and information have to be collected. Mountain tourism seems to be such a recent phenomenon in Pakistan that social scientists are not yet aware of it, although tourism has increased rapidly during the last decade in the mountains of Northern Pakistan and there is a large potential for its further growth. This potential should be carefully developed, above all, to diversify the sources of income for the mountain population.

In the mountain areas of Northern Pakistan the traditional economy and way of life are in a crisis as has been the case in many other mountain areas of the world, especially the Alps. The opening up of the valleys by roads and modern communication and administration systems has resulted in remarkable changes. Traditional mountain husbandry, which formerly provided subsistence, is decreasing and had been partly replaced by a market-oriented agriculture. Such changes can be observed for instance in Kaghan, Upper Swat, and some valleys near Gilgit where potatoes have become an important cash crop. Moreover, some mountain areas suffer heavy emigration of young people in search of better jobs or education, as is the case in Hunza.

What happens when the traditional ways of life in the mountain areas break down? It is tourism that penetrates the valleys, giving them a new function within the overall economy of

* Professor of cultural geography at the Catholic University of Eichstaett, Federal Republic of Germany. The paper is based on the author's fieldwork in 1982 and 1986. It is to be noted that considerable improvements regarding the development of infrastructure and other facilities have been achieved since the author visited these areas (ed).

a country. In highly industrialized and urbanized countries like those of Western Europe, mountain areas have become the main destination of tourists, apart from sea shores. In the Alps, this process of tourist penetration began during the last century and reached its peak in the last two decades. Tourism has also conquered other mountain areas although to a less spectacular extent: the Pyrenees and parts of the Carpathians in Europe, the Rocky Mountains in North America, the Alborz Mountains in Iran, and others. Thus, the recent appearance of tourism in Northern Pakistan reflects a worldwide process of re-evaluation of mountain environments by modernized or modernizing societies.

Although the numbers of tourists in the mountains of Pakistan are comparatively low, tourism has started to influence landscape, local economy, and society in certain places. In the following, some problems of the new mountain tourism in Pakistan shall be sketched, mainly the locations of tourist places, types of tourists and resorts, and finally some implications for tourism policy and planning.

There are five regions where tourism concentrates:

1. Murree and the *galis*. This is a region of traditional recreation, almost exclusively visited by domestic tourists, both for weekends and for longer stays in a cool climate. Murree, as one of the large hill-stations founded by the British (in 1851) is the leading tourist centre in Northern Pakistan, comprising not only of a number of hotels but also accommodation in rest houses of government departments and in private houses. Moreover, many foreign embassies in Islamabad have their summer residences in Murree, about 2200 metres above sea level. The *galis*, as Nathiagali, Dungagali, Ayubia, and other are called, are much smaller and less visited than Murree, which is easily accessible from Rawalpindi and Islamabad. The *galis* are an area of long-established tourism without much recent growth although attempts were made to develop their recreational potential, as in Ayubia, during the 1960s.
 2. Gilgit and Hunza are the main tourist destinations in the Northern Areas. Here tourism shows a unique structure in regard to the nationality, activities, and expenditure of the visitors. There are single globe-trotters or 'rucksack tourists' as well as groups of trekkers and participants in expensive package tours, Pakistanis as well as foreigners. The opening of the Karakoram Highway (KKH) in 1978 and of the Khunjerab Pass in 1986 has resulted in a heavy increase of tourists of all types. The Khunjerab Pass, at 4733 metres above sea level, is not only an important transit station but also a place of sight-seeing from Gilgit and Hunza. Gilgit, as the administrative and commercial centre of the whole region, has also become its tourist focus although the town cannot boast of any sights. However, it has developed good transport and tourist facilities, offers about 210 hotel rooms of different price categories, shops for mountaineering equipment, travel agencies, and so on. After Gilgit, Karimabad in Hunza has gained considerable importance as a tourist place. Located near the old village of Baltit with its magnificent view of Rakaposhi and with various excursion facilities, Karimabad's recent hotel boom has established more than 100 rooms for tourists.
- Gilgit and Hunza are a great attraction to foreign tourists who dominated by far about 1980. Meanwhile, the number and proportion of Pakistanis who come up the KKH for short stays has increased.
3. The Kaghan valley attracts predominantly domestic tourists from the lowlands who prefer to see a rugged, thickly forested mountain landscape. Most of Kaghan tourism concentrates in Naran where the asphalt road ends. Here the Pakistan Tourism Development Corporation; (PTDC founded in 1970) complex alone received about 15,000 tourists in 1986, including

11,000 Pakistanis and 4000 foreigners. Many other domestic visitors, mostly members of different authorities, stay in the numerous official rest houses, tourist huts, inspection bungalows, and other accommodations during the summer. As the valley itself is rather narrow, its most attractive sites lie at higher altitudes: the plateaus of Shogran and Lalazar and the lake Saif-ul-Muluk (3212 m) near Naran. Tourism in upper Kaghan, however, is often hampered by climatic conditions. In winter and spring the upper valley is closed by heavy snowfall and avalanche activity. Avalanche cones may block the road till August and impede the traffic even to Naran (as in 1986).

4. The Swat valley gives easier access to high mountain areas with forests and glaciers. Here, Kalam, at the head of the main valley, has developed into an important summer resort within a few years and there is still a boom in building new hotels. In future, the winter resort of Malam Jaba (with a hotel and ski lift), which has been under construction for many years, will add a totally new feature to mountain tourism in Northern Pakistan. Situated under a forested crest at 2500 metres, the place is easily accessible by a new asphalt road from the Swat valley almost 1500 metres below, and has a splendid location and good snow conditions. Swat mostly attracts Pakistani tourists but the lower valley with Saidu Sharif and its many relics of Gandhara culture is also visited by foreigners, mainly guided groups. Swat offers the greatest variety of landscape and hotel accommodation and is already well-equipped with tourist facilities. The main locations of tourism are (besides Kalam) Saidu Sharif and Mingora, Miandam in a side valley, Madyan, and Bahrein. Although an area of relatively established tourism, Swat still records a considerable tourist growth, increasingly supported by private enterprise.
5. In Baltistan tourism has developed only after the completion of the Indus road to Skardu, which itself is already a breathtaking sight. Tourism in Baltistan shows a bipolar structure reflected in two nearby locations: Skardu and Kachura Lake. Skardu has become the main starting point for expeditions and trekking tours to the central Karakoram Range with some modest hotels mostly visited by foreigners. In contrast to Skardu the private tourist complex at Kachura Lake, called 'Shangri La,' offers expensive accommodation to more fastidious guests, both domestic and foreign. Most of them fly in directly from Rawalpindi and make use of a diversified programme of recreation activities offered by the hotel management.

Apart from these five areas there are a few more important places with tourist accommodation. Some of them are located along the KKH: Chilas (with an expensive new 'Midway Hotel'), Besham, farther down and in particular Abbottabad as the starting point of the highway. Although Abbottabad is a resort as old as Murree and near to the *galis* it cannot be considered a part of them for it is situated only at 1200 metres, has strong urban functions, and, despite its large hotel capacity (about 120 rooms), has predominantly transit tourism. The number of tourists along the KKH up to Gilgit should not be overestimated. An official survey revealed that only a minority (8 %) of the passengers on the KKH travel for recreation or sight-seeing purposes (Research and Statistics Section 1983).

Another region not yet much touched by tourism is Chitral. Chitral Town may be called a small tourist centre which offers modest accommodation in three hotels and excursions to the Kalash valleys (Bumboret, Ramboor, and Birir) and to the hot springs of Garam Chashma. However, tourism in Chitral does not only suffer from poor road conditions (mainly over the Loari Pass) but also from restrictions along the border with Afghanistan.

If we consider the factors which favoured the growth of tourism in the five areas mentioned above we will find mainly the following: a) access by good roads and air connections (to Saidu Sharif, Gilgit, Skardu); b) natural beauty in general, especially high mountains, good

views, clear rivers, forests, snows, and in the case of the hill stations, cool climate in contrast to the lowlands; c) spectacular natural landscapes which attract mainly foreign tourists, such as famous mountains (Nanga Parbat, K2, Rakaposhi, etc.) and the huge glaciers of Baltistan and Hunza/Nager. This means that the main tourist resource of the mountains in north Pakistan is nature. Therefore, all should be done to preserve nature including forests and wildlife.

The same is true for the cultural resources. Until now they have been of minor importance for tourism but they may get more attention in future, especially from people interested in alien cultures. Such resources are, for example, traditional settlements. First of all wooden houses as still common in Chitral, Swat, parts of Chilas, and Kaghan; so are old mosques and castles with fine wood carvings (Kalam, Hunza, Ghor, Khaplu in Baltistan). Furthermore folk art, music, and dances and eventually archaeological monuments as in Swat and inscriptions from the Buddhist period along the KKH (Jettmar 1982) have potential as tourist attraction.

Other important requirements for developing tourism are proper accommodation and modern tourist facilities. Until now it seems that, apart from Murree and a few other exceptions, low-cost tourism prevails by far. This is justified in a country where the average level of income is low. In order to enable members of the middle class to participate in domestic tourism the price for accommodation should be moderate. Concerning foreign tourists, however, all should be done to achieve higher standards. International tourism can be an important source of foreign-exchange earnings but it is subject to hard competition. Therefore, a higher standard of tourism should be encouraged by a policy which promotes improvements in accommodation, service, and infrastructure. Hotels of high quality will be used by upper-class nationals as well as foreigners who usually have similar demands. Such hotels offer a great number of jobs and create broad income effects. The problem is, however, to which extent the local population benefits from these income flows; this will be discussed below.

Until recently there were hardly more than three hotels in the mountain areas of north Pakistan (apart from Murree) which met international standards. This is a small number, compared with at least fifty hotels of medium to low quality (including those of the PTDC). They are located in Saidu Sharif, Gilgit, and near Skardu (Shangri La). All of them are privately run. Enterprises who own them are planning investments in new hotels in Gilgit, Raikot (near the Nanga Parbat), Karimabad, and Sost (Hunza). They owe this success not only to foreign but also to Pakistani guests who are members of the urban upper classes. This shows that there is a demand for high standard recreation facilities inside Pakistan while in many other developing countries well-to-do people prefer holiday destinations abroad. Only a few years ago the mountain areas were not at all an attraction for rich merchants and industrialists from Karachi. Now they can be seen at Kachura Lake near Skardu as well as in the Serena Hotels at Saidu Sharif and Gilgit. It seems that these areas are successfully building up a 'tourist image' which corresponds even to the demands of the national elite. This is important for future development as the elite usually have a pilot function in tourism.

Until a few years ago public institutions, mainly the PTDC, were pioneers of tourism outside the cities. However, public tourist enterprises are hardly capable of meeting high standard demands in an optimal way as worldwide experience shows. This means that governmental enterprises like the PTDC still have an important function as a model in places where private initiative in tourism is inadequate (like Chitral or Kaghan, for example). For tourist development of international standards, however, private enterprise with its greater flexibility and know-how is an advantage.

However, the expansion of high standard accommodation has created problems in the Northern Areas, namely, social, economic, and political ones. These new hotels are owned

and run by private companies or individuals from outside the mountains, not by locals nor government institutions. The emergence of developers, financiers, and managers from outside has provoked much unrest among the local population, especially from indigenous hoteliers who fear superior competitors. In one case resistance culminated in a trial. These are understandable reactions if one considers the negative results of large-scale tourist development by outsiders as, for example, realized during the 'sixties in the French Alps. Unrestrained exogenous development of tourism usually discriminates against the local population which, insufficiently qualified, is able to participate only in minor positions with low incomes.

On the other hand, the locals in distant mountain valleys have neither the financial means nor the know-how to develop high standard accommodation and infrastructure. It is hard to imagine that villagers from Baltistan, Hunza, or Kaghan know about the pretensions and expectations of upper-class tourists unless they themselves have served in a hotel of this standard. Thus, non-local, mostly urban entrepreneurs are necessary to develop high standard tourism to complement the modest accommodation facilities which are the domain of the local population. It is an adequate mixture of high, medium, and low standard accommodation which should be developed in this way.

To achieve this aim, tourism policy and tourism planning have to give directives and set limitations. Tourism development should be a balanced process, with the participation of the local people and outside entrepreneurs, but without destruction of the natural environment and the cultural heritage of the population. At the moment the mountain environment in Pakistan does not seem to be endangered. However, there are indications of ecological stress in some areas, mainly along the most popular trekking routes in Baltistan from where pollution and destruction of the vegetation have been reported (Gruber 1981). And the hotel project on the Fairy Meadows in the Raikot valley near Nanga Parbat will destroy forests and a famous landscape. The cultural heritage of the mountain people is another tourist resource worth preserving and protecting. It is deplorable that whole villages with traditional houses which otherwise would attract tourists become ruins. Even the old *mir's* palace in Baltit (Hunza), which is visited by many tourists, seems to be going this way instead of being restored and transformed to a museum. (The Baltit palace has been lately restored and renovated by the Aga Khan Foundation—ed.).

The authorities should not only recognize the rich tourist resources of the mountains in north Pakistan but also direct their development by appropriate planning. They should not repeat the negligence and errors of governments in other countries but act properly before it is too late.

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Section V

Socio-economic Issues

TRADE IN CHITRAL IN THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY: A BRIEF REVIEW

*Hussain Khan**

Background

Chitral¹ (called Chettrar by the inhabitants) is situated between latitudes 35 degrees 15 minutes, and 37 degrees north, and longitudes 71 degrees, 30 minutes, and 73 degrees, 50 minutes east. Kashqar is the name given to it by the Pathans. Its greatest length, from the Yarkhun-Karambar watershed in the north to Arandu in the south, is about 200 miles. Its total area is approximately 4500 square miles.

The exact geographical and political boundaries can be traced as follows:

To the North and North-East there is the crest of the Hindu Kush Range from the main watershed between the Oxus River to its North and the Yarkhun-Chitral river to its South, then dividing Chitral from the Afghan province of Wakhan and Badakhshan and forming the Pak-Afghan Frontier.

On the West the Hindu Kush sends out from the vicinity of the Dora Pass, a spur to the South. This spur or as it may be called, the Kafiristan range, running south to the junction of the Chitral and Bashgal rivers divides Chitral from the Afghan Province of Kunar and forms the Pak-Afghan Frontier on this side.

To the South, the boundary between Chitral and the Afghan district of Asmar was, before the third Afghan War, said to be formed by the Southern watershed of the Arandu (Arnawaii) stream.

To the East the Mashabar or Shandur range, a subsidiary spur of the Hindu Kush, which branches just South-East of the Baroghil Pass divides Chitral from the districts of Hunza, Yasin and Ghizer in the Gilgit Agency. From the Shandur Pass the eastern boundary dividing Chitral from Dir, runs along the Hindu Raj range to the Shandur Pass.²

Chitral State, due to its geographical position, had close socio-historical relations with the Central Asian states during ancient and medieval times. Professor Israr-ud-Din points out, 'The various races of immigrants who came, either as invaders or refugees, from diverse backgrounds, especially those from Badakhshan and the surrounding countries have made great contributions to the customs, culture and character of the people.'³ The same fact has been endorsed by Sir Aurel Stein as follows:

Along with other observers, I was impressed from the outset by the far reaching higher standards in comforts of life manners, and method of cultivation which I noticed as soon as I entered Chitral. Much if not most of what I was able to observe as regards the material civilization of Chitral, distinctly recalled Turkistan, while India seemed to be far behind me in customs and conditions alike. With so much before my eyes that betokened direct importation from Badakhshan, it was

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impossible not to realize how important a part the ancient civilization established by the Oxus have played in shaping the past of Chitral.⁴

Silk Route

Pamir, also known as the roof of the world, is linked with the extreme north of Chitral by the Silk Route.

There was an important emporium of the Silk Route at Yarkand and Kashgar,⁵ which implies the trade caravans used to benefit from the sale of commodities on their way to Central Asia.

Trade Promoted in the Period Under Review

There are two historic inferences, one from the *Military Report and Gazetteer on Chitral*, that the chief interest of His Highness Sir Shuja-ul-Mulk, KCIE, who was ruler (*mehtar*) of Chitral State from 1895 to 1936, was finances. The second source is the book titled *Chitral Ek Taaruf*, which suggests that the aforesaid *mehtar* had promoted the trade of Chitral. Consequently, the trade under his patronage followed with that of British India and Afghanistan.

Trade Routes

The principal trade routes between the former British India, the state of Chitral, and Afghanistan were as below:

1. From Dargai to Badakhshan via the Malakand, Loari, and Dora passes
2. From Dargai to Wakhan via the Malakand, Loari, and Boroghil passes
3. From Kashmir to Chitral via the Tragbal, Burzil, and Shandur passes

The trade route between Dargai and Badakhshan was the most important and direct route between Peshawar and Chitral, as well as the main trade route between Chitral and Badakhshan. The traffic which passed along it from May to November, particularly, was considerable⁶.

Trade Imports and Exports

From July to October, when the passes were open, a certain amount of trade between the Punjab and Afghan Turkestan was carried on via Chitral by petty merchants who belonged to Bajour and Badakhshan. The Chitralis themselves had very little inclination for commercial purposes⁷.

Goods were carried on ponies, mules, and donkeys, as the routes were impracticable for camels, except between Dir and Chitral via the Loari Pass.

Prior to the British occupation of Chitral, there was trade in timber. The deodar trees were cut and thrown into the rivers during the summer by coolies drafted for this purpose from all

parts of Chitral. These coolies received no remuneration and the work was very unpopular. Mehtar Sher Afzal discontinued the system and this was one of the principal reasons for his popularity.

As regards trade in Chitral, till 1928, when the *Military Report and Gazetteer on Chitral* was published,

the chief imports from India and Dir comprised Bajauri and Dir iron, salt, indigo, raw silk, long cloth, washed and unwashed chintz, cheap velvets, broad cloth, Punjabi and Peshawari coarse cotton cloth. There were Ludhiana and Peshawari Lungis, susi (striped cloth manufactured in the Punjab), groceries, spices, tea in small quantities, sugar, sugar candy, powder, all kinds of pedlar's wares, printed religious books, cowries, enamel wares, tobacco, cooking pots, agricultural implements, rice from Swat, gur and muslins.⁸

The imports from Badakhshan consisted of a few ponies, which were lightly built though very hardy and excellent for polo, and sheep surreptitiously brought over every year by the Sar Istragh Pass, as trade was then interdicted by the Afghan government. The remaining details of imports from Badakhshan were carpets, cotton, pistachionuts, almonds, raisins, Russian Kazan or flat metal cooking-vessels, Russian chintz, Bukhara-made striped silks (*alachas*), silk and cotton striped cloth (*adras*), and broad-striped silks (*behasab*), Bukhara boots and gaiters, and Russian leathers for sleeping on (*chirm-e-Bulgaria*); also saddles and bridles made in Badakhshan, gold dust, *zira*, and *chogas*. Fixed dues were also levied on the thorough trade with Badakhshan.⁹ The petty traders in the Chitral bazaars from Peshawar, Bajour, and Badakhshan drove a fairly brisk bargain. There were also bazaars in Drosh, one inside cantonment limits and the other outside. The traders undoubtedly took advantage of the ignorance of the Chitralis. Local trade may increase in the future but it can never be very great as the population is scanty, and the majority are content to lead a very simple life.¹²

Home Industries

Very good homespun cloth was made from the wool of sheep, goat, ibex, and yak, duck's feathers sometimes being interwoven. The best homespun, called '*kárbei*', was made of lamb's wool in the Torkhow valley; superior cotton carpets, goat's hair mats, woollen stockings, *chogas*, and caps were made all over Chitral.

Garam Chashma

Garam Chashma (Hot Spring) is situated on the way to the border linked with Badakhshan. It is an emporium of precious stones. At a little distance from Garam Chashma there existed the famous valley of Mogh on the way to Shoghor where was produced the well-known puttee called *Moghikan*.¹¹

Iron, copper and orpiment of superior quality were found in Kashqar, and were minted, a few villages being wholly employed in the industry. Chitrali daggers and sword-hilts were in great demand in the neighbouring valley.¹²

Conclusion

This brief study of the trade of Chitral shows that the region had flourishing trade relations with Central Asia. In the present purview of the newly independent countries of Central Asia, and their relations with Pakistan, it can be expected that Chitral is going to play an important role in the future as a centre of commerce between this country and the surrounding regions, thus reviving the ancient Silk Route.

NOTES

1. Chitral began to be called as such from the middle of the 19th century AD when for the first time the court of Kashmir and the British Indian government came into contact with it.
2. Israr-ud-Din, Wazir Ali Shah, and Inayatullah Faziai. *Chitral Ek Taaruf*, (Chitral, 1986), p. 14.
3. General Staff India, *Military Report and Gazetteer on Chitral* (Calcutta, 1928), p. 20.
4. Israr-ud-Din, 'A Social Geography of Chitral State' (M.Sc. thesis, University of London, 1965), p. 33.
5. Sir Aurel Stein, *Serindia*, vol.-I (Oxford, 1921), p. 28. Quoted by Israr-ud-Din, 'Social Geography,' p. 32.
6. *General Staff India, Military Report*.
7. *Ibid*.
8. *Ibid*.
9. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol.-X (Oxford, 1908).
10. *General Staff India, Military Report*, pp. 50, 51.
11. Inayatullah Faizi, *Chitral*, in Urdu (Islamabad, 1992), p. 59.
12. *The Imperial Gazetteer*, p. 304.

THE CHANGING POSITION OF WOMEN IN NORTHERN PAKISTAN: FROM AGRICULTURAL PRODUCERS TO OFF-FARM EMPLOYEES

*Hiltrud Herbers**

Introduction

Until the beginning of the 1970s, research institutes, relief agencies, and society in general paid little attention to women in developing countries. In fact, one might say that up to this point their traditional role was more or less taken for granted and their specific contribution to economic processes was virtually 'invisible.' This situation changed radically with the publication of Ester Boserup's study on *Women's Role in Economic Development* (1970). Since then, more emphasis has been put on the status of women, female issues, and gender relationship (Tekülve 1993; Monk & Momsen 1994).

The majority of women in developing countries live in rural areas. Studies on women in Northern Pakistan¹ point out that, during the last two to three decades, their position has been changing remarkably. Owing to the increase in off-farm employment and labour migration of male household members, their responsibility within agriculture has grown significantly. Today, women play a crucial role as agricultural producers. This development constitutes the first step of their changing position (York 1984; Hewitt 1989; Felmy 1993).

Recently, first signs of the next step within this process have emerged in Northern Pakistan: women who have traditionally been confined to home-based work, are now striving for off-farm employment. However, this process is taking place almost unnoticed. So far, it has been completely neglected by academic literature, perhaps because it is expected rather in urban areas than in peripheral regions such as the rural and mountainous Northern Pakistan.

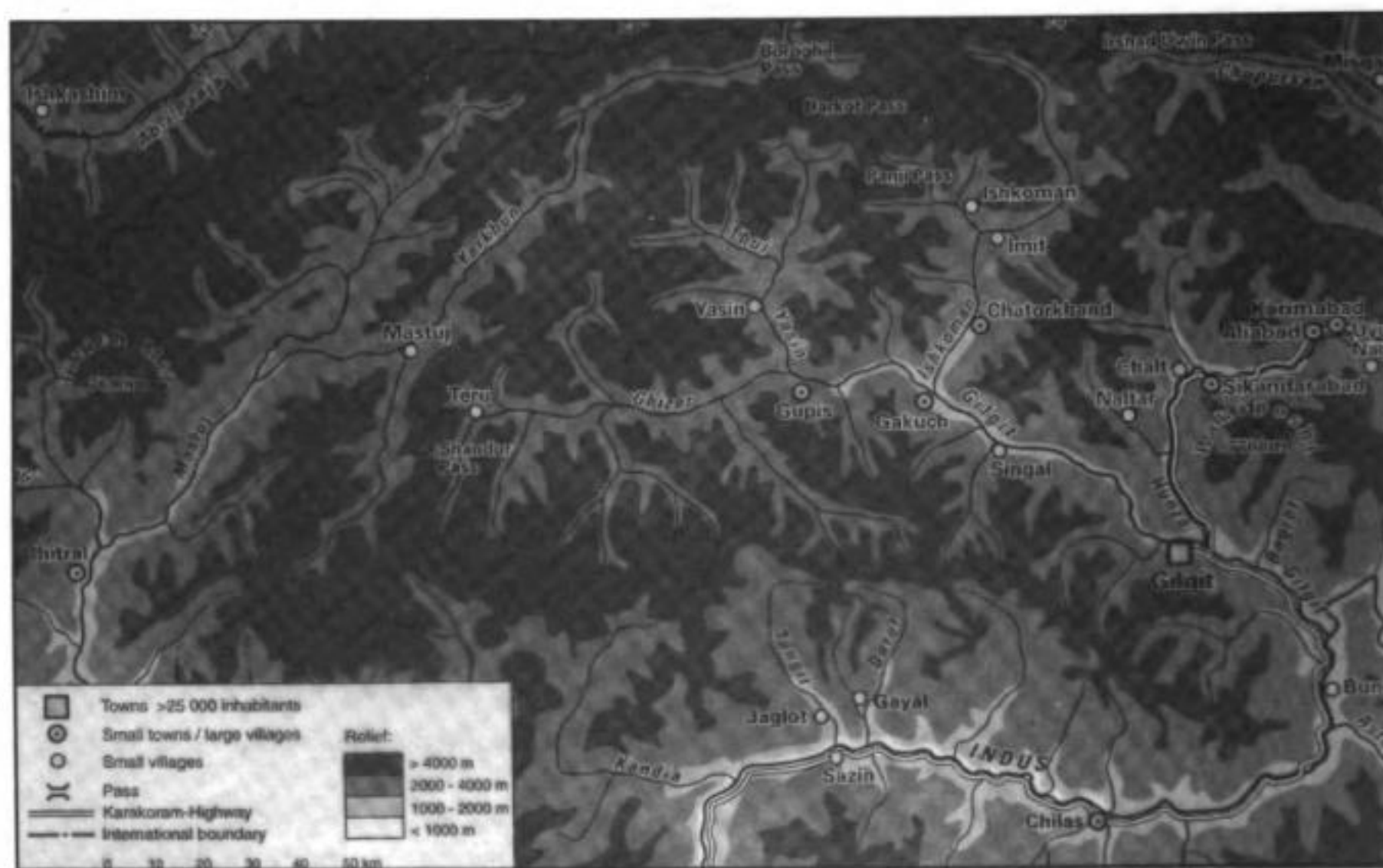
This study intends to analyse current changes, problems, and perspectives regarding female off-farm employment in the Yasin valley. Within the scope of the Third International Hindu Kush Cultural Conference the subject represents a very recent development in this region. The study area is located about 230 kilometres to the east of Chitral Town and 120 kilometres to the west of Gilgit and the Karakoram Highway (KKH) at an elevation of 2,160 to 2,750 meters above sea level (see Fig. 23.1). A gravelled road is Yasin's only link with Chitral, or with Gilgit and the KKH. Owing to the limited access to the administrative and commercial centres and to the main trade route in Northern Pakistan, Yasin is a rather peripheral place.

Most of the 27,500 inhabitants of Yasin Valley (Löhr 1993), who mainly belong to the Islamic community of the Ismailiya, work as farmers on their own land. With average annual precipitation below 200 millimetres in the valley bottom, crops can only be grown by means

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of irrigation. Today, agricultural production from crop cultivation and animal husbandry is insufficient to secure a livelihood. Therefore, on average, one male person in each household has a non-agricultural occupation in order to support the family.

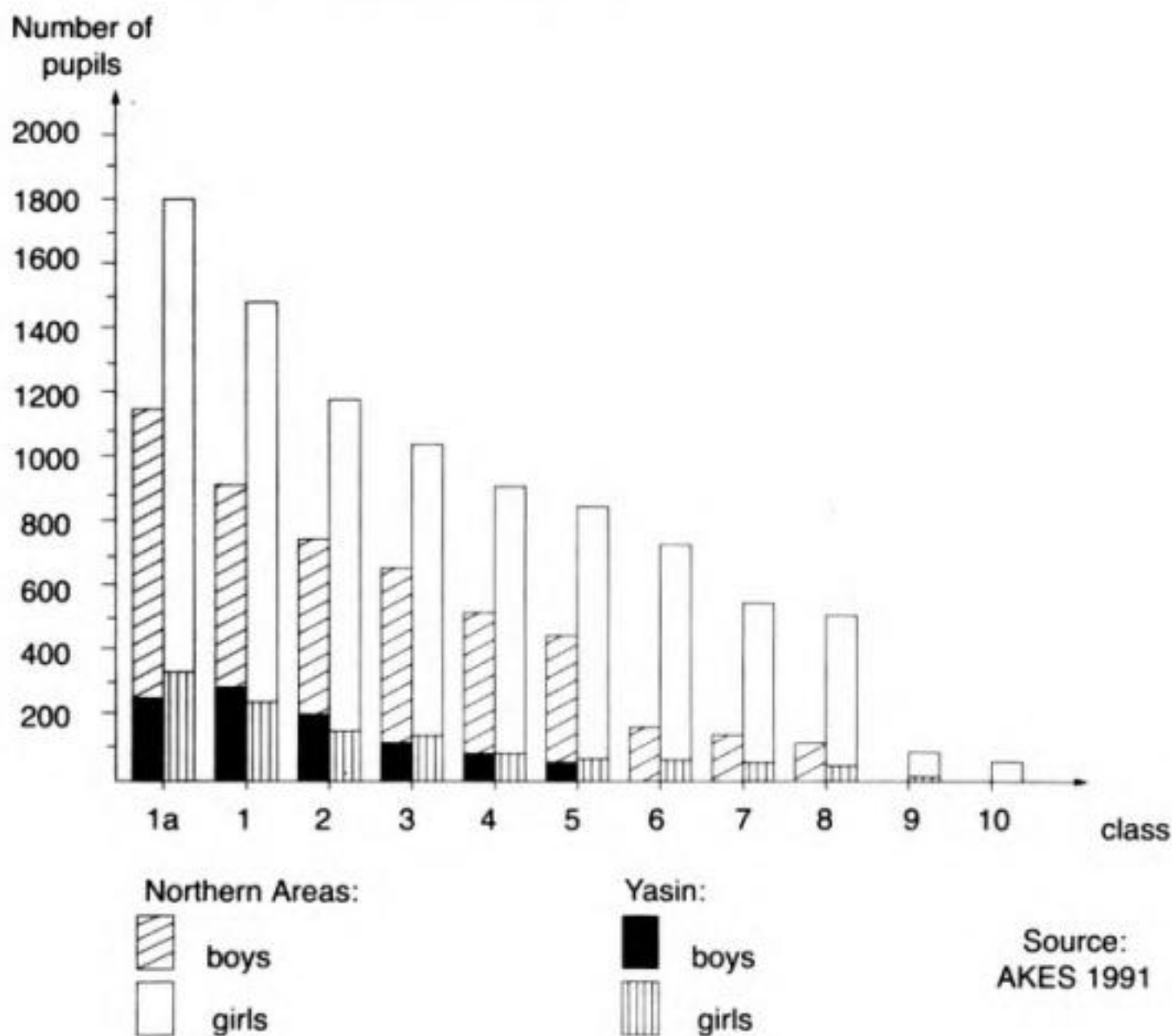
Fig. 23.1 Geographical Location of Yasin



Prerequisites of Female Off-farm Employment

School education is one of the most important prerequisites for non-agricultural employment. The *District Census Report of Gilgit* gives a literacy rate as low as 7.1 per cent for Yasin. This figure conceals a remarkable difference between men and women: until 1981, only seven women, compared to 115 men, received a matriculation certificate, marking the successful completion of Class X of the schooling system (Government of Pakistan 1984: 52).

The main reason for this gender-specific difference in the level of literacy is the limited access of girls to governmental schools. In the Northern Areas of Pakistan, out of 73,651 pupils 62,014 (84.2 per cent) are boys and 11,637 (15.8 per cent) are girls (Mehr Dad 1992).² In order to encourage more girls to attend school, the Aga Khan Education Services (AKES), the educational institution of the Ismailiya community, particularly promotes female education. Although preference is given to girls, Diamond Jubilee Schools are open also to boys. Moreover, these schools are accessible to children of all religious groups. Owing to this particular framework, the Diamond Jubilee School system can be said to both supplement and complement the efforts of the government (AKES 1991).

Photo 23.1 Young Girls in a Diamond Jubilee Primary School in Yasin**Fig. 23.2 Number of Female and Male Pupils in Diamond Jubilee Schools in the Northern Areas of Pakistan and in Yasin (1991)**

Until today, one high (since 1994), five middle, and nineteen primary Diamond Jubilee Schools have been established in Yasin, enabling girls to take advantage of the full range of the educational programme and to graduate with a matriculation certificate.³ For further studies they have to leave the valley in order to go to a governmental girls college in Gilgit, Skardu, or the lowlands of Pakistan. Financial support is provided by the Development of Human Resource Programme sponsored by the AKES (AKES 1991).

The proportion of female to male pupils demonstrates the success of the Diamond Jubilee Schools. As Fig. 23.2 shows, more girls than boys are enrolled in these schools in the Northern Areas of Pakistan. Although this trend is less obvious in Yasin, the total number of pupils proves that girls (1246) outnumber boys (1096) (AKES 1991).

At present, future off-farm employment is not the main reason for girls to attend school. While the girls themselves, aside from gaining more prestige among their peers, often merely enjoy studying and meeting classmates, their parents have different interests. Since nowadays many men prefer an educated wife, parents hope to make their daughter more attractive for a future husband by sending her to school. They do not usually derive any direct benefit from their daughter's education because traditionally her marriage is arranged as soon as, or even before, she has finished school. Therefore, the husband's family, but not her parents, will profit from her taking up a job.⁴

As is to be expected, in promoting female education the AKES pursues aims quite different from those of the local people. Besides a general increase of literacy, it has two main objectives: first, it aims at training 'good mothers and housewives,' and second, it hopes to meet the ever-rising need for qualified professionals such as physicians, nurses, and teachers (AKES 1991: 2-3).

School education is neither the only prerequisite for female off-farm employment, nor a necessary one for all kinds of jobs. Since women in Yasin are not allowed to plan and decide for themselves, the permission of their parents or husband and parents-in-law is required. They consider the interests of the entire household, the family's honour, financial needs, and other questions.

Moreover, the observance of *purdah* rules, which regulate the seclusion of women—a common practice in Islamic countries—, has to be guaranteed during the working hours. This means that women should work neither in positions traditionally reserved for men, nor in an environment where they would have contact with men who do not belong to their family. In addition, to safeguard a woman's good reputation, the occupation should be available in the village in which her family lives so that she is able to return home every evening.

Finally, to allow a woman to leave the house for off-farm employment enough additional female household members are required within her family. These have to compensate for her absence and possibly look after her children while she is away. This prerequisite is usually only fulfilled in extended families.

Actual Female Off-farm Employment in Yasin

In case all prerequisites are met, the actual supply of jobs on the local labour market determines a woman's chance to pursue a non-agricultural occupation. Current opportunities for women in Yasin are listed in Table 23.1. Women in Yasin pursue paid professions as teachers, midwives, and field coordinators, particularly within various Aga Khan institutions. Only a few women work either for the Government Health Service (as midwives or community health workers) or for the Pakistani-German research project 'Culture Area Karakorum.' The

latter was carried out between 1990 and 1996 and provided four temporary positions for women, who were employed predominantly as assistants and interpreters.

Table 23.1 Off-farm Employment* of Women in Yasin

<i>Kind of Work</i>			<i>Number of Employees</i>	<i>School</i>	<i>Origin</i>
			Education		
Paid Employment	AK Education Services	-Teacher	12	+	Yasin
	AK Religious Studies Dept.	-Religious Teacher	25	+	Yasin
	AK Health Services	-Midwife (LHV)	6	+	Hunza Punial Down-country
	Governmental Health Service	-Midwife (LHV)	3	-	Yasin
		-Community Health Worker	1-2 per Village	+	Yasin
	AK Rural Support Programme	-Field Coordinator	1	+	Yasin
	Research Project 'CAK'	-Assistant/Interpreter	3	+	Hunza Yasin
Honorary Occupation	AK Health Services	-Caretaker of Weather Station	1	+	Yasin
		-Trained Birth Attendant	1-2 per WO	-	Yasin
		-Community Health Worker	1 per Hamlet	-	Yasin
	AK Rural Support Programme	-Chicken Specialist	1-2 per WO	-	Yasin
		-Vegetable Specialist	1-2 per WO	-	Yasin
		-WO-cashier	46	+	Yasin
	'Self-employed'	-Tailor	?	-	Yasin

AK = Aga Khan WO = women's organization

CAK = Culture Area Karakorum + = school education

LHV = lady health visitor - = no school education

* The following criteria were used to define off-farm employment:

—monetary income and/or

—off-farm occupation and/or

—non-agricultural occupation

Source: AKES 1991; own investigations 1992-95.

Honorary occupations are also mainly available within the Aga Khan Health Services (AKHS) and the Aga Khan Rural Support Programme (AKRSP). These programmes provide non-paid jobs for trained birth attendants, community health workers, chicken and vegetable specialists, and cashiers of the women's organizations (WOs). In addition, many women who

own a sewing machine work as tailors for other females. In contrast to their male colleagues they do not receive any salary. Their work is rather taken for granted among neighbours and relatives.

In total, female employment is very low in Yasin. In 1995, merely eighty to ninety women earned a regular income. This number even further decreases if one takes into account that several of them are not residents or native inhabitants of Yasin: some female employees are migrants from Hunza, Punial, or the lowlands of Pakistan; others, especially female teachers, are born elsewhere and came to Yasin in order to get married.⁵

Seasonal or permanent migration is a common response to a regionally limited supply of employment. Whereas many men from Yasin migrate to Gilgit, downcountry, and even to foreign countries (e.g., Saudi Arabia) in order to find a job, so far no woman has left Yasin for this purpose.

Female off-farm employment is a new phenomenon in Yasin. As such it is characterized by not only a small number of female employees, but also the many problems which these women have to face.

Social Acceptance of Female Off-farm Employment

The perspectives of female employment depend on its acceptance in society. In Yasin, a rather negative conception of female off-farm employment prevails. A woman who frequently goes out is a *gucaras*, a 'gadabout.' A proverb from Yasin expresses this view:

Gus hurútuka mo hútes yâre barkát	If a woman stays at home, blessing is under her feet;
Hir gučarika ne hútes yâre barkát	If a man goes out, blessing is under his feet.
Gus gučaruka hâlum barkát hóla dúčućumbu	If a woman goes out [gads about], she carries the blessing out of the house;
Hir hurútika ne saja kam maimi.	If a man stays at home, his status might deteriorate.

As this proverb indicates, female off-farm employment is believed to run counter to a woman's 'natural' disposition and duties. This belief results in an often negative, if not outright hostile, attitude toward women pursuing an occupation outside their household or farm. Those who still venture to do so will meet with disapproval even among close relatives, male as well as female.

Despite this overall negative attitude towards female off-farm employment, there are differences in acceptability depending on the kind of work a woman does. As a rule, the greater the mobility and spatial range which is required to pursue an employment and the more frequent the interactions with men, the less is a woman's employment accepted by local people. For instance, compared to field coordinators or midwives⁶ female teachers have a better reputation.⁷

Family status and age are other factors affecting the acceptance of female employment. Being married is advantageous insofar as it provides a socially acknowledged status. Furthermore, women having a job are generally accepted when they are above the age of 40, that is, past their reproductive period, when they no longer endanger the honour of their families.⁸

Owing to an insufficient supply of jobs in Yasin, men and women compete for certain jobs (e.g., teachers, tailors). This condition lessens the men's willingness to accept female off-farm occupation. Moreover, few men will approve of their wives earning a higher income than themselves since this would question their role as the family's breadwinner.

Although, in general, people in Yasin disapprove of female employment for moral reasons there are more and more families who nevertheless tolerate it out of necessity. Since subsistence agriculture is not sufficient for making a living, a regular income is indispensable for almost all of the households. Particularly families with no or only a low non-agricultural income are increasingly less reluctant to allow a female household member to pursue a paid job.

In 1984, the first WOs of the AKRSP were founded throughout the Northern Areas of Pakistan. Today, forty-six WOs with 1532 members operate in Yasin. These institutions have helped to reduce women's isolation and provide a forum for discussing female issues. In addition, their weekly meetings contribute much to the growing acceptance of women in public places.

The establishment of several honorary occupations within the AKRSP and the AKHS has similar effects. For the first time, women have taken over new tasks and responsibilities apart from their traditional roles. So far, mainly elderly women pursue honorary occupations or are members of the WOs. Yet, they have an important impact as pioneers for the future employment of women of all age groups.

Despite the many difficulties working women have to face in terms of social acceptability, young women especially intend to pursue a profession. Hence, the question arises as to what the motives for their decision are. School education provides girls with an opportunity to get to know a world beyond the narrow confines of what has traditionally been regarded their domain. They learn for instance mathematics, Urdu or English, and other subjects. Except for home economics, most subjects are only of minor or indirect advantage for household and agricultural work. It is understandable, therefore, why nowadays more and more women are seeking employment which matches their educational level.

While old women have more freedom to visit different places, younger ones never travel farther than to a neighbouring village. Long distances are only covered occasionally—such as if a woman goes to visit the parental home located far away, attends a ceremony on the occasion of a visit of the religious leader, His Highness Karim Aga Khan al-Husseini in the area (1962 Yasin, 1988 Gupis), or falls seriously ill and has to be taken to a hospital in Singal or Gilgit.⁹ Off-farm employment might give her more opportunities to see places she heard about at school, on the radio, or from male relatives who worked there.

Effects of the Intra-household Organization of Labour on Female Employment

The subsistence economy of Yasin is labour intensive and characterized by a high work load. Every household needs a minimum of two women to perform all daily tasks: one for food preparation and housekeeping, another one mainly for animal tending. In addition, during the summer season, garden work and fieldwork has to be done by women. The minimum of females required in a household increases with the size of the farm (livestock, fields, gardens), the number of children, and the intensity of the utilization of summer pastures (Herbers 1995).

Depending on the number of working hours, female off-farm employment causes a complete or partial loss of a woman who otherwise would do her share of household tasks. Owing to the gender-specific division of labour this gap can only be filled by other females. Even if

there are enough males in the household, the inflexibility of the system does not allow them to substitute for a woman.

Only few households can spare a 'pair of female hands' without negative consequences on the intra-household organization of labour. In this regard, extended families have an advantage over small or nuclear families. For the latter, it is almost impossible to compensate for the loss of a female household member since labour and time saving technologies for female tasks are not available or applicable (owing, for instance, to the lack of electricity in the Yasin Valley). Therefore, women in small households who want to pursue off-farm employment have to resort to one of the following strategies:

- Firstly, they can try to find employment which also allows them to take care of their duties in the household. Women work, for instance, as paid tailors, an occupation which enables them to organize their working hours so that it does not interfere with their daily tasks on the farm. The problem with this solution is, however, that these women have a much higher work load.
- Unfortunately, it is not possible to hire labourers for female household and agricultural tasks. The arrangement of a marriage is the only possibility to provide the household with an additional female labourer, that is, a new daughter-in-law. She can take over the duties of her sister-in-law who is striving for off-farm employment. Yet, this solution depends on the availability of an unmarried son of a suitable age within the household.
- To abandon the local subsistence economy would be another strategy to give women the opportunity to pursue a job. However, as long as agricultural production is indispensable for securing the family's livelihood and women play a pivotal role in maintaining it, at present it is highly unlikely that agriculture will be given up in favour of female off-farm employment.

Conclusion

Until recently, none in Yasin questioned that off-farm employment is an exclusive domain of men and that women stay and work at home. At present, this view is undergoing a remarkable change. Owing to improved access to schools and colleges more and more women have the desire to find a job outside their households. There are, however, a number of obstacles, social as well as economic, to female off-farm employment.

In spite of these factors it seems likely that the activities of female pioneers (as well as the general infrastructural progress in areas such as transportation, electricity, etc.) will, in the long run, lead to the spread of female off-farm employment. This process is necessary for not only helping young women develop their individual skills but also reducing the shortage of female staff, particularly in health institutions (Operations Evaluation Department 1990).

NOTES

1. The general term Northern Pakistan refers to the northern part of the country. In contrast, the Northern Areas of Pakistan represent an administrative unit consisting of the five districts Gilgit, Diamir, Baltistan, and Ghanche. Gilgit District is further divided into the subdivisions Gupis/Yasin and Punial/Ishkoman.
2. With 9077 male pupils (95.6 %) versus 421 female pupils (4.4 %), the difference is even greater in Gilgit District where seven high, fourteen middle, and thirty-seven primary schools have been set up by the government.

These include one middle school and five primary schools for girls. None of them is located in Yasin (Mehr Dad 1992).

3. In villages which have neither nearby middle or high schools nor large numbers of female pupils, coaching classes are arranged. The most talented girls of the Northern Areas of Pakistan, selected on a competitive basis, can get secondary-level school education (above Class VII) at the Aga Khan Academy in Karimabad (Hunza) or at the Aga Khan School at Sherqilla, Punial). Both are model schools, but only the first one provides hostel facilities for eighty girls (AKES 1991; Mehr Dad 1992).
4. York (1984) related the high drop-out rate of girls to the low benefit of their formal education. School fees (in 1993 monthly Rs 12–15) might be another reason for parents to remove girls from school. In particular, families with more than one schoolchild are not always able to bear this financial burden.
5. The same process took place in the Hunza valley. At the beginning, female teachers were brought in from outside, i.e., from downcountry (Felmy 1993). Today, women from Hunza not only work as teachers in their native valley but also migrate to other places like Yasin, for example, to work as midwives (see Table 23.1).
6. Field coordinators travel from village to village to supervise the women's organizations (WOs); midwives visit female patients during pregnancy or for delivery at home whenever they are called, i.e., day or night.
7. Similar patterns of social acceptance of female employment are found in Punjab: home-based income generating activities (handicrafts such as sewing, knitting, embroidery) are generally welcomed. Teaching is less accepted but is still considered preferable to the work of nurses or secretaries (Klein & Nestvogel 1984).
8. In Yasin, all three local midwives who work for the Government Health Service are above the age of 40.
9. In 1993, the author asked twenty-one women about their travel habits. Only eight of them have ever been to Gilgit. Seven came here for medical treatment, one accompanied her husband who ran a shop in town.

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HINDU KUSH OR MARDUM KUSH (HUMAN KILLER)

*Sardar-ul-Mulk**

The land-locked region of Chitral District falls in the second position of health registered under development after the Kohistan District of Hazara Division, NWFP. Kohistan District, with approximately the same population and area, has fewer health facilities and medical manpower. However, Kohistan has better road communications with the rest of Pakistan all year round. Owing to difficult communication within the district of Chitral and impossible communication during the winter with the outside world, many precious lives are lost. The worst affected are the low priority groups of mother and child, and the Kalash minority. During the winter months they prefer to die near their hearths rather than to be carried uncomfortably on wooden cots to the nearest jeepable road. This journey could take some days and is beyond the means of many.

Specialist Medical Resource Development—A Crying Need

The above-mentioned natural barriers also affect adversely the availability of specialist treatment facilities in Chitral. In Chitral District only one local ophthalmologist is working and nine posts of specialist doctors have been lying vacant for many years. The non-availability of specialist doctors and modern diagnostic facilities has led to an increase in mortality, particularly in the mother and child category. Specialist doctors from other districts cannot be forced to serve in Chitral. The only way to overcome this serious health problem is to train young, talented Chitrali doctors for specialization in surgery, gynaecology, and medicine immediately in Europe. An appeal is lodged with the Hindu Kush conference to arrange a sponsor for such training. A bond of service could be obtained from these doctors (to be selected on merit) for a minimum of ten years' service in government hospitals within Chitral.

To achieve the national and international objectives of 'health for all by the year 2000' the following measures should be adopted:

Primary Health Education through Primary School Teachers, Religious School Teachers, and Imam Masjid by Means of a Mobile Pilot Project

Community participation is sought for a team of volunteer educationists, health workers, and social workers. Short partial orientation will be imparted to the target group on health

* Retired director general health, Govt of NWFP. Currently honorary district vice-chairman of the Red Crescent Society of Chitral (all donations should be routed through the secretary, Pakistan Red Crescent Society, Red Crescent House, Dabgari Gardens, Peshawar).

promotion and prevention with special emphasis on child survival and safe motherhood. The topics shall include Extended Poly-immunization (EPI), control of diarrhoeal disease (CDD), control of communicable diseases (CCD), control of iodine deficiency, nutritional education, awareness about priority diseases and the major killers, control of malaria, tuberculosis and leprosy, care of the sick at home and hospital, safe water for drinking, village sanitation, domestic toilets, disposal of household refuse; measures against destruction of the ecology and pollution; ventilation and lighting of houses, maximum use of sunshine and fresh air; population planning and AIDS awareness; and measures against drug addiction and rehabilitation of the addicts. For the success of this project volunteers are needed from across the whole of the Hindu Kush. Transport and portable audiovisual aids are needed for mass communication. This component shall be totally free. The teacher orientation shall include an important component of checking the students at the time of admission for squinting and trachoma, as well as detection advice about preventable disorders like defective vision, defective hearing, early signs of dental decay and sore throat and heart trouble, physical and speech defects, and marital subnormality. Government primary schools total 477 (male schools 464, female schools thirteen); there are 842 teachers for the male primary schools and 247 for the female schools and the total number of students in the district are 24,446.

The number of religious schools and NGO schools and the *imams masjid* will be determined after a survey.

Safe Motherhood and Child Survival Unit

It is proposed that the above unit be started in Drosh where a building at the cost of Rs 8,500,000 is available free of cost by the organizer. This building, however, needs some alteration, modification, and furnishing along with the provision of equipment for emergency treatment and operation. Service of a qualified pediatrician is available free of charge. Services of a volunteer midwife, preferably an expatriate, are needed. Some local, experienced staff could be employed. These services, through the mobile wing, could be extended to the Kalash valleys, particularly for childbirth cases. At the centre, health education will be imparted to mothers, women of childbearing age (CBAs), trained birth attendants (TBAs), government lady health visitors (LHVs), female medical technicians (FMTs), and female school teachers.

Public Health Laboratory Diagnostic Centre

This service is needed for the proper diagnosis of diseases. It should have facilities for women of CBA, TBAs, LHVs, and FMTs.

Lack of these services locally is one detrimental factor preventing specialist doctors from serving in Chitral. Further, the diagnostic centre could be a great help to the community and render visits to Peshawar unnecessary. These services shall be free for the underprivileged and the minority groups but user charges shall be levied on those who can afford them. International medical agencies are requested for the supply of equipment. Surplus hospital equipment may be donated by the European community and Japan. The equipment should include a microbiological laboratory; a blood bank, including AIDS and hepatitis screening facilities; equipment for the prevention and treatment of heart disease, tuberculosis foetal examination, and the prevention of dental decay and preservation of eyesight and hearing, particularly in schoolchildren.

Community Participatory Development

Community participation shall be achieved by involving and motivating the existing established community organizations, as well as village organizations (VOs) and women's organizations (WOs) of the Aga Khan Rural Support Network and Chitral Area Development Project (CADP). For sustainability, a service user charge and health insurance schemes shall be introduced. The local community will be involved in all phases of planning, implementation, supervision, and monitoring. Community leaders have been involved in a participatory committee in the project preparation. Such committees comprise of educationists, health workers, and social workers. These committees will function from the village, union council, *tehsil*, and district levels.

Funding Sources

Multi-donor financial support is requested of the World Bank, WHO, UNICEF, CIDA, NORAD, SAP, GTZ, ODA, ECC, Edhi Trust, Aga Khan Foundation, JAICA, Overseas Pakistani Organization, Shaukat Khanam Memorial Trust, Hindu Kush Society, Red Crescent Organization, Society for the Prevention of Blindness, NWFP TB and Diabetes Organization, and CADP. The project could be split for funding purposes.

Sponsoring Agency

The organizer, Dr Sardar-ul-Mulk, is a public health physician, health management consultant, and pediatrician. He was the first doctor from Chitral and has served there for more than twenty years out of a total of thirty-five years of service in the provincial health department. On 10 February 1995 he retired from government service on superannuation. His last assignment was as director general of health, NWFP, Pakistan. He has dedicated his remaining days to the health development of Chitral primarily through health promotion and prevention. He has a close liaison with the UNICEF, the Aga Khan Health Services (AKHS), Pakistan Health Foundation, and TB and Diabetes Association. He is in the process of reactivating the Chitral branches of the Red Crescent Society, TB and Diabetes Organization, and the Society for the Prevention of Blindness. He has succeeded in opening branches of these organizations in Chitral, Drosh, Garam Chashma, and Buni. He works as honorary district vice-chairman of the Red Crescent Society of Chitral.

Monitoring and Evaluation Strategy

Internally, the project will be monitored through regular reports of activity and returns to the Red Crescent Society, government departments of health and education, district administration, and donor agencies. The project will be open to external evaluation through the agencies mentioned above.

Auditing

The project will be supervised and audited by the auditors of the Red Crescent Organization.

Logistics Needed

The project requires a four-wheel-drive vehicle for mobile activity, portable audiovisual aids and public-address system with generator, furniture for the office and the child and mother survival units, and equipment for the diagnostic centre and public health laboratories, as well as funds for the renovation of the building and employment of the salaried staff and recurring costs during the initial phases till the project becomes sustainable through income generation and community participation. This last component is necessary to achieve the long-term goals of reducing mortality.

Duration of the Project and Period of Implementation

This pilot project is to be of two years duration. Its implementations will start immediately after a firm commitment from any of the donors. The following chart of activities is proposed. Depending upon resources, the project component of health education can be launched separately and independently from the mother-child survival unit and diagnostic centre.

PHASE I (1995–6)

1. This involves initiation of primary health education in the primary schools of Chitral, Drosh, and Garam Chashma *tehsils*, along with the purchase and development of the necessary teaching material and their translation into the local dialect. Letters of credit for the diagnostic centre, public health laboratory, and essential life saving equipment for the mother and child survival units will be established. Qualified staff will be inducted and given orientation.
2. The existing community organizations, VOs, and WOs of the Aga Khan Rural Support Programme (AKRSP) and the (CADP) shall be utilized to avoid any duplication.
3. Renovation of the building in Drosh and setting up of a project office on rent in Chitral is also planned.
4. Orientation of the girls school teachers shall commence first and that of the boys school teachers next.

PHASE II (1996–7) includes:

1. preparation and submission of report of activities for the past year for evaluation to the Government of Pakistan and the donor agencies;
2. extension of the project to the *tehsils* of Mastuj, Buni, Torkhow, and Mulikhow in Upper Chitral;
3. full activity of the mother and child survival units with gradual weaning of external support as the project starts generating income;
4. preparation and publication of the final report;
5. evaluation and its possible replications in other districts of the NWFP, Pakistan.

Target Dates

- a. Planned commencement date: 1 January 1996
- b. Planned completion date:
 - Phase I: first year: December 1996
 - Phase II: second year: December 1997

Total Cost of the Project

Phase I:	1995-6	Rs 2,429,000
Phase II:	1996-7	Rs 9,370,000
Total:	Rs 11,298,500 (two years pilot project)	

Cost for Phase I (1995-6)

	Per Month	Per Year
Salaries		
Health education officer	Rs 7,000	Rs 84,000
Female medical technician tutor	Rs 5,000	Rs 60,000
Midwife/LHV tutor	Rs 5,000	Rs 60,000
Motivator	Rs 2,000	Rs 24,000
Driver	Rs 2,500	Rs 30,000
<i>Chowkidar</i> (guard)	Rs 1,600	Rs 19,000
Cleaner	Rs 1,500	Rs 18,000
Personal assistant-cum-computer operator	Rs 4,000	Rs 650,000
One four-wheel-drive jeep	Rs 4,000	Rs 500,000
Renovation of building		Rs 500,000
Fuel and electricity charges		Rs 100,000
Computer with printer software		Rs 100,500
Electronic typewriter		Rs 100,500
Audiovisual aids		Rs 225,000
Photostat® machine		Rs 225,000
Office furniture		Rs 50,000
Health education literature		Rs 25,000
Supplies and stationary		Rs 25,000
Rent for the Chitral branch		Rs 60,000
	Total	Rs 2,429,000

Equipment to be purchased for Phase II

Laboratory instruments	Rs 200,0000
X-ray 300 milliangstroms	Rs 500,000
Dental unit	Rs 500,000
Heart monitor	Rs 250,000
Oxygen concentrator	Rs 1,000,000
Infant incubator	Rs 500,000
electrocardiogram machine: stress miction of defibrillator	Rs 2,500,000
Labour room furniture and linen	Rs 500,000

Blood bank equipment	Rs 500,000
During second year a second service vehicle and ambulance	Rs 2,000,000
Annual Recurring Charges: Fuel for transport	Rs 120,000
Electricity and winter heating	Rs 100,000
Essential drugs	Rs 100,000
Replacement and repairs of equipment	Rs 50,000
Contingencies and unforeseen expenditure	Rs 100,000
Repair and replacement of vehicle spares	Rs 100,000
Management by the Red Crescent (auditing and travel assistance)	Rs 100,000
Total	Rs 9,370,000
Grand Total	Rs 11,799,000

PUNIAL: A MOUNTAINOUS TRANSIT VALLEY IN A CHANGING REGIONAL CONTEXT

*Reinhard Fischer**

Introduction

From around 1800 until 1972 Punial was ruled by the Burushe family of Chitrali origin as a semi-autonomous principality. Now it is a *tehsil* in the Ghizer District of the Northern Areas of Pakistan. So Punial was in its present borders a political-administrative territorial entity for the last two centuries. During this period the political and socio-economic framework of Northern Pakistan has changed dramatically three times. The three changes are marked firstly by the advent of British colonial power in the second half of the nineteenth century, secondly by the end of British colonial power and Pakistan's independence in 1947, and thirdly by the further integration of these territories into Pakistan in the early 1970s through the dismissal of local rulers and the building of the Karakoram Highway (KKH), linking the Karakoram mountains with the Pakistani lowlands. The purpose of this study is to show the effects these changes had on Punial's socio-economic development.

Punial as a Transit Valley

Punial is situated on both banks of the Gilgit River west of Gilgit town and comprises also the lower part of the Ishkoman River. Along the southern bank of the Gilgit River there is the old trade route from Gilgit through Punial to Gupis and across the Shandur Pass to Chitral. North of Gupis there is the valley of Yasin, a powerful political centre in the nineteenth century with firm links to Chitral. Thus, Punial is on a through road, and is a thoroughfare or transit valley between the regional centre of Gilgit in the east and Gupis, Yasin, and Chitral in the west.

To the north there is Ishkoman, accessible through Punial on a road along the Ishkoman River. Punial's southern border towards Darel, now part of Diamir District of the Northern Areas, is the only natural border fixed by a topographical feature, the watershed between the Gilgit River and the Indus. There is no road but a track from Punial to Darel.

The Pre-colonial Period

Shah Burush, the founder of the Burushe dynasty that ruled Punial until 1972, was installed as ruler of Punial around 1800. He was the grandson of Shah Khushwaqt of Yasin and throughout

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the first half of the nineteenth century Punial had close links with Yasin.¹ Punial did not emerge as a fully independent state but the Burushe *rajas* in Punial acted on behalf of their powerful Khushwaqt relatives in Yasin. In 1827, Sulaiman Shah of Yasin appointed Azad Khan of Punial as ruler in Gilgit, but in 1834 Tahir Shah, ruler of Nager, attacked Gilgit and killed Azad Khan.² In 1842, when the Sikhs had taken Gilgit, the legendary Gauhar Aman of Yasin stopped the Sikhs on Punial's eastern border. So Punial was the eastern outpost of the Khushwaqt territory. Gauhar Aman managed to drive the Dogras, who had taken over Sikh positions, out of Gilgit, but for the people of Gilgit and Punial his rule was devastating, because he sold many of them, including his own relatives from the Burushe family, into slavery.³ Isa Bahadur, grandson of Shah Burush and then nominal ruler of Punial fled in fear of Gauhar Aman to Kashmir, where he offered his services to the Dogras. In return the Dogras gave Punial as a hereditary fief (*jagir*) to Isa Bahadur in 1860 when they recaptured Gilgit and took Punial for the first time. The Burushe family also received two smaller *jagirs* near Srinagar and was thus made a loyal subject of the *maharaja* of Kashmir. Kashmiri troops were posted at Sherqilla in Punial, and Punial's western border towards Yasin was the westernmost border of Kashmiri territory. But it was not a peaceful border as Kashmiri troops, supported by Isa Bahadur, attacked Yasin in 1863. In 1866 the *mehtar* of Chitral led his troops through Punial trying in vain to capture Gilgit; the following year, Mir Wali of Yasin attacked Punial. Punial in this pre-colonial period is described as 'a bone of contention,'⁴ meaning insecurity for the inhabitants. They had to retreat every night into fortified villages.⁵ There were only eight settlements in Punial in this pre-colonial period.

The Advent of British Colonial Power

The British interest in the area that is now known as the Northern Areas of Pakistan was the result of their fear of a possible Russian attack across the Pamir, Hindu Kush, and Karakoram mountains. This Anglo-Russian rivalry euphemistically called 'the great game' led the British into the area.⁶ The method used to exert influence was 'indirect rule' in cooperation with the *maharaja* of Kashmir.

Ever since the establishment of the first British agency in Gilgit in 1877, the British tried to incorporate the territories west of Punial, namely Yasin and Chitral, into the Kashmiri-British sphere of interest. When Biddulph, the first British agent in Gilgit, visited Mehtar Aman-ul-Mulk in Chitral in 1879, the *latter* told him that he still considered Punial a part of Chitral, but that he was willing to give up his claim on Punial in exchange for a suitable subsidy.⁷ This implied that Punial was still a 'bone of contention.'

Biddulph was completely taken by surprise when, in 1880, Pehlewan Bahadur of Yasin attacked Punial and tried to advance towards Gilgit. While they were still besieging the fort in Sherqilla, in Punial, the Yasinis learned that Yasin had been attacked from Chitral. Thus, they withdrew and the Kashmiri-British position in Gilgit and Punial was saved. All the villages in Punial except Sherqilla were heavily fined by the political agent for their alleged cooperation with Pehlewan Bahadur and the attackers from Yasin.⁸ Nevertheless, this incident led to the closure of the British political agency in 1881.

Colonel Lockhart, who visited Gilgit, Punial, and Chitral in 1885 and 1886 recommended the re-establishment of the British agency in Gilgit,⁹ and in 1889 it was re-established to stay until 1947. Now it was British policy to keep Kashmir's influence in Punial as low as possible without challenging Punial's legal status as a Kashmiri *jagir*. Kashmiri troops were withdrawn from Punial and Raja Akbar Khan, son and successor of Isa Bahadur, was given rifles and

money to put up a levy force. As his father had been loyal to the Dogras, now Akbar Khan was loyal to the British and Puniali levies supported the British in Hunza in 1891, in Chilas in 1893, and in Chitral in 1895.

During the Chitral siege in 1895, the British realized the strategic importance of the road running through Punial when Colonel Kelly led troops from Gilgit through Punial across the Shandur Pass to Chitral.¹⁰ In the following years, the road was improved and military depots were installed in Gulapur, Singal, and Gakuch in Punial. This route was never used to bring supplies into Gilgit, but it was an important line of communication, especially during the winter, when the Shandur Pass is still mostly passable for horses and pedestrians but the Burzil Pass between Gilgit and Srinagar is closed.

The Impact of British Colonial Power on Punial

The British colonial penetration affected Punial in two respects: the establishment of security and the integration into an emerging market.

The administrative reshuffle in the aftermath of the Chitral siege meant that the territories west of Punial, that is, Yasin and Kuh-Ghizer, were also, like Punial, administered from Gilgit. So Punial had lost its role as a border region. Settlement was no longer restricted to fortified villages and the pattern of settlement still observed today with houses scattered throughout the cultivated land could emerge. The number of settlements increased from eight to thirty in the colonial period.

Only in the south, towards Darel, Punial bordered territories that were not part of the Gilgit Agency. The British had no intention of incorporating the acephalous societies of Yaghestan (the Land of Rebels)¹¹ into the Gilgit Agency since the latter were seen not as a menace but as a nuisance. Since 1866, Darel paid an annual tribute to the *maharaja* of Kashmir, which was paid through the *raja* of Punial, and until 1947 the *rajas* of Punial acted several times as mediators between the British and Darel. The British were monitoring Punial's relations with Darel,¹² but this relationship never jeopardized British control over Punial.¹³

The second aspect in which the colonial power influenced Punial was by integrating it into an emerging market. Before the British took control of the region most of the inhabitants lived as subsistence farmers. This is illustrated by an episode of 1880, when a Badakhshani prince fled to Gilgit with a party of sixty-three persons. The British political agent in Gilgit, Biddulph, was unable to acquire enough food for these people locally, and in defiance of the orders of his superiors he had to send the party to Srinagar.¹⁴

The deployment of foreign troops in the region and the difficulty of bringing in supplies from Kashmir across the Burzil Pass created a local demand and market for grain. In 1889, the *raja* of Punial agreed to supply 250 *maunds* (9.33 t) of grain per annum at a fixed rate to the army.¹⁵ So Punial became a grain exporter. Unfortunately, we do not know how the quantity of grain supplied by the *raja* of Punial developed, but we do know that in the mid-1930s he sold about 1000 *maunds* of grain on the Gilgit market.¹⁶ The total dependency of the grain market on the army as the main buyer is illustrated by the fact that the price of wheat fell from 4 rupees per *maund* to 1 rupee in 1935 due to the withdrawal of Kashmiri troops in connection with the lease of the Gilgit Agency.¹⁷

The *raja* acquired the grain in the form of taxes (*malia*) from the *zamindar*. In order to increase his tax revenue, the *raja* allotted land to immigrants and Punialis. The immigrants came mostly from the south, from Darel and other parts of Yaghestan, but also from the west. The British political agents were monitoring the immigration of Darelis with suspicion¹⁸ but

since the ultimate aim, the increased production of grain, was in the British interest, never hindered the *raja*.

The linguistic situation in Punial today is a result of immigration. The majority (approximately 85 %) speak Shina, the lingua franca in Punial and in Gilgit. The Puniali Shina is close to Gilgiti Shina and slightly influenced by Khowar, the language of Ghizer and Chitral.¹⁹ Some of the Shina speakers are descendants of people who migrated from Darel, Chilas Astor and Bagrot into Punial. The linguistic minorities in Punial are all immigrants. Gujarati speaking people migrated from the south mostly via Darel and Tangir into Punial. Kilodja speakers came from Kandia.²⁰ Burushaski speakers came in the 1940s from Hunza to the village of Golodas in Punial. Khowar speakers came from Chitral and Kuh-Ghizer. Most of these linguistic minorities are found in settlements that were established in the colonial period where the *raja* allotted plots of land to immigrants in exchange for taxes. Sherqilla is the only old village with a large non-Shina speaking community because it was the *raja*'s residence and his household employed many immigrants.²¹

In addition to the *raja*, the *zamindar* population of Punial also started to market their surplus in Gilgit. In 1914 and 1935, the people of Punial were not very keen to join the Gilgit Scouts.²² One reason is that they did not depend, like the people of Hunza, on the possibility of a cash income through enrollment, but they were able to produce and sell a surplus of grain.²³ From 1935 onwards part of the tax to the *raja* had to be paid in cash,²⁴ so every *zamindar* household had to sell part of their surplus.

The End of British Rule, Pakistan's Independence, and the Impact on Punial

When British rule ended and through partition India and Pakistan emerged as two independent states, the still unresolved problem of Kashmir came on the agenda. The Gilgit Agency, which was not Kashmiri territory but under Kashmiri suzerainty, was part of the disputed territory. In Gilgit, the Gilgit Scouts arrested Brigadier Ghansar Singh, the *maharaja*'s governor, and opted to join Pakistan.²⁵

The *raja* of Punial was de jure a *jagirdar* of the *maharaja* and first supported the latter's governor.²⁶ Later, he also opted for Pakistan and his family lost the two *jagirs* near Srinagar, but kept control over Punial.²⁷

The internal situation in Punial did not change directly through Pakistan's independence. The *raja* still ruled and collected taxes from the *zamindar*. He continued to sell 1000 *maund* of grain per year on the Gilgit market in the 1950s and 1960s.²⁸

But change occurred indirectly through improvement in transportation and education. In 1949, the first jeep came to Gilgit and in 1953 to Punial. Shops emerged in the villages that were formerly supplied by peripatetic traders. At the end of the colonial period there was only one primary school in Punial. In 1948, five Aga Khan Diamond Jubilee Schools opened in Punial.²⁹

The *zamindars* were frustrated that their position vis-à-vis the *raja* was still very weak and in 1951 there was a tax revolt led by a former tax collector.³⁰ The *raja* could suppress the revolt with police forces from Gilgit but he had to reduce the tax burden by granting partial exemptions. The *zamindars* had gained new perspectives through increased contact with the lowlands and education. They were no longer willing to accept the *raja*'s autocratic rule but they had to wait until 1972 for a major change.

Administrative Reform and the KKH

In August 1972, the then president of Pakistan, Z.A. Bhutto, dismissed the *raja* of Punial and other local rulers like the *mir* of Nager and abolished the agency system. Districts were established and Punial became a *tehsil* in the Gilgit District administered by a *tehsildar*. A tax in cash was fixed on the basis of the 1935 tax list but in 1974 all taxes for farmers were abolished. The *numberdars* or village headmen who were hitherto appointed by the *raja* were now elected by the villagers. The *zamindars* saw this development as a liberation.

Another important event of the early 1970s was the construction of the KKH, which connects the Karakoram mountains with the Pakistani lowlands. It was completed up to the Chinese border in 1978. Many goods and ideas came on this road into the mountains³¹ but the most important commodity since the early 1970s was subsidized grain from the Pakistani lowlands. Within a few years Punial developed from a grain exporting area into a grain importing area. Today, half of the grain consumed in Punial is imported to feed twice as many people as in 1972.³² The availability of subsidized grain enabled the farmers to give up difficult plots in the higher parts of the *nallahs* outside the villages.³³ But it increased the need for a cash income. Only few households can sell enough fruits, nuts, or meat to cover the expenditures. The preferred strategy is to seek off-farm employment. The army is the most important employer. The decision to re-establish the Ghizer District in 1989 created 300 jobs in different offices in the district headquarters in Gakuch Pain in Punial.³⁴ Since the road from Gilgit to Gakuch was made truckable, the bazaar in Gakuch Pain grew into an important regional one attracting traders from outside Punial. Nevertheless, unemployment especially among educated young people is seen as a major problem in Punial.

Before the construction of the KKH, Punial was privileged by its proximity and good links with Gilgit. Now the focus of development has shifted to valleys along the KKH, like Hunza,³⁵ which has better market access and more visiting tourists than Punial, which is off the KKH. The Punialis hope that the improvement of the road through their valley as part of a road from Gilgit, via Punial, Ishkoman, and Wakhan in Afghanistan to Tajikistan would bring benefits for them.

Summary

Each of the described changes in the regional context has increased Punial's connection with the world outside the valley. The population has increased tenfold in this century.³⁶ The standard of living has improved. Educational and health facilities are now widely available. The people in Punial are less vulnerable to epidemics and can cope better with natural hazards through technical facilities. But new dependencies have emerged. The price of wheat, transportation costs and the ability and willingness of the Government of Pakistan to provide jobs in the public sector are of vital importance for them. But decisions on these matters are made outside Punial and are beyond their control.

NOTES

1. Biddulph 1880: opp. 155 gives a genealogy of the Khushwaqte and Burushe families. A copy of a genealogy made in Kashmir for Raja Akbar Khan in 1908 was kindly made available to the author by the *raja's* family.
2. Leitner 1895: 70.
3. Schomberg 1935: 259.

4. Biddulph 1880: 31.
5. Drew 1875: 410–14.
6. Cf. Keay 1979.
7. Biddulph's report on the meeting can be found in IO L/P&S/7/21: 1366.
8. Gilgit Diary (GD) for the week 1 to 7 Jan. 1881 in IO L/P&S/7/27: 1486.
9. Lockhart & Woodthorpe 1889.
10. The official report was published by Robertson 1898. Lieutenant Beynon's account under the title 'With Kelly to Chitral' is in IO MSS EurD 830.
11. Staley 1969 shows the distinction between acephalous 'republics,' including Darel in the south and centrally governed principalities or 'rajaships,' like Punial in the north.
12. In 1905, Assistant Political Agent Captain Smith proposed to expel nineteen 'trouble making' Yaghestani migrants from Punial (IO R/2/1080/255: 192–94). In 1910, Political Agent Drew dismissed Sifat Bahadur, who was temporary governor of Punial at that time, because he had gone to Darel to establish himself as permanent *raja* there (IO R/2/1080/258 and 259).
13. The Frontier Crimes Regulations (FCR) averted the possibility to put pressure on Darelis by banning them from entering the Gilgit Agency. This meant that they could no longer visit the markets in Chilas and Gilgit and could not use the pastures in Singal Nallah in Punial.
14. IO L/P&S/7/26: 2009–21
15. IO R/2/1080/255: 69
16. GD for Dec. 1934 in IO L/P&S/12/3285.
17. GD for Jan. 1935 in IO L/P&S/12/3285.
18. Cf. note 12.
19. Radloff 1992: 124 and 167
20. Kilodja is probably the Kandia dialect of Indus Kohistani (cf. Hallberg 1992: 92) since people referring to their language as 'Kilodja' state that their ancestors came during the colonial period from Kandia to Punial. No linguist has done research among these speakers in Punial.
21. On linguistic groups in the Northern Areas cf. Kreutzmann 1995.
22. GD for Jan. 1914 in IO L/P&S/10/826 and GD for March 1935 in IO L/P&S/12/3285.
23. For Hunza cf. Kreutzmann 1989.
24. According to the 1935 tax-list every *zamindar* household had to pay Rs 10 per year.
25. Dani 1989: 326 ff. describes the events of 1947 and 1948 in Gilgit.
26. In the night Ghansar Singh was arrested the *raja* of Punial tried in vain to visit and probably support him (Ghansar Singh 1983: 37). According to Dani 1989: 327 this support was only half-hearted.
27. The *raja*'s house in Gilgit was bombed and damaged by Indian planes in June 1948 (Ghansar Singh 1983: 45).
28. Two former tax collectors mentioned this figure in interviews.
29. On the development of education in the Northern Areas cf. Mehr Dad 1995.
30. Holzwarth 1994: 77 on the sectarian aspects of the revolt. The *zamindars* were mostly Ismaili and the *raja* was Sunni. Memory of the 1951 revolt is still alive in Punial because it had divided the people as supporters or opponents of the *raja*.
31. For example on the spread of agrarian innovations cf. Pilardeaux 1995.
32. Punial's population according to the 1972 census was 16,826. According to the author's estimate there were 35,000 people living in Punial in 1995. Annual population growth is thus at 3.3 %.
33. These plots were used before to yield one crop of maize or barley per year and are now used to produce fodder or are abandoned.
34. The Ghizer District comprising the *tehsils* of Punial, Ishkoman, Gupis, and Yasin existed between 1974 and 1978 and was again part of Gilgit District after 1978.
35. On the effect of the KKH on Punial cf. Kreutzmann 1989.
36. In the 1870s it was 2000 (Biddulph 1880); according to the censuses, population increased from 4423 in 1911; 5492 in 1921; 6108 in 1931; 8154 in 1941 (Census of India 1912, 1923, 1933, and 1943); 8990 in 1951; 11,790 in 1961; 16,826 in 1972; 22,487 in 1981 (Government of Pakistan 1952, 1975, and 1984); and is estimated to be 35,000 in 1995.

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Section VI
Languages and Literature

INDICATORS OF ATTITUDES TOWARD SHINA DIALECTS

*Carla F. Radloff**

1. Introduction

Two scenarios from the sociolinguistic survey of Shina:

Participants listened to a tape-recorded text in a dialect of Shina distinct from their own. Questions were asked about the content of the text and the mean score for this group of participants was 90 per cent correct, showing they understood the text well. However, over half of these same participants characterized the text as not being 'good' Shina and being 'very different' from their own variety.

Other participants, from another valley, characterized the Gilgiti Shina broadcast on the radio as 'good' Shina, and entirely understandable to them and their families. Yet at another point in the interview, when asked where their language was spoken very differently, over half of these participants named Gilgit. When asked where their language is spoken 'badly', over half also volunteered Gilgit.

When compared with responses given by participants from other locations, these responses appeared somewhat inconsistent in the way they characterize the dialect in question, sometimes giving a more positive reaction, sometimes a more negative one. Why would participants state such apparently contradictory opinions? Should such responses be dismissed as being 'unreliable'? Or do they reflect underlying dynamics that can and should be investigated?

It is the contention of this study that inconsistencies like these can be indicators of underlying attitudes toward the language variety in question. It is also asserted that it is possible to identify these attitudes by examining trends or patterns in the interview response data; and if this qualitative data is interpreted against the background of more quantitative measures like lexical similarity percentages and comprehension tests, greater insights can be obtained. Following is a brief description of the goals and methodologies of the sociolinguistic survey of Shina. Then, results of the survey showing these patterns of responses are presented. This is followed by a discussion of traditional language-attitude-research methodology and its implications for the current study. Finally, a brief summary is given.

2. Background on Shina

Shina is a Dardic language belonging to the Indo-Aryan, Northwest group (Strand 1973). It is spoken in the watershed of the Indus River in Northern Pakistan, primarily in the greater Gilgit and Astor river valleys and along the Indus in Chilas and other areas of the Diamir

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District of the Northern Areas and on the east bank of the Indus in the Kohistan District of the North-West Frontier Province. There may be 400–500,000 speakers of Shina, according to the 1981 census of Pakistan.

2.1 Background on the Sociolinguistic Survey of Shina

A sociolinguistic survey of the Shina language was carried out over the years 1988–90. The results of this study are published in Volume 2 of the Sociolinguistic Survey of Northern Pakistan (Radloff 1992). Goals of the survey included answering the following questions:

- How many dialects of Shina are there?
- Is Gilgiti Shina the recognized 'standard' dialect?
- Could Chilasi Shina be an alternate 'standard'?
- Are there hindering attitudes which would make one variety preferred over another as 'standard'?

Different types of language data were collected from different groups of individuals at chosen locations to help answer these research questions. These included: percentages of lexical similarity based on lists of words, scores reflecting comprehension of a tape-recorded speech sample, and opinions expressed in response to open questions asked in a structured interview.¹

Lexical similarity

Local equivalents for a list of 210 words were elicited in twenty-seven different locations where Shina is spoken. Similarity between the words given from any two locations was figured by examining their phonetic closeness according to a set formula. The percentage of lexical similarity represents the number of similar words in comparison to the total. Eighty-five percent similarity was considered the baseline for grouping like varieties of Shina.

Comprehension of a speech sample

A short, personal narrative text in one variety of Shina was tape-recorded, then played in other areas where different varieties of Shina are spoken. Questions were asked about the content of the text.² Averaging the number of correct answers given by the ten or so participants from each location where the tape was played gave a mean percentage correct score. This mean percentage score gave an idea of the listeners' comprehension of the variety of Shina spoken in the text. This method of assessing comprehension is termed a recorded text test (RTT). A mean score of about 90 per cent correct was considered to indicate good comprehension of the text. Following each RTT the participants were asked questions about the difference between the test variety of Shina and their own. These are referred to as post-RTT questions in this work.

Opinions expressed during a structured interview

An extensive list of questions were asked during a structured interview.³ These questions covered such topics as perceived similarity of varieties of Shina, perceived ability to comprehend other varieties of Shina, awareness of literature in Shina, frequency of listening to Shina radio broadcasts, language use in different domains, frequency and direction of travel, second language proficiency, and so on. A few evaluative questions were also asked which required the participants to consider where their language was spoken the 'best' or 'badly' or what they thought about the Shina used in radio broadcasts. These are referred to as interview questions in this work.

2.2 General Results of the Sociolinguistic Survey of Shina

The results of the sociolinguistic survey suggest that Shina can be divided into a series of four slightly overlapping geographical clusters of dialects. These divisions are based on the percentages of lexical similarity and are supported by the results of recorded text testing and opinions stated by Shina speakers during the interviews regarding their perceptions of dialect similarity (see Radloff 1992). They also basically agree with groupings proposed by other scholars (cf. Grierson 1919; Bailey 1924; Lorimer 1927; Namus 1961; Schmidt 1984, 1985). These four divisions comprise the following:

- ☐ Northern cluster (Gilgit valley and Shina speaking areas west and north including the Hunza river valley)
- ☐ Eastern cluster (Astor valley and Shina speaking areas scattered throughout Baltistan including Satpara)
- ☐ Diamir cluster (Chilas area, Darel and Tangir valleys, Harban and Sazin, and other areas of Diamir District)
- ☐ Kohistan cluster (the valleys of Jalkot, Palas, and Kolai)

Results also indicate that the Gilgit variety of Shina is more the *de facto* standard dialect rather than any consciously chosen prestige dialect. That is to say, because Gilgit is the centre for trade and government in the Northern Areas, and because people from almost all the Shina-speaking areas frequently travel to Gilgit, and because radio broadcasts in the Gilgit variety reach almost all the Shina speaking areas, there seems to be a wide spread ability to understand Gilgiti. There also seems to be an equally wide spread non-negative, even positive attitude toward that variety. This positive attitude toward Gilgiti, however, appears to be paralleled, in certain areas, by a hindering or negative attitude toward the Chilas variety of Shina.

These attitudes were discovered without directly testing or inquiring after them. How they were detected through examining patterns of responses is discussed in the following sections.

3. Attitudes Revealed by Patterns of Responses and RTT Scores

As explained above, an RTT presents a personal narrative text in one variety of a language to speakers of another variety of that language. The listeners are asked questions about the content of the text and the resulting mean percentage correct for that group indicates how well they understood that text, and by extension, that variety of the language.

Standardized questions were asked after the administration of each RTT. These questions focused on the participants' opinions about the speech variety used in the text: whether they thought it was 'good' Shina, where they thought the man who told the story was from, how much of it they understood, how different they thought his dialect was from theirs, how much contact they had with people from that area, and so forth. Responses were analysed by examining trends or patterns in the opinions expressed that came about, specifically, when over half of the participants from each area gave the same opinion.

Answers to three of these post-RTT questions were particularly interesting in that, for most of the testing locations, the pattern of responses paralleled the results of the RTTs themselves. Where the responses did not pattern with the test results, they appeared to indicate attitudes toward the test dialect, usually negative. The three questions were: Does this man speak good Shina? How much of his speech did you understand? Is the way he speaks a little different or very different from the way you speak?⁴

3.1 Response Patterns to Post-RTT Questions Consistent with RTT Scores

Six RTTs were played in six locations where Shina is spoken. The score for each location is displayed along the top of Fig. 26.1, in mean per cent correct. The responses given by the participants at each testing location to the three post-RTT questions mentioned above are also displayed in Fig. 26.1 for each RTT. These trends in response are represented by 'Yes' if over half, and 'No' if less than half of the participants voiced that opinion. So, for example, the three 'Yes' responses listed under Hunza for the Gilgit RTT mean that over half of the participants said that the Shina of the Gilgit RTT was 'good'; over half said they understood most or all of the text; and over half said the language used was the 'same' or only a 'little different' from their own.

These positive responses to the post-RTT questions by the Hunza participants parallel their high mean score obtained on the Gilgit RTT. Likewise, the responses of the Chilas participants to the post-RTT questions about the Gilgit RTT (listed next to the Hunza responses in Fig. 26.1) are also positive. Again, these correlate with a high mean score. Thus, a pattern of high mean scores on the RTT and positive responses to the post-RTT questions emerges.

Fig. 26.1 Responses to Post-RTT questions from over half the participants at each location; mean percent correct RTT score is listed for each location

Post-RTT Question 16 Does this man speak good Shina?

Post-RTT Question 17 How much of his speech did you understand?

Post-RTT Question 18 Is the way he speaks a little different or very different from the way you speak?

	[Location of Testing]					
	<i>Gilgit</i>	<i>Hunza</i>	<i>Chilas</i>	<i>Kohistan</i>	<i>Baltistan</i>	<i>Astor</i>
Gilgit RTT	96 %	96 %	89 %	66 %	93 %	90 %
number of subjects	35	12	21	12	10	11
16 Over half said 'good'	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
17 Over half understood most or all	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
18 Over half said 'same' or 'little different'	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Chilas RTT	Gilgit 88 %	Hunza 70 %	Chilas 100 %	Kohistan 98 %	Baltistan 88 %	Astor 90 %
number of subjects	19	12	21	12	10	11
16 Over half said 'good'	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No
17 Over half understood most or all	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
18 Over half said 'game' or 'little different'	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	**	No
Hunza RTT	Gilgit 89 %	Hunza 97 %	Astor RTT		Gilgit 94 %	Astor 99 %
number of subjects	14	22			10	12
16 Over half said 'good'	No	Yes			No	Yes
17 Over half understood most or all	Yes	Yes			Yes	NA
18 Over half said 'game' or 'little different'	Yes	Yes			**	NA

	Gilgit	Baltistan	Kohistan	Gilgit	Chilas	Kohistan
Baltistan RTT	53 %	100 %	RTT	61 %	83 %	97 %
number of subjects	10	10		19	10	13
16 Over half said 'good'	No	Yes		No	Yes	Yes
17 Over half understood most or all	No	NA		No	Yes	Yes
18 Over half said 'same' or 'little different'	No	NA		No	Yes	Yes

** exactly half. NA=not asked.

There is also a pattern of negative responses and low mean scores: for four of the RTTs, the mean score for one location was significantly lower ($p < 0.01$)⁵ than for the other locations, namely, Kohistan subjects on the Gilgit RTT, Hunza subjects on the Chilas RTT, and Gilgit subjects on the Baltistan⁶ and Kohistan RTTs. These percentage scores are in bold print in Fig. 26.1. Interestingly, over half of the subjects from the locations with significantly lower scores also stated that the Shina of the RTT speaker for that test was not good, thought it was very different from their own, and reported understanding half or less of what was said. These responses, listed as 'No,' are also in bold print in Fig. 26.1.

This consistent pattern of negative response, then, is what might be expected from the low RTT scores and holds true for the Gilgit subjects on the Baltistan and Kohistan RTTs, and the Hunza subjects on the Chilas RTT. In other words, a text that is demonstrably hard to understand is also evaluated as very different, difficult to understand, and not 'good Shina.'

The only exception to this pattern of consistency in negative responses with significantly low RTT scores is the evaluation by the Kohistan subjects of the Gilgit RTT. While over half of these Kohistan subjects thought the Gilgiti Shina on the tape was very different from their own and over half also claimed to not understand it well, they nonetheless thought the Shina was 'good.' Responses like these, which pattern inconsistently with the RTT scores and other post-RTT question responses, appear to be indicators of an over-riding attitude, in this case apparently a positive attitude. Such a pattern of seemingly inconsistent responses contrasts with the more consistent pattern of responses from participants from other locations. Similar patterns of responses, which are inconsistent with what would be expected from test scores and responses to other questions, are discussed in the next section.

3.2 Attitudes Revealed through Response Patterns Inconsistent with RTT Scores

Attitudes toward other speech varieties were revealed through responses to the three post-RTT questions in focus which did not square with the scores on the RTTs and other post-RTT questions. That is, the patterns of responses from certain locations to particular questions seemed inconsistent with what would have been expected from the numerical scores and the pattern of responses set by participants from other locations, and could be interpreted as reflecting attitudes toward the speech variety of the RTT.

The prime example of this is found in the responses concerning the Chilas RTT (see Fig. 26.1). The mean scores for the participants from Gilgit, Baltistan, and Astor indicate that there was good understanding of the Chilas text since all three means were about 90 per cent correct. However, when asked if the Shina spoken by the Chilas speaker was 'good' or not, over half the respondents from these three locations said that it was not. In addition, half or more of the respondents from Baltistan and Astor said that the Chilas Shina was 'very different' from their own, even though they appeared to have had little difficulty understanding it.

According to the data presented in Fig. 26.1, the norm is for the patterns of response to the post-RTT questions to be consistent with the RTT scores. Therefore, these seemingly inconsistent or unexpected responses can be interpreted as reflecting somewhat negative attitudes held by participants from some locations toward the Chilas variety of Shina. Such opinions toward the speech variety would stem, very probably, from attitudes held toward the people of that area. Historically, political and religious differences have surfaced between the Chilas/Kohistan areas and other Shina speaking areas to the north and east, and one could surmise that these attitudes are attributable to these differences.⁷

It seems that the reverse is not the case, however, perhaps because Gilgit, as a centre for trade and government, has a much more heterogeneous population. Chilas participants appeared to hold positive opinions toward the Shina spoken in Gilgit, as reflected in the post-RTT responses reported in Fig. 26.1, which are consistent with their high RTT mean score. Even more interesting, though, is the fact that the Kohistan participants thought the Shina used in the Gilgit text was 'good' even though they had significant difficulty understanding it, as evidenced by their low mean score. As described above, this is a case of a pattern of response inconsistent with the RTT score reflecting a positive attitude.⁸

4. Attitudes and Patterns of Responses to Interview Questions

Patterns of consistency or inconsistency between the quantitative RTT scores and the qualitative post-RTT evaluations appear to reveal underlying attitudes toward different speech varieties. Similar patterns were also observed in responses to the questions asked in the structured interview. People from the selected Shina speaking locations who participated in these interviews were different from those who had taken part in the RTT testing.

4.1 Response patterns to interview questions consistent with quantitative measures

Fig. 26. 2 displays answers to selected questions from the structured interviews. An example of a pattern of responses to the interview questions that was consistent with the quantitative measures is provided through those given by the Shina speaking respondents from Hunza. (Quantitative measures in this case include the percentages of lexical similarity displayed at the top of Fig. 26.2.)

Looking at the top of Fig. 26.2, one can see that lexical similarity between Hunza Shina and Gilgit Shina was figured at 88 per cent, which groups them together as like varieties. Also, recall from Fig. 26.1 that Hunza participants were able to understand participants from Gilgit with apparent ease.

In accordance with these quantitative measures, seven of the eight interview respondents from Hunza voiced the opinion that all people from their area, including women and children, would be able to understand the speech of a man from Gilgit (Fig. 26.2, question 22b). Five of the eight volunteered 'Gilgit' when asked where their language was spoken only a little differently (Fig. 26.2, question 12). Two included Gilgit in places where their language was spoken the best, with the rest naming their own Hunza locations (Fig. 26.2, question 14). Additionally, all five respondents replying to questions about the Shina broadcasts stated unconditionally that all could understand, including women and children, and the Shina used in the broadcasts was 'Good' (Fig. 26.2, question 82).

Fig. 26.2 Responses to Interview Questions
(Numbers of Respondents Giving the Stated Answer Out of the Total Who Were Asked That Question)

	<i>Hunza</i>	<i>Gilgit</i>	<i>Baltistan</i> (<i>Satpara</i>)	<i>Astor</i>	<i>Chilas</i>	<i>Harban</i> and <i>Sazin</i>	<i>Kohistan</i>
<i>Lexical Similarity with Gilgit</i>	88 %	x	79 %	77 %	78 %	72 %	64 %
<i>Lexical Similarity with Chilas</i>	71 %	78 %	85 %	86 %	x	87 %	84 %
<i>22b Everybody understand a man from Gilgit?</i>	7/8 Yes	x	8/10 Yes	12/13 Yes	13/15 Yes	6/7 Yes	4/13 Yes
<i>22c Even the women and children?</i>	7/8 Yes	x	6/10 Yes	12/13 Yes	10/15 Yes	6/7 Yes	5/13 Yes
<i>12 Where is your language spoken a little differently?</i>	5/8 Gilgit 2/8 Chilas	4/15 Chilas	5/10 Gilgit 2/10 Chilas	4/13 Gilgit 2/13 Chilas	12/15 Gilgit	2/7 Gilgit 2/7 Chilas	4/15 Chilas 2/15 Gilgit
<i>13 Where is your language spoken very differently?</i>	7/8 Chilas	6/15 Chilas	7/10 Gilgit 7/10 Chilas	3/13 Gilgit 4/13 Chilas	4/15 Gilgit	2/7 Gilgit	9/15 Gilgit 3/15 Chilas
<i>14 Where is your language spoken best/purely?</i>	2/8 Gilgit	x	5/10 Gilgit	1/13 Gilgit	2/15 Gilgit		
<i>16 Where is your language spoken badly?</i>	1/8 Gilgit 2/8 Chilas	2/15 Chilas	1/10 Gilgit 3/10 Chilas	1/13 Gilgit 2/13 Chilas	1/15 Gilgit	4/7 Gilgit	6/14 Gilgit 1/14 Chilas
<i>82d Everybody understand Gilgit radio Shina?</i>	5/5 Yes	x	8/8 Yes	7/7 Yes	9/10 Yes	7/7 Yes	4/11 Yes
<i>82e Even the women and children?</i>	5/5 Yes	x	7/8 Yes	6/7 Yes	8/10 Yes	7/7 Yes	1/12 Yes
<i>82c What think of Gilgit radio Shina?</i>	5/5 Good	x	8/8 Good	5/7 Good	9/10 Good	7/7 Good	8/11 Good
<i>25b Everybody understand a man from Chilas?</i>	4/8 Yes	12/15 Yes	3/10 Yes	9/12 Yes	x	7/7 Yes	6/13 Yes
<i>25c Even the women and children?</i>	2/8 Yes	10/15 Yes	3/10 Yes	7/12 Yes	x	6/7 Yes	6/13 Yes

Note: Only responses relating to Gilgit and Chilas are presented here; for discussion of the complete data, see Radloff 1992.

On the other hand, only half of the eight respondents thought people could understand the speech of a man from Chilas (bottom of Fig. 26.2), and only two of those respondents would extend that understanding to the women and children. It should be kept in mind, however, that Fig. 26.1 shows that Hunza participants had significant difficulty understanding the Chilas RTT, so the evaluations by the interview respondents of Chilas speech are *consistent* with the RTT results. They are also consistent with the lexical similarity counts—the top of Fig. 26.2 shows that Hunza Shina and Chilas Shina showed only 70 per cent lexical similarity, below the 85 per cent level baseline for grouping them as like varieties, as described above. Additionally, seven of the eight interview respondents volunteered Chilas as a place where their language is spoken very differently and two even opined that their language was spoken ‘badly’ there.

Thus, it can be seen that the opinions voiced by the Hunza interview respondents exemplify responses *consistent* with what might be expected judging from the results of the more quantitative measures, RTT scores, and lexical similarity counts. That is, the more positive opinions of understandability and similarity were consistent with higher scores and percentages.

The less positive opinions were consonant with lower scores and percentages. Such a pattern of consistency seems to be the norm, as it was with the post-RTT question responses discussed above.

Patterns of responses emerging from the Baltistan and Harban and Sazin interviews, however, did not display such expected consistency. These patterns could reveal attitudes, as was seen with the post-RTT responses.

4.2 Attitudes Revealed Through Response Patterns Inconsistent with Quantitative Measures

Baltistan

Fig. 26.1 shows that Shina-speaking participants from Baltistan scored an average of 88 per cent on the Chilas RTT, demonstrating an apparent ease of understanding of that speech variety. Fig. 2 shows that the lexical similarity percentage between Baltistan and Chilas Shina was a strong 85 per cent. Yet, only three of the ten structured interview respondents gave an unqualified ‘Yes’ when asked if the people of their area, including the women and children, could understand the speech of a man from Chilas. In addition, seven of these ten respondents volunteered Chilas as a place where their language is spoken ‘very differently,’ and three included Chilas in the naming of places where their language is spoken ‘badly.’ These evaluations are reminiscent of those given by Baltistan participants after the RTT testing, where responses did not follow the pattern of consistency with high scores set by participants from other locations, revealing a somewhat negative attitude.

These Baltistan respondents displayed a different reaction to Gilgiti Shina, however. Baltistan participants understood the Gilgit RTT text well as evidenced by high scores (see Fig. 26.1). However, the percentage of lexical similarity between that location and Gilgit was only 79, as seen at the top of Fig. 26.2, not great enough for them to be grouped as like varieties. Nevertheless, eight of the ten interview respondents gave an unqualified ‘Yes’ when asked if people in their area could understand the speech of a man from Gilgit. And all of them said that people could understand the Gilgiti radio broadcasts. In addition, although seven of the ten respondents named Gilgit as a place where their language was spoken ‘very

differently,' half of them volunteered Gilgit as a place where their own language is spoken most 'purely.'⁹

These stated opinions about Chilas Shina by Baltistan respondents in the face of demonstrated similarity and ease of understanding, and those about Gilgit Shina in spite of lower lexical similarity, speak to the probable presence of underlying attitudes—positive toward Gilgiti, and more negative toward Chilasi.

Harban and Sazin

Harban and Sazin are Shina speaking areas in the southwest part of Diamir District, just north of Kohistan. Although no recorded text testing was conducted in Harban and Sazin, lexical similarity was figured and structured interviews were carried out; results can be seen in Fig. 26.2. (Results are combined for these two neighbouring areas.)

Six of the seven interview respondents replied with an unqualified 'Yes,' when asked if everyone in their area, including the women and children, could understand the speech of a man from Gilgit. All seven also stated that the Gilgiti Shina broadcast on the radio was 'good Shina' and people, including women and children, could understand it. However, this was countered at another point in the interviews where five of the seven respondents volunteered Gilgit as a place where their language is spoken 'very differently,' and four later even named Gilgit as a place where their language is spoken 'badly.'

While it could be argued that a known speech form—such as Shina radio broadcasts from Gilgit—is easier to identify as 'good' than abstractly trying to think of places where one's language is spoken 'badly,' still a certain amount of unexpected positive-type responses are observed in the pattern of responses given by the Harban and Sazin interview respondents. That is, viewed against the background of a lexical similarity percentage of only 72 per cent (top of Fig. 26.2), more consistent negative responses would have been expected, instead of the mixture of positive and negative responses actually given. This pattern of apparent inconsistency or unexpected responses could be interpreted as a generally positive attitude toward Gilgiti, and at the same time an awareness of how different the two varieties are.

The process of deducing positive or somewhat negative attitudes from patterns of apparently inconsistent (or unexpected) responses by speakers from these various Shina speaking locations is discussed in the following section against the background of traditional methods of investigating language attitudes.

5. Discussion of Language Attitude Research—Methods and Implications

Why is it important to investigate language attitudes? Why is it significant to suggest that attitudes can be discerned from apparent inconsistencies in response patterns?

The attitudes people hold toward other languages or dialects are of interest to language planners, programme directors, and other leaders who deal with multilingual or multidialectal communities. Favourable attitudes toward the language or dialect chosen as the medium for a given project contribute to its success; unfavourable attitudes can slow acceptance of a programme and sometimes stymie progress (Grimes 1985: 165). For example, programmers in the Northern Areas branch of Radio Pakistan have carried out a certain amount of de facto language planning. They have chosen the Gilgiti dialect as the standard for radio broadcasts. Writers and presenters of programmes agree on the style and linguistic 'boundaries' for the

variety of Shina used in broadcasts. This choice, however, has been as much by default as by anything else, since the Northern Areas branch of Radio Pakistan is located in Gilgit and many of the writers and presenters are from Gilgit.

A certain amount of literature has begun to be published in Shina. Again, this is primarily in the Gilgit variety (see, e.g., Zia 1986; Taj 1989) although some works have appeared in the Chilas variety (e.g., Al-Nasir-Chilasi no date). Should educational institutions or cultural associations decide to promote mother-tongue literature at some point in the future, results of studies like the current one would be important to take into consideration.¹⁰ If the goal of such promotion is to include the widest possible audience among the spread-out Shina speaking areas, literature in the Gilgiti variety should prove to be more widely accepted than literature in the Chilasi variety—if the opinions expressed by the sampling of speakers in this study are, indeed, representative of the opinions of the total population.

An important contribution of the current study is to describe how language attitudes can be discerned in the course of typical sociolinguistic-survey data collection. Traditionally, researching language attitudes has involved rather sophisticated methods of testing which are beyond the scope of most field-based research.

5.1 Direct Questioning

Research suggests that direct questioning about attitudes often does not yield reliable results since the people themselves are often not sure just what they feel about a given subject. Alternately, they know what they feel but are constrained by various factors from communicating those attitudes openly. Henerson et al. (1987: 135) note that skeptics dismiss self-report instruments such as questionnaires by arguing that respondents give answers which are socially desirable, not their true feelings. Woolard and Gahng further observe, 'Direct questioning about ideologically charged language issues in surveys or interviews often elicits self-conscious responses that the interviewee considers socially acceptable or politically correct' (1990: 312).

Indeed, in the present study, in five of the seven locations chosen for interviews, one to four respondents declined to state any opinion in response to the question, 'Where is your language spoken badly?' While these same respondents were willing to name the place(s) where they felt their language was spoken most purely, they declined to give this type of negative evaluation.¹¹ There were only a few such evaluative questions in the current study, however. Rather than through asking directly, attitudes were discerned by assessing the pattern of responses to questions which for the most part focused on similarity and understandability, and the way those patterns were or were not consistent with more quantitative measures of language behaviour.

Because of difficulties encountered by direct questioning, researchers have often opted to approach the investigation of language attitudes from indirect routes. They have then inferred attitudes on the basis of parallel behaviours measured or observed.

5.2 Matched Guise

The standard indirect methodology for investigating language attitudes is the matched guise technique. The history and application of this technique is described by Agheyisi and Fishman (1970), Fasold (1984), Giles et al. (1983), Romaine (1989), Wardhaugh (1986), and other

scholars. The matched guise technique and modifications thereof have been utilized by a vast number of authors, for example, Woolard and Gahng (1990), Showalter (1991), and studies reported by Shuy and Fasold (1973) and Giles and Edwards (1983). In the classic form, a person who is equally fluent in two different languages or dialects tape records the same text in each language/dialect. Subjects are then asked to evaluate personality traits and social characteristics of the speaker of each text without knowing that it is the same person using the guise of two different speech styles/forms. Since the only uncontrolled variable in such a case is the language or dialect spoken, evaluations are presumed to be reflective of language attitudes.

Although researchers, such as those mentioned above, have pointed out various weaknesses of the matched guise technique and have often made modifications, the primary drawback for use in field research like sociolinguistic survey is the difficulty of finding bilingual or bidialectal individuals in each location, as well as the long and involved administration requirements of this technique. Also, some kind of written evaluation is usually expected from subjects, whereas in field-based surveys like the current one, responses from uneducated participants are as valued as those from participants who can read and write.

5.3 Questionnaires

Written questionnaires have probably been more used than the matched guise technique in the history of language attitude investigation. Scholars such as Agheyisi and Fishman (1970), Romaine (1989), and Fasold (1984) describe this technique: questionnaires offer the advantage of easy distribution (they can be passed out in a classroom or even be mailed to participants) and greater ease of comparison and analysis of answers (especially if few open-ended questions are included). Disadvantages include lack of control over the results, in that the researcher may not know who actually filled out the questionnaire or be able to clarify misunderstandings, and the fact that the whole exercise may be foreign and intimidating to the participant. The primary limitation of questionnaires is, of course, that participants must be literate—a requisite that restricts the use of such a technique in field-based research like language survey.

Researchers have endeavoured to circumvent the difficulties of written questionnaires by following up questionnaires with interviews (Roberts 1991; Mansoor 1993) or by using, for example, semantic differential responses¹² instead of open-ended questions (see Lewis 1973; Svanes 1988; and studies in Shuy and Fasold 1973 and Giles Edwards 1983). Other researchers have chosen to read the questionnaires to participants during interviews (see Sibayan 1975; Romaine 1989: 270), an alternative which leads to the discussion of interviews in the next section.

5.4 Interviews

Henerson et al. (1987: 25) cite advantages and disadvantages of word-of-mouth procedures, such as interviews, for obtaining answers to questions. A main advantage is that they 'can be used to obtain information from people who cannot read and from non-native speakers who might have difficulties with the wordings of questionnaires.' A major disadvantage of interviews that they cite is the potential influence the interviewer might have on the respondent.

The technique adopted in the current study of reading the questions to the interview respondent was chosen because it was important to obtain opinions from a broad range of

Shina speakers, both educated and uneducated. An additional factor in a multilingual setting such as this is the possibility that the respondent would be literate in a language other than the one in which the questions were written.

A standard translation of the interview questions was made into both of the main languages of wider communication of the area, Urdu and Pashto; the respondent could choose the language for the interview. In the Shina survey, the interviewer was almost always a Shina speaker; occasionally a respondent did not speak either Pashto or Urdu well, so the questions were presented in Shina.

To help counter the possibility of influence by the interviewer, the interview was quite structured, focusing on answering all the questions on the questionnaire, rather than long discussion. Also, the answers given by the respondents were written down during the interview by the interviewer.

5.5 Investigating Language Behaviours from Different Perspectives

A main strength of the current study was that data collection approached language behaviours from three directions: lexical similarity, comprehension (RTTs), and stated opinions. In a study reported by d'Anglejan and Tucker (1973: 7) a similar orientation was noted: 'in view of the low degree of constancy between attitude measures and actual behavior reported in studies reviewed by Agheyisi and Fishman [1970], we hoped that comparisons of the data resulting from two contrasting measures might help to validate the findings.' Indeed, Henerson *et al.* state that the concurrent validity of an instrument is established by 'collecting data to see if the results obtained with the instrument agree with results from other instruments, administered at approximately the same time, to measure the same thing' (1987: 143).¹³ A comparable type of validity can be seen in the current study through the fact that, in general, results of the three types of measure employed yielded results consistent with each other. This then made possible the observation that inconsistent results could be indicators of underlying attitudes.

5.6 Distinguishing Attitudes Towards Language From Attitudes Toward People

As noted above, the somewhat negative opinions toward the Chilas speech variety that were discerned may very well be based on somewhat negative opinions toward the people of that area, due to apparent political and religious differences. Edwards notes that language attitudes, including those towards dialects and accents, 'provide a useful perspective on social relations, since evaluations of, or reactions to, given varieties reflect views of their speakers' (1983: 227). Fishman (1989: 250) emphasizes the need to distinguish between 'affect toward particular languages and affect toward the speakers of these languages,' but that was beyond the scope of the current study.¹⁴ The emphasis of the Shina survey was to examine the dialect picture, and in so doing, to discern if the Gilgit dialect was more than just a *de facto* standard and if the Chilas dialect could be a more acceptable one. The fact that the results indicated that the Chilas dialect was not an acceptable substitute—more on the basis of attitudes rather than on comprehension-based factors—was a finding not entirely anticipated.

6. Summary and Implications

In the course of the sociolinguistic survey of the Shina language, three different types of language behaviour data were collected. These focused on lexical similarity, comprehension of a speech sample, and opinions elicited in a structured interview on a wide variety of language-related behaviours. Consistency among the results of these three types of data underscored the credibility of each type individually, and established the baseline for interpreting those results. Occasional inconsistencies among the results, then, stood out as 'exceptions to the rule.' Further investigation of these inconsistencies or unexpected results opened the door to surmising the dynamics of the language attitudes at work among speakers of the different Shina varieties.

These inconsistencies, or unexpected variations in response patterns, comprised, for example, declarations of inability to comprehend a certain Shina variety in the face of demonstrated ability to comprehend that variety, thus reflecting what could be interpreted as a somewhat negative attitude toward that variety. Particularly positive attitudes were inferred from responses showing preference for a variety even when other measures indicated large differences or difficulty in understanding. However, it must be noted that in spite of the confidence with which these patterns of response have been labelled in this report as revealing attitudes, no separate corroborating tests were conducted to confirm this supposition. The results of this study suggest that examining response patterns in this way can reveal underlying attitudes; it is hoped that other studies would duplicate this effort to confirm or refine these conclusions.

Be that as it may, the implications of this study would be both methodological and specific to the speakers of the Shina language.

In a methodological vein, the implications of this study would pertain to assigning greater credibility to opinions expressed by speakers of a language, since the opinions recorded in the course of the study showed great consistency with other, more quantitative measures. Additionally, the benefit of using both quantitative and qualitative measures, or at least more than one behavioral measure in a study was underscored. Also, apparently inconsistent responses should not be dismissed as anomalous, but rather investigated in order to discern patterns, which could be possible indicators of underlying dynamics such as attitudes.

With particular reference to the Shina language, influential factors have resulted in the status of the Gilgit dialect as *de facto* standard: Gilgit is the centre for trade and government; the Gilgit dialect is the medium for Shina radio broadcasts, to name a few. Speakers from the various parts of the Shina speaking world appear to have a generally positive, non-hindering attitude toward the Gilgit variety. Those speakers from distant Shina speaking locations whose own variety of Shina is somewhat different from Gilgiti and who do not travel frequently to Gilgit or listen to Shina radio broadcasts, would have the greatest difficulty with Gilgiti as the medium of communication for any given project, even though they might have a positive attitude toward that variety. This is particularly true for people from the extreme eastern reaches of the Shina speaking areas in Baltistan, or those from the more southerly areas in western Diamir or in Kohistan District.

NOTES

1. See Radloff 1992 for detailed descriptions of these methodologies, which are reviewed only briefly here.
2. Questions were always asked in the participant's own speech variety.

3. Henerson et al. describes a highly structured interview as one that has a definite agenda: 'a set of questions to be covered, and often a fixed sequence in which they are to be asked' (1987: 95).
4. Responses to other post-RTT questions are discussed in Radloff 1992.
5. The Mann-Whitney U test and the Wilcoxon signed-rank test, non-parametric analogs to the t-test and paired t-test, respectively, were used for all tests of significance.
6. For the purposes of this paper, all the Shina speaking locations in Baltistan are grouped together and called 'Baltistan,' including Satpara.
7. See Schmidt 1984 for a description of the Shina speaking areas and their differences.
8. It is interesting to note in Fig. 1 that the participants from Gilgit consistently characterized the Shina spoken on all the tapes but their own as 'not good' Shina. This type of attitude should also be kept in mind by language planners (see discussion in section 5).
9. Practically all the respondents from all the other locations only named their own areas as where Shina was spoken best/purely.
10. For forty years, the United Nations has championed mother tongue education for children of minority language groups. Mother tongue education has been shown to be important psychologically by validating the learner's language and culture, pedagogically effective by allowing learners to grasp foundational concepts more quickly, and instrumental in preserving cultural identity. Davis (1994) synthesizes UN reports and other relevant literature on this subject, including the recommendations from the 1992 International Conference on Education in Geneva.
11. These respondents represented 15 % of the total number of interviewees.
12. Semantic differential scales designate opposite extremes of a trait (for example, 'friendly' versus 'unfriendly') at either end of a line and leave a number of blank spaces between them. The participant places the answer along this scale according to his or her opinion of the topic (Fasold 1984: 150).
13. Perhaps this was the motivation behind Lalonde and Gardner (1985) designing a battery of tests for investigating attitudes.
14. One study which evidently has been able to separate attitudes toward the language from attitudes toward the people is that presented by Kraemer (1992). She examined attitudes in Arab and Jewish groups toward the Hebrew and Arabic languages and found that language attitudes did not change as a result of the Intifada, but attitudes toward people did.

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SOME AREAL PHONOLOGICAL ISOGLOSSES IN THE TRANSIT ZONE BETWEEN SOUTH AND CENTRAL ASIA

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Introduction: Where to Draw the Line between South and Central Asia

A couple of years ago during one of my field trips in the Karakoram, an educated Hunza man asked me where I thought Hunza is to be reckoned as belonging to, South Asia or Central Asia? I was reminded of Jettmar's, Dani's, and other scholars' studies of the Hindu Kush-Karakoram and Central Asia, but before I had time to think out an apt yet brief reply (in Burushaski), the Hunza man answered the question for me in a simple way: Central Asia. (By Central Asia he apparently meant in the first hand Chinese Turkestan [Xinjiang], Tajikistan, and perhaps Afghanistan and West Turkestan.)

This answer can be understood if we look at cultural and trade routes. It would, in fact, be legitimate to say that the whole multi-ethnic highland region from the Hindu Kush to the western Himalaya has just as close or even closer cultural ties to Central Asia than to South Asia (the Indo-Pakistani subcontinent).

But the seeming paradox is that if we consider only discrete linguistic features, this same highland region has in general more in common with the Indo-Pak subcontinent than with Central Asia. The main reason is that with the exception of Burushaski (central Hunza-Nager, Yasin) and West Tibetan (Baltistan), the languages of this region are mainly of Aryan stock (though of several branches and subgroups thereof). Many of the South Asian areal features go back to Old Indo-Aryan, which partly developed in this region on the prehistorical local substrata. With the spread of dialects and increasing language contacts in this region and on the subcontinent, the northwestern areal features spread and were brought down (or strengthened and modified) on the subcontinent, while distinctly subcontinental features diffused to the northwestern border zone.

By contrast, the present Central Asian languages (especially in the southern-central part) are chiefly of Turkic stock, which have spread over East Iranian territories in comparatively recent times. Their impact on the East Iranian languages has, therefore, been less profound than the impact of Indo-Aryan and even Burushaski on the latter.

Yet even this answer is too simplistic. The said highland region displays a number of areal features that are found neither on the Indo-Pakistani subcontinent nor in Central Asia. It is, in fact, part of what Toporov (1965, 1970) and Èdel'man (1968, 1980) have defined as the 'Central Asiatic (or Himalayan) linguistic union/area,' which also includes parts of the Indo-Gangetic region and the Himalayas.

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Although 'Central Asia' is normally used to denote a quite different, and generally much larger areal complex, the point is that the said convergence area is located in what is geographically and culturally part of (or on the border of) Central Asia rather than South Asia. Long-standing ethnic and cultural contacts between the many heterogeneous tribes of the mountain valleys of this highland complex have also led to a number of unifying cultural traits.

So the question is, does it make sense to draw a clear line between South and Central Asia at all, and thus force, for example, Hunza or Chitral into either one or the other? (Note, incidentally, that there are four quite distinct languages in Hunza: Dardic [NW Indo-Aryan] Shina, Central Indo-Aryan Domaki, East Iranian Wakhi, and the isolate Burushaski.) Would it not be better to identify and name a kind of intervening zone between South and Central Asia?

Before trying to define the diagnostic features of such a zone, let us first ask what the terms South Asia and Central Asia really mean. Unless we clearly state the diagnostic features of these areas, it is useless to try to define any intermediate zone between them.

Defining 'South Asia': Dental vs Retroflex Stops

There is only one linguistic feature that is diagnostic of the whole Indo-Pakistani subcontinent (except the northeastern corner) with surrounding islands (including the Andamans but not the Nicobars). This is the phonological opposition of dental (or denti-alveolar) and retroflex (or postalveolar) stops, that is /t/ versus /ʈ/ (indicated on the isogloss map as t: ʈ) usually also /d/ versus /ɖ/ and, at least allophonically, /r/ versus /ɽ/ (alveolar trill vs retroflex flap), all combinable with aspiration (see Fig. 26.1)

This feature stretches from Sri Lanka to the Wakhan Corridor (South Pamir) and the Tibetan Plateau, leaving only a few small empty patches for some of the Munda and Tibeto-Burman languages as well as westernmost Balochi of Iran (for a more detailed description, see Tikkanen [forthcoming]).

According to this criterion the languages of the above-mentioned northwestern highland region would belong to South Asia (cf., e.g., Burushaski /toq/ 'slime, muddy water' vs /Toq/ '(irrigated) pasture'). (Retroflex stops appear sporadically in Southeast Asia [e.g., Vietnamese word initially for < tr >] and north Asia [North Selkup], but these areas have never formed a contiguous whole.)

In addition to this macroareal isogloss, there is a bunch of morpho-syntactic traits, such as certain word-order features, echo-words, the explicator-compound verb, and the conjunctive participle (cf., e.g., Masica 1976), which are common on the subcontinent (including much of the northwestern border zone). Yet they are not areally diagnostic, since they are neither ubiquitous on the subcontinent, nor restricted to the latter (cf. Heston 1980, 1981). For example, the explicator-compound verb hardly exists as a category in the Munda languages nor in many of the border languages (in Burushaski and Iranian it is totally lacking). The conjunctive participle extends far into Central and parts of East Asia, showing quite a lot of typological heterogeneity in morpho-syntax, semantics, and pragmatics on a local level (cf. Tikkanen 1995: 517ff.).

History of Retroflex Stops in South Asia

The retroflex consonant phonemes are always marked with relation to the dental and/or palatal consonant phonemes. This would mean that no language in the world can have, for example, retroflex stops unless it also has dental stops.

The retroflex stops constitute an inherited feature in Dravidian and Burushaski, a proto-stage innovation in Indo-Aryan and Nuristani, an early innovation in Munda, and a comparatively late innovation in Tibeto-Burman, East Iranian, and Balochi (cf. Tikkanen [forthcoming]).

The retroflex phonemes are usually attributed at least in some degree to external influence in Aryan, Munda, and Tibeto-Burman, but the sources of this influence vary and may include extinct substrata. In East Iranian and Balochi the retroflex phonemes are mainly due to local Middle and New Indo-Aryan influences (Morgenstierne 1970: 339–42; Elfenbein 1989: 358–59; Bashir ms.: 1, 4–5). In Pamir Iranian we find a split so that retroflexes are no longer found north of the South Pamir group (Wakhi, Sanglichi, Ishkashmi, and the Yidgha dialect of Munji [not always grouped with Pamir Iranian]). Otherwise the North Pamir group (Yazghulami, Roshani, Shughni, Sariqoli, Oroshori, Bartangi, and some closely related dialects) shares so many specific areal features with the South Pamir group that linguists talk about a Pamir Sprachbund (cf. Payne 1989: 422). Retroflex phonemes nevertheless seem to have once existed in all Pamir Iranian languages, as they did even in (late) Khotanese Saka (Emmerick 1989: 209).

Unaspirated vs Aspirated Stops: A Partly Overlapping Macroareal Feature in South Asia

The above-mentioned South Asian areal isogloss (/t/: /T/, etc.) partly overlaps with the phonological opposition between unaspirated and aspirated stops (/t/: /th/, etc.). The latter macroareal feature cuts off some of the peripheral western and northern languages and leaves some empty patches elsewhere, but continues east and northeast of South Asia instead.

A subareal split is seen in that in the northwestern border zone of the subcontinent there are characteristically only voiceless aspirates (voiced aspirates being typically deaspirated). Partly connected with the aspirates and laryngeals or their losses, various toneme systemes exist in many of the languages of this zone and some neighbouring regions.

History of Aspirated Stops in South Asia

Indo-Aryan inherited both voiceless and voiced aspirates from Proto-Indo-European. In the Iranian branch (including Proto-Nuristani) all aspirates were lost. In the non-Indo-European South Asian languages, voiceless aspirates are found in Burushaski and Tibeto-Burman, but in the latter they are apparently secondary, and in Burushaski they seem to have had a more restricted status before the proto-stage.

In Dravidian, aspirates have developed in contact with Indo-Aryan, but have not yet reached all sister languages. Similarly, in the Munda languages, the aspirates are absent or secondary.

Defining Central Asia

Central Asia (in the larger and rather diffuse geographical and cultural sense as stretching from the Caspian Sea even to western Manchuria) cannot be defined as a linguistic area as uniformly as South Asia. In fact, it runs into the latter in terms of a bunch of syntactic features, which can be understood if we consider that not only Indo-European (or at least the Aryan branch of it), but perhaps also Dravidian and Burushaski, hail from Central Asia. (Burushaski has little in common in its structure with any of the present languages of either

Central or South Asia, yet it can be considered to be a Central Asian relic language that has partly entered the South Asian linguistic convergence area [cf. Berger 1992.])

A typical feature of many Central and some north(eastern) Asian languages is the phenomenon of vowel harmony. This feature is limited to the non-Indo-European languages, however. Hence it cannot be used to define the border between Central and South Asia, in which region there are so many Aryan languages.

Velar vs Uvular Stops: A Partly Overlapping Macroareal Feature

A more widespread, but somewhat erratic areal phonological feature is the phonological opposition (or at least complementary distribution and thus latent contrast) between velar and postvelar or uvular stops, that is, /k/ versus /q/, potentially also /kh/ versus /qh/ and /g/ versus /G/. (The postvelar or uvular stops are not to be confused with the postvelar or uvular fricatives /x/ and /GH/, which are more widespread, but less diagnostic.) This phonemic contrast is actually a macroareal feature extending from North Africa over southwestern Asia to large parts of (especially middle and southern) Central Asia and—discontinuously—some parts of north Asia (northwestern and northeastern Siberia) and even Southeast Asia (Khmer).

In Central Asia we find it in some of the Turkic languages (e.g., Uighur, Uzbek, and Kazakh) and in most of the Iranian languages, for example, Persian-Tajik, Yaghnobi, Yazghulami, Roshani, Shughni, and Sariqoli. From North Pamir it extends south into South Pamir, Hindu Kush, Karakoram, and parts of Kohistan, that is to say into languages which by virtue of the contrast between dental and retroflex stops were seen to be part of the South Asian convergence area (cf., e.g., Burushaski /Tok/ 'whole, all' vs /Toq/ 'pasture'; /hik/ 'one' vs /hiq méetas/ 'to have a hiccup').

The languages south of North Pamir which exhibit this feature with varying strength are Sanglichi, Ishkashmi, Munji, Yidgha (uncertain), Wakhi, Parachi,Ormuri, Pashto, Kati, Waigali, Khowar, Kalasha, Dameli, Pashai, some Kohistani dialects (at least Kalamí of Swat Kohistan and Maiyan of Indus Kohistan), Kohistani Shina, Domaki, Burushaski, and Balti.

Further down on the subcontinent it is also found in the (Persianized) lingua franca Urdu and mainly through the medium of Urdu sporadically in some other subcontinental languages.

The fact that the uvular stop in many cases is restricted to ultimately Arabic and Turkic loanwords, its being a loan phoneme in Pashto, Persian, Urdu, and many other languages is of no consequence for the areal analysis. In places where it is apparently extremely marginal (occurring only in a very few loanwords or only very rarely in speech), it has not been plotted on the isogloss map.

History of Uvular Stops in Central Asia

The phonemic contrast between velar and postvelar or uvular stops is inherited in Burushaski (/k/: /q/, /kh/: /qh/, /g/: /G/) and some north Asian relic languages (e.g., Ket alias Yenisey-Ostyak, which migrated north from the lower Yenisey region bordering on Central Asia some centuries ago).

In the Turkic as well as Mongolic languages (previously usually subsumed with Tungusic as 'Altaic'), /q/ was originally allophonic (occurring only with back vowels), which it has remained in most Turkic languages, such as Turkish, Tatar, Turkmenian, Bashkir, and Kirghiz. In most Mongolic languages (related to Mongolian) it has simply vanished (see, e.g., Poppe

1965: 54f.) In Iranian, Indo-Aryan, and the Tibeto-Burman Balti, it is a comparatively recent innovation, and the opposition /k/ versus /q/ is not always very strongly established in the Aryan languages (except in Persian-Tajik, Pamir Iranian, Khowar, and apparently some Kohistani and Shina dialects).

Defining the Transit Zone between South and Central Asia: Intersection of Retroflex and Uvular Stops

It can now be seen that the intersection of these macroareal features (/t/: /T/, etc., and /k/: /q/, etc.) describes a *transit zone* between South Asia and Central Asia. This transit zone extends roughly from the Wakhan Corridor (South Pamir) over the Hindu Kush and Sulaiman to the borders of Balochistan (in the southwest) and over the Karakoram and Kohistan to the borders of Kashmir (in the southeast), and from the Hindu Kush (in the northwest) over the Karakoram to Baltistan (in the northeast).

This would mean that South Asia (proper) stops roughly at the line of Sulaiman–Hindu Kush–Kohistan and Central Asia starts at Wakhan, while the intervening region is a transit zone which would need a separate name. (North Selkup, a Samoyed language in northwestern Siberia far outside the transit zone, has also /t/: /T/ and /k/: /q/; Juha Janhunen, personal communication)

As can be expected, the transit zone has several macroareal features in common with other areal configurations, especially South Asia. But in addition it has some microareal features diagnostic of itself or parts of itself.

Palatal vs Dental Affricates: A Macroareal Feature including the Transit Zone

The most widespread of the macroareal features of the transit zone is the phonemic contrast between palatal (or alveopalatal) and dental (or denti-alveolar) affricates (/ch/ vs. /cs/ [ts], occasionally also /chh/ vs /csh/, rarely /j/ vs /jz/ [dz], cf., e.g., Burushaski /chak/ ‘pickaxe’ vs. /csak/ ‘sluice’). This isogloss extends from the western and northern edges of the transit zone over the Hindu Kush, the Kohistan, Karakoram, the Pamir, and the Himalayas all the way to China, leaving some empty patches in the Himalayas.

The principal languages of the transit zone that fall within this areal isogloss are: Yazghulami, Roshani, Shughni, Sariqoli, Sanglichi, Ishkashmi, Yidgha, Munji, Wakhi, Ormuri, Pashto, Kati, Ashkun, Waigali, Prasun, Khowar, Kalasha, Palula (Phalura), Dameli, Gawar-bati, Pashai, ‘Kohistani’ (a general term for Dirí, Kalami, Torwali, Maiyan, and some other distinct Dardic languages in Swat and Indus Kohistan), Shina (with its many divergent ‘dialects’), Domaki, Burushaski, and Balti.

This feature is lacking in Parachi, which otherwise belongs to the transit zone. On the other hand, it continues further southeast to Kashmiri and many ‘West Pahari’ (Himachali) dialects, which otherwise do not belong to the transit zone. This feature crops up also in another, independent, convergence area, viz., Central India (in Marathi, North Kannada, Telugu, South Oriya, Gondi, and some minor Dravidian and Munda languages).

History of Dental Affricates in the Transit Zone

In Burushaski and probably also Sino-Tibetan (including Tibeto-Burman), the contrast between palatal and dental affricates (with or without aspiration) is inherited from the respective proto-stages. In the Aryan branch it is an innovation, being oldest in the Nuristani branch or subgroup, where it can be reconstructed to the proto-stage (Nelson 1986: 53). Elsewhere in the Aryan languages it is a less ancient innovation, typically connected with the depalatalization of palatal affricates and secondary emergence of palatal affricates through the palatalization of dentals and similar combinatory changes.

Palatal vs Retroflex Sibilants: A Microareal Feature of the Transit Zone

Within the transit zone inside the above-mentioned isogloss /ch/: /cs/ there are some other more or less concentric microareal isoglosses. The largest of these is the presence of a phonemic contrast between palatal and retroflex, and if so, also palatal and dental sibilants (/s/ vs /sh/ vs /S/, often also voiced, cf., e.g., Burushaski /sákaY/ 'roof granary' vs /shak/ 'thigh [of animal]' vs /Sak/ 'noose').

Distribution and History of Retroflex Sibilants in the Transit Zone

This isogloss coincides in the north at the Wakhan Corridor (South Pamir) with the South Asian isogloss dental versus retroflex stops (/t/: /T/). Though the retroflex sibilant phoneme was once widespread in the entire northern part of the subcontinent, it is hardly found south of Kohistan any more. In the west it re-emerges in the southwestern dialects of Pashto (the other dialects having changed the retroflex sibilants into palatals or velars). In the east it extends to West Tibetan (Balti, Purik, and Ladakhi) and it also appears in Chinese, which at the archaic stage had developed a complete series of retroflex stops, sibilants, and affricates (Li 1983: 397). (From the areal linguistic point of view, Chinese belongs to East Asia and is, of course, well outside the transit zone; the misleading letter < q > in the official Pinyin transcription of Chinese signifies an aspirated palatal affricate and not a uvular stop.) The retroflex sibilant is claimed to occur at least as a variant pronunciation of /sr/ in Central Tibetan dialects as well, but on tapes that I have listened to one can still discern the /r/ in this cluster.

The retroflex sibilant phonemes go back to the proto-stage in Burushaski (where the voiced retroflex sibilant /Z/ is an allophone of the voiced retroflex affricate /J/). Usually connected with sound changes especially in combination with other retroflexes and /r/, they constitute a proto-stage innovation in Indo-Aryan and Nuristani, being of more recent origin in East Iranian and (West) Tibetan.

Palatal vs Retroflex Affricates: Another Microareal Feature of the Transit Zone

The above-mentioned areal isogloss is closely matched by another, smaller isogloss that peels off the peripheral western, eastern, and southern languages (Sanglichi, Ormuri, Parachi, Prasun, Pashto, and Balti) of the transit zone. This is the phonemic contrast between palatal and retroflex affricates (/ch/ vs /Ch/, occasionally also as aspirated and voiced: /chh/ vs /Chh/ and /j/ vs /J/), for example, Burushaski /cham étas/ 'to chop' vs /Cham/ 'pain'.

Ramanujan and Masica (1969: 555) have tried to plot phonological isoglosses of South Asia, but fail to clearly state the existence of retroflex sibilants and affricates in much of the northwestern border zone. A similar study, but largely restricted to the Aryan languages, was published by Èdel'man in 1968. (A somewhat more accurate isogloss map of different retroflex typologies in South Asia with explanations of their origins will appear in Tikkanen forthcoming.)

The contrast between palatal and retroflex affricates is highly marked. It implies a contrast between palatal and dental affricates, while the latter contrast does not imply the former. In other words, in terms of markedness, /Ch/ is more marked than /cs/, which is more marked than /ch/ (cf. the series /s/: /sh/: /S/). (These two rare series have evolved independently at a considerable distance from the transit zone in some eastern Finno-Ugric languages, namely, Ostyak/Hanti (which also has /n/: /N/ and /l/: /L/) in northwestern Siberia, and Zyrian/Komi as well as Udmurt/Votyak in the Volga region in eastern Russia; Juha Janhunen, personal communication)

History of Retroflex Affricates in the Transit Zone

Historically, retroflex affricates are original in Burushaski (both as voiceless and voiced, and if voiceless, unaspirated or aspirated). They represent a proto-stage combinatory sound change ($c < *Ks < *Ks$) in the Nuristani branch or subgroup. Although they may have existed in Proto-Indo-Aryan, they are secondary ($Ch < kS$, tr , etc.) in Dardic (NW Indo-Aryan) and, of course, East Iranian. In the Lhasa dialect of Central Tibetan, retroflex affricates are claimed to realize the cluster /tr/, and so forth, but on textbook tapes that I have heard, the /r/ is mostly still discernible in these clusters.

Areal Split within the Transit Zone: Dental vs Retroflex Nasal

The transit zone is then split in half by a South Asian areal feature, the phonological contrast between dental and retroflex nasals (/n/ vs /N/). In general this contrast disappears above the line of Kohistani-Shina, except for Sanglichi and Yidgha in northeastern Hindu Kush—southwestern Pamir. Hence this isogloss cuts off most of the northernmost languages (viz., Munji, Ishkashmi, Wakhi, Khowar, Kalasha, Prasun, Burushaski, Domaki, Balti, and some dialects of Shina) of the transit zone.

It can thus be seen that the languages above this isogloss are less closely connected with South Asia, since this isogloss continues south of the Hindu Kush and Kohistan onto the subcontinent, where it is typically expanded into an opposition between dental and retroflex laterals (/l/ vs /L/) as well (found also in Sanglichi and dialectically in Wakhi).

History of Retroflex Nasal in South Asia (including the Transit Zone)

In the Aryan languages the retroflex nasal phoneme is the outcome of early sound changes in combination with especially /r/ or by assimilation to other retroflexes (with simultaneous or subsequent loss of conditioning environments).

In Indo-Aryan and Nuristani these sound changes took place in the respective proto-stages, in East Iranian much later, in the Middle Iranian period.

The retroflex nasal phoneme is lacking in Burushaski and generally in Tibeto-Burman. In Dravidian it is inherited from the proto-stage, where it seems to have evolved mainly through combinatory sound changes in connection with retroflex liquids, which were part of the Proto-Dravidian phonemic inventory (cf. Zvelebil 1970: 102–04, 173–77, etc.). In Indo-Aryan the retroflex laterals are an early (north)western dialectal development mainly of intervocalic/- D(h)-.

Non-phonological Features Partly Overlapping with the Transit Zone

Vigesimal basis in higher numerals

A macroareal non-phonological feature that partly overlaps with and partly exceeds the isoglosses of the transit zone is the vigesimal(-decimal) basis in higher numerals (i.e., counting by twenties or twenties and tens).

This feature, which often goes together with the $n0+n$ rather than $n+n0$ structure in numerals (especially in the transit zone), skips over some of the peripheral languages and dialects of the transit zone, such as Shughni, Sariqoli, Munji, and dialects of Pashto. As if to recompense that, it occurs dialectically in Lahnda, Balochi, and Tajik as well as many Himalayan languages. It is furthermore found in some central and eastern regions of the subcontinent, and sporadically elsewhere in Eurasia, for example, Caucasia, Trans-Caucasia, and parts of Western Europe (Édel'man 1968: 92f., 1975: 36f., 1993).

Non-split Ergative System

Within or partly overlapping with the transit zone there are also morpho-syntactic areal features, such as the use of the ergative case with transitive verbs irrespective of tense or aspect. This kind of aspectually non-split ergativity connects Burushaski, Domaki, Balti, and Shina with many of the Tibeto-Burman and some Pahari (North Indo-Aryan) languages. This feature is original in Burushaski and quite ancient also in Tibeto-Burman (cf. Lorimer 1937; Bashir 1988; and Tikkanen 1988 for further microareal features in the Hindu Kush–Karakoram.)

The Question of a Burushaski Substratum in the Transit Zone

Now it appears that all the above-mentioned areal features of the transit zone are inherited not only in Burushaski but also in innovations elsewhere (with the exception of the contrast between palatal and dental affricates (/ch/ vs /cs/, etc.), which may be inherited in Tibeto-Burman as well). We might then assume with inter alia Toporov and Édel'man that at least some of them have diffused from Burushaski (or a Burushaski substratum).

The problem is that it is hard to reconstruct Burushaski on the basis of its three rather closely related dialects to a time comparable to Proto-Indo-Aryan and Proto-Nuristani or, in some ways, even Proto-Dardic and Early Middle East Iranian. By internal reconstruction we can, of course, increase the time depth. But the absolute chronology of changes remains rather obscure, since we have so little external evidence for these changes. Old Indo-Aryan loanwords in Burushaski (and some Burushaski loanwords in Old Indo-Aryan) with retroflex stops and sibilants indicate

that at least these retroflex consonant phonemes existed even before the proto-stage of Burushaski. There is no need to view the uvular series as borrowed in Burushaski either.

The numerous efforts to link Burushaski genealogically with some other language family have not stood up to critical examination in the light of the historical-comparative method. Toporov's (1971) comparisons with the Yeniseyan (as well as Caucasian) languages might hold some promise, but the very meagre lexical evidence is not enough to set up sound laws, without which no genetic relationship can be established. Distant relationships beyond the family level are possible, but we have no scientific method for establishing them. A priori there is no problem in postulating at least as great a density of distinct language families for the highland regions of Central Asia as we postulate for, say, (Trans-)Caucasus or Mesopotamia.

Klimov and Èdel'man (1995) have recently presented a more optimistic view on the perspectives of reconstructing Burushaski with the additional help of the typological and areal methods. Unfortunately, their reconstructions are also, whatever the method, flawed by their exclusively secondary and occasionally erroneous data regarding especially the Hunza and Nager dialects of Burushaski, for which Lorimer's pioneering work (1935–38) is not sufficiently accurate.

A further complication is that Burushaski was hardly the only pre-Aryan language (family or branch) in the Hindu Kush–Kohistan–Karakoram–Pamir when the Aryan tribes arrived there. The toponymy of the Burushaski speaking valleys (Hunza, Nager, Yasin) is full of items without a proper Burushaski etymology. (More etymologies might be established, if a greater proportion of the native vocabulary had been preserved.)

There are, nevertheless, certain syntactic and other features that suggest a Burushaski-type substratum in Pamir (cf. Toporov 1970; Èdel'man 1976, 1980, 1983, 1984) and northeastern Hindu Kush (in Kalasha and Khowar; cf. Bashir 1988, 1995). Burushaski toponyms occur widely in the Gilgit and Ghizer districts and Upper Chitral (Bashir 1995), although Burushaski loanwords are not very common in the transit zone. Yet the strongest Burushaski substratum is in Shina (the language of the Gilgit region).

Conclusion

The conclusion that can be drawn from this brief survey of mainly phonological areal features and their history is that the vast multi-ethnic highland region from the Hindu Kush to the Karakoram and South Pamir to Kohistan constitutes a linguistic convergence area described by the intersection of two macroareal features (/t/: /T/ and /k/: /q/) and a cluster of micro- and macroareal features. These features are largely the outcome of extended contacts, as supported by certain cultural isoglosses in this region.

Historical analysis shows that some of these microareal features are very ancient and have had a wider or different distribution in earlier, Proto- and Old Indo-Aryan, times (e.g. the retroflex sibilants and nasal). Where these features are very early innovations (Proto-Indo-Aryan, Proto-Nuristani), they may originate in a substratum or substrata other than (the present branch of) Burushaski, inasmuch as they cluster with certain other innovations alien to Burushaski (cf. Tikkanen 1988).

This substratum or these substrata could stem from the pre-Aryan northern Neolithic cultures of Kashmir and Swat, the linguistic identities of which are still unknown (for the chronology and cultural connections with eastern Tibet or China, see Xu 1991 and Nakamura 1993). The (controversial) foreign lexical elements in Vedic Sanskrit are still partly unclarified and might in some cases derive from these substrata.

The other areal features are spatially more confined or less ancient. In many cases they ultimately suggest or harmonize with a Burushaski substratum in northeastern Hindu Kush, Karakoram, and Pamir. Such are the tripartite affricate series (especially /ch/: /Ch/), counting by twenties and aspect-wise non-split ergative.

Many other areal features on various levels, including loanwords, have been explored by Èdel'man, Fussman, Bashir, and Tikkanen (see references), but most of these items are confined to the upper portion of the transit zone or represent large Central/north Asian areal features (e.g., the grammaticization of inferentiality in Khowar, Kalasha, the Yasin dialect of Burushaski, Balti, Tibetan, etc.; cf. Bashir 1995). But again corroborating archaeological evidence for postulating a Burushaski substratum in the whole transit zone is lacking, as none of the Burushaski speaking valleys (Hunza, Nager, Yasin) and few of the other mountain valleys of the upper transit zone have been excavated.

One feature (the uvular stop) forms a link between Central and South Asia, reflecting both Burushaski and Central Asian Iranian influence in the transit zone. Burushaski influence would explain its occurrence in Domaki and perhaps in Balti. Khowar has more probably developed this feature under Pamir Iranian influence, although multiple causation cannot be precluded. In the other Dardic languages, many of whose speakers are bilingual in Pashto, one might expect influence from this lingua franca of northwestern Pakistan. A problem is that the uvular stop is said to occur only in educated speech in Pashto, whereas it has, in spite of its rareness and partly borrowed character, no such restriction in Kohistani Shina of Palas (Ruth Laila Schmidt, personal communication). Of course, Urdu influence cannot be excluded either, in spite of the modest rate of literacy in this region. Joan Baart (personal communication) considers it possible that the uvular stop has developed spontaneously in Kalam Kohistani. If that is the case, it should remind us that all areal isoglosses do not necessarily imply externally induced convergence.

Returning to the original question as to which geographical region Hunza is part of, we can answer that it belong neither South nor Central Asia, but rather to an intervening (highland) zone which is still looking for a name. Étienne Tiffou has in a private discussion suggested 'North Intercontinent' for this region. With his permission I here put forward this new name for consideration.

List of representative languages on the (schematic) isogloss map according to language families (concentration on the transit zone):

Austroasiatic: Munda branch: Mundari, Santali. Mon-Khmer branch: Khasi, Nicobarese.

Dravidian: North: Brahui; Central: Gondi, Telugu; South: Kannada, Malayalam, Tamil. Indo-European:

Indo-Aryan branch: Assamese, Bengali, Bhili, 'Bihari' (Bhojpuri, Magahi, Maithili, Sadani/Sadri), 'Central Pahari' (Garhwali, Kumaoni), Dameli, Domaki, Gavar-bati, Gujarati, 'Hindi' (Awadhi, Braj, Bundeli, Bagheli, Chattisgarhi, Khariboli), Kalasha, Kashmiri, 'Kohistani' (Diri, Kalami, Torwali; Maiyan, etc.), 'Lahnda' (Hindko, Pothohari, Punchi, Siraiki, etc.), Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Punjabi, Palula (Phalura), 'Rajasthani' (Jaipuri, Harauti, Malwi, Marwari, Mewati, Nimari), Shina, Sindhi, Sinhalese, Urdu, 'West Pahari' ('Himachali': Baghati, Bhadarwahi, Chameali, Jaunsari, Kului, Kyonthli, Kotgarhi, Mandeali, Padari, Sirmauri, etc.).

Iranian branch: Balochi, Ishkashmi, Munji, Ormuri, Parachi, Pashto, Persian, Roshani, Sanglichi, Sariqoli, Shughni, Tajik, Wakhi, Yaghnobi, Yazghulami, Yidgha.

Nuristani branch (or subgroup of Iranian?): Ashkun, Kati, Prasun, Waigali.

Mongolic (previously subsumed with Turkic and Tungusic as 'Altaic'): Mongolian.

Sino-Tibetan:

Tibeto-Burman branch: Balti, Burmese, Ladakhi, Tibetan.

Sinitic branch: Chinese.

Turkic: Kirghiz, Turkmenian, Uighur, Uzbek.

Unrelated: Burushaski.

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THE TONES OF KALAM KOHISTANI (GARWI, BASHKARIK)

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Summary

It has been observed that tonal phenomena occur in quite a few languages of the north-western corner of the subcontinent. This paper presents a study of the tone system of one of these languages: Kalam Kohistani. After establishing that Kalam Kohistani has five contrastive tones: a high tone, a low tone, a rising tone, and two types of falling tone, I propose an analysis using concepts from the theory of autosegmental phonology (Goldsmith 1990). Furthermore, some observations are made on the relation between aspiration and tone, and on the functional load of tone in Kalam Kohistani.

1. Introduction

Kalam Kohistani is spoken in the upper parts of Swat Kohistan in Pakistan's North-West Frontier Province. The principal Kalam Kohistani speaking villages in Swat Kohistan are Kalam, Utror, Ushu, and Matiltan. The same language is also spoken across the mountains in the west, in Dir Kohistan, where Thal, Lamuti, Bihar, and Birikot are the main Kohistani speaking villages. In the Linguistic Survey of India, the language goes by the name of *Garwi* (Grierson 1919: 507ff.). Barth (1956: 52) reports that *Gawri* is a more accurate form of this name. Morgenstierne (1940) calls it *Bashkarik*. Among the Kalami people these names are hardly used, if at all familiar. They themselves normally call their language simply *Kohistani* (Barth 1956: 52; Rensch 1992: 5).

Kalam Kohistani, along with Torwali (which neighbours it in the south) and Indus Kohistani (which neighbours it in the east), is classified as belonging to the Central or Kohistani group of Dardic languages (Strand 1973: 302). Dardic in turn, belongs to the north western branch of Indo-Aryan. The exact number of speakers of Kalam Kohistani is not known, but the present-day (1995) figure is probably in the range of 60,000 to 80,000 speakers, including those in Dir Kohistan.

The data on which this study is based was collected between October 1991 and August 1995. In this period, I was able to spend four summers in Kalam, and make several shorter trips to the area. My principal informant was Shahe-Room, a jeep driver from Kalam Kas, who is in his thirties. Data was checked extensively with another speaker, Muhammad Zaman, a young college student from village Shahoo. Both are native speakers of Kalam Kohistani (it should be noted, though, that MZ has a Kalami father and a Torwali mother, and is bilingual from early childhood). In a less formal way, many other Kalami people have shared information about their language.

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The remainder of this paper is organized as follows: in section 2 I briefly discuss the term *tone*. This is followed by a few notes on tone in other languages of the region. Section 3 presents a summary of the Kalam Kohistani phoneme system and how it is symbolized in this paper. In section 4 I discuss the methodology followed in my study of Kalami tone. On the basis of the observations presented in section 5, I argue that Kalam Kohistani has five contrastive tones: a high tone, a low tone, a rising tone, and two types of falling tone. Section 6 discusses how the tones can be represented in a phonological analysis. The subject of section 7 is the correlation between aspiration and low or rising tone, and the use of tone in marking lexical and grammatical contrasts in Kalam Kohistani. Section 8 summarizes the findings and indicates areas for future investigation.

2. Tone

When people speak, we can hear their voice go up and down over the course of an utterance (sentence). These *pitch fluctuations*, as they are usually called, are primarily related to the rate of vibration of the vocal cords. A slower rate of vibration corresponds to lower pitch, a faster rate of vibration to higher pitch.

In language, pitch fluctuations normally perform several functions. In English for instance, pitch functions at the level of the sentence and may convey information about the attitude of the speaker toward the meaning of the sentence. Pitch may also be used to emphasize important words in a sentence; a rise of pitch on such a word, or sometimes a lowering of pitch, has this effect. Pitch may also function at the level of consonants and vowels: in many languages, voiced plosives such as *b* and *d* result in relatively low pitch on the initial part of a following vowel, voiceless plosives (*p*, *t*, etc.) in relatively high pitch, and this difference may be an important cue in the perception of the voiced-voiceless distinction (cf. Clark & Yallop 1990: 282–84 and references cited there). In *tone languages*, differences in pitch may be used to distinguish different words or grammatical elements.

These different functions of pitch: at the level of the sentence, at the level of the word, and at the level of the individual sounds, may be present simultaneously in one utterance in one particular language. In an analysis of the sound system of a language, they need to be carefully disentangled.

The term *tone* has been defined in many different ways. According to one point of view (e.g., McCawley 1964, cited in Fromkin 1978: 3), tone is distinguished from other uses of pitch by its *lexicalness*, that is: tone is an inherent property of the words of a language. In this view, we speak of tone when a word (or a smaller meaningful unit such as a suffix or prefix) brings its own pitch characteristics to the utterance. In a non-tonal language like English, this is not the case. The shape of the pitch contour with which a word is pronounced in English (for instance a rising pitch, followed by a falling pitch) is not tied to the word as such. It can always be replaced by another contour (for instance a stretch of low pitch, followed by a rise) without affecting the identity of the word, although changing the pitch contour will normally involve a change of intonational meaning.

One way to test for the presence of tone in a language is to use a sentence frame such as 'could you show me the ____ once more', and substitute many different words for the underlined blank (*could you show me the table once more; could you show me the box once more; could you show me the apple once more; etc.*). In English the same pitch contour (for instance involving a rising and falling pitch on the substitution word) could be used for each of the resulting sentences. In a tone language one will find that, when put in the sentence frame, some substitution words necessarily carry a different pitch contour from other words in that slot (although this

difference may not show up in each and every sentence frame that is constructed). One may find, for instance, that many words carry a falling pitch, while some words are consistently spoken with a rising pitch. This constitutes evidence that the language is tonal.

If there is tone in a language, chances are that the different tones are *contrastive*, that is, they may be used as the sole distinction between different words or grammatical elements. Kalam Kohistani has many examples of this, such as *boor* 'lion' (with high tone) versus *boor* 'Pathan' (with low tone). Other languages may have tone but none or only very few of such *minimal pairs*.

Tonal phenomena have been observed in quite a few languages of the northwestern corner of the subcontinent, although most of these have not been extensively studied. Punjabi is a classic example; its words are grouped into three tone classes: those with low-rising tone, those with high-falling tone, and those with *neutral* or *unmarked* tone. A relation was noted between the loss of voiced aspirates (*bh*, *dh*, etc.) and the emergence of tone in Punjabi (cf. Masica 1991: 118–19 and references cited there). In the Northern Areas, Shina and Burushaski appear to have tone systems that are surprisingly similar to each other, where long vowels may sometimes bear a conspicuous low-rising tone, contrasting with the falling pattern occurring elsewhere. In Chitral District, Khowar and Dameli are languages for which a distinctive low-rising tone has been observed (Morgenstierne 1932: 49, 1942).

Concerning Kalam Kohistani (or rather its Dir Kohistan dialect, which he called Bashkarik, as was remarked above), Morgenstierne (1940: 210) noted a distinction between a rising and a falling tone in several monosyllables. He went on to say: 'The short time at my disposal did, however, render a thorough investigation of this interesting problem impossible.' The present paper takes up the challenge that Morgenstierne left us, even though it does not contain the last word on Kalam Kohistani tone, either.

3. The Kalam Kohistani Phoneme System

3.1 Vowels

Kalam Kohistani has a system of six short vowels that each have a long counterpart. These are presented in Table 27.1. In this paper, a long vowel is indicated by writing the vowel symbol twice.

Table 28.1 Kalam Kohistani Oral Vowels

	Front	Back
Close	i, ii	u, uu
Mid	e, ee	o, oo
Open	ä, ää	a, aa

Vowel *changes* play an important role in the morphology. Many nouns form their *inflected form* (used to indicate *plural* as well as *oblique case*) by means of a vowel change, as in *shaak* 'a piece of wood,' *shääk* 'pieces of wood.' Different forms of adjectives (*masculine*, *masculine inflected*, *feminine*) are also related through vowel changes, as in *raan* masculine 'good,' *rään* masculine inflected 'good,' *reen* feminine 'good,' and so are the endings on verb tenses (indicating agreement with a masculine singular, masculine plural, or feminine noun

phrase). Finally, where masculine nouns have feminine counterparts, these too are often related through a vowel change, as in *kukur* 'rooster,' *kikir* 'hen.'

The front vowels all have a palatalizing effect on preceding velar consonants. *k*, *g*, and *ng* are pronounced [ky], [gy], and [ngy] when a front vowel follows, as in *gään* 'big,' which is pronounced [gyään].

Most vowels have nasalized counterparts. In this paper these are written with a tilde (~) following the vowel, as in *maa~* 'my.' In my data only the short vowel *o* does not have a nasalized counterpart.

3.2 Consonants

The inventory of consonants is presented in Table 28.2. For typographical convenience, uppercase characters are used to represent the series of retroflex consonants: *T*, *Th*, *D*, *C*, *Ch*, *S*, *R*, *N*. Capital *G* is used for the voiced velar fricative.

Aspirated plosives and affricates are written with digraphs: *ph*, *th*, *Th*, and so on. The voiceless palatal grooved fricative is written *sh*, like in the English *ship*. *ll* is a voiceless lateral fricative. *l* and *ll* are separate phonemes (for instance *laam* 'village' vs *llaam* 'cedar wood'), but there is a close affinity between the two: *ll* may turn into *l* before a voiced consonant, as in *pall mänää~* (pronounced [paal mänää~]) 'it is called a leaf.'

f and *q* mainly occur in loanwords and tend to be replaced by *p* and *x*, respectively. *G*, *z*, and *x*, too, mainly occur in loanwords. The status of three elements: *N* (the retroflex nasal), *ng* (the velar nasal), and *R* (the retroflex flap), is not fully clear to me. *N* and *ng* might be analysed as sequences of two phonemes (*n+D* and *n+g*, respectively). *R* might be analysed as a variant of *D*. There are arguments for and against these analyses and I will keep the question open for the moment.

Table 28.2 Kalam Kohistani Consonants

	Labial	Dental	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Postvelar
plosives	ph p b	th t d	Th T D		kh k g	q
affricates		tsh ts	Ch C	ch c j sh		h
fricatives	f	s z	S		x G	
glides	w			y		
nasals	m	n	N		ng	
laterals		l, ll				
flaps		r	R			

4. Method

For the investigation of Kalam Kohistani tone, a list of eighty-six nouns was compiled in such a way that words with different numbers of syllables were represented (one-syllable words,

two-syllable words, and three-syllable words), different perceived stress patterns were represented (stress on the last syllable of the word, and stress on the second-to-last syllable), as well as different suspected tone categories (at the time when the list was being compiled, it was already clear from informal observation that there were at least two different tones). This list is given in Appendix I. Nouns were used in this initial study, rather than verbs or adjectives, because they are easier to fit in different kinds of sentence frames.

Eight sentence frames (see section 2 above) were constructed, accounting for different positions in the sentence in which the substitution words could occur. One important distinction here is whether the substitution word is the last word in the sentence or not. In tone languages, sentence intonation may affect the shape of the tones of words, particularly in sentence-final position. So, a frame was included where the substitution word is the last word in the sentence, while in other frames it was not the last word. Also, different syntactic positions for the substitution slot were taken into account, such as subject, object of a verb, and object of a postposition. In order to account for the possibility of tones influencing the shape of neighbouring tones, I tried to vary the words surrounding the substitution slot in such a way that some would always carry high pitch, and some low pitch. The eight sentence frames are given in Table 28.3, with the word *där* 'door' in the substitution slot for illustration.

Table 28.3 Eight Sentence Frames Used to Investigate Kalam Kohistani Tone

Frame A:	ii~ <u>där</u> this door	this is a door
Frame B:	ii~ <u>där</u> ii~maag thuu this door here is	this door is here
Frame C:	ii~ miish kee <u>där</u> thuu this man near door is	near this man is a door
Frame D:	ii~ miish mākā <u>där</u> päshaant this man to.me door is.showing	this man is showing me a door
Frame E:	ii~ miish <u>där</u> mākā päshaant this man door to.me is.showing	this man is showing me the door
Frame F:	ii~ poo <u>där</u> kee bääSt this boy door with sat.down	this boy is sitting next to the door
Frame G:	ii~maag <u>där</u> naa~t here door is.not	there is no door here
Frame H:	ääskā <u>där</u> mänää~ to.this door they.say	this is called a door

In all, 8 x 86 different sentences were constructed. These were recorded on audio tape (except for a number of sentences that were deemed unnatural or inappropriate by the informant), with my principal informant SR as speaker.

Next, a phonetic transcription was made of the utterances on the tape, including a transcription of the course of pitch over each utterance. In the transcription of pitch, I greatly benefited from the use of the CECIL acoustic speech analysis system (Summer Institute of Languages 1990). CECIL is a small, portable system that is used in conjunction with an MS-DOS personal computer. Among other things, it produces graphical representations of a number of acoustic properties of speech. One of those properties is *fundamental frequency*, the acoustic correlate of pitch. The pitch graphs that are presented in the discussion below were produced with this system.

On the basis of the data thus collected, it appeared that the words of the word list could be grouped into five different tone classes, each with its own pitch characteristics. Once this had been established, I was able to extend the analysis to most of the other language data that I have collected so far, including grammatical categories other than nouns (verbs, adjectives, etc.). This resulted in the discovery of many minimal pairs that provide ample evidence for contrast between the five tones.

5. Contrastive Tone in Kalam Kohistani

In this section, I present evidence illustrating the different pitch patterns for each of the five tones. One-syllable words will be looked at first, next multisyllable words are discussed. Following this, minimal pairs are presented for each of the theoretically possible contrasts.

5.1 Evidence for Monosyllables

5.1.1 High, level tone

Fig. 28.1 presents the pitch graph for the word *där* 'door', put in the frame sentence C: *ii-miish kee där thu* 'near this man is a door.' In Fig. 28.1, the phonemic annotation directly above the graph indicates what part of the graph corresponds to each sound in the sentence. The beginning and end of the substitution word *där* are marked by vertical lines. The two parallel dotted lines in the graph mark the upper and lower extremes between which pitch fluctuates. They are slightly slanted, indicating that average pitch decreases over the course of an utterance. This tendency for average pitch to start relatively high and end relatively low is called *declination* in the phonetic literature, and is assumed to occur universally in the languages of the world (cf. Clark & Yallop 1990: 284).

In this particular frame sentence, pitch is normally low on the word *kee* 'near' that precedes the substitution word, and is also low on the word *thu* 'is' that follows. What we observe for this example is that pitch rises to a relatively high level early in the word *där*, and remains high throughout the word.

As an aside we may notice that the duration of the vowel *ä* of *där* is quite long in this example. In fact, *där* is one of many words that have a short vowel when spoken in isolation and utterance-finally, and a lengthened vowel utterance-internally. A discussion of this interesting phenomenon is beyond the scope of this paper, though.

Fig. 28.1 Fundamental Frequency Graph for *där* 'door' (High, Level Tone) in Frame C

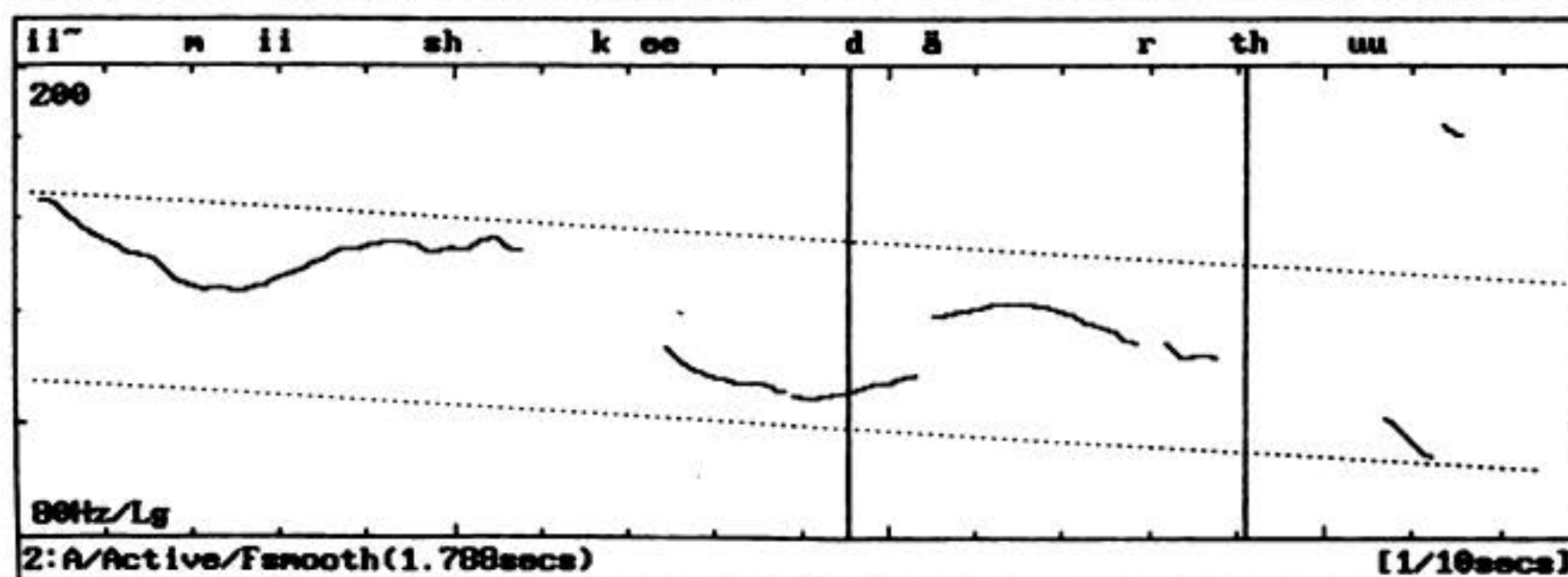
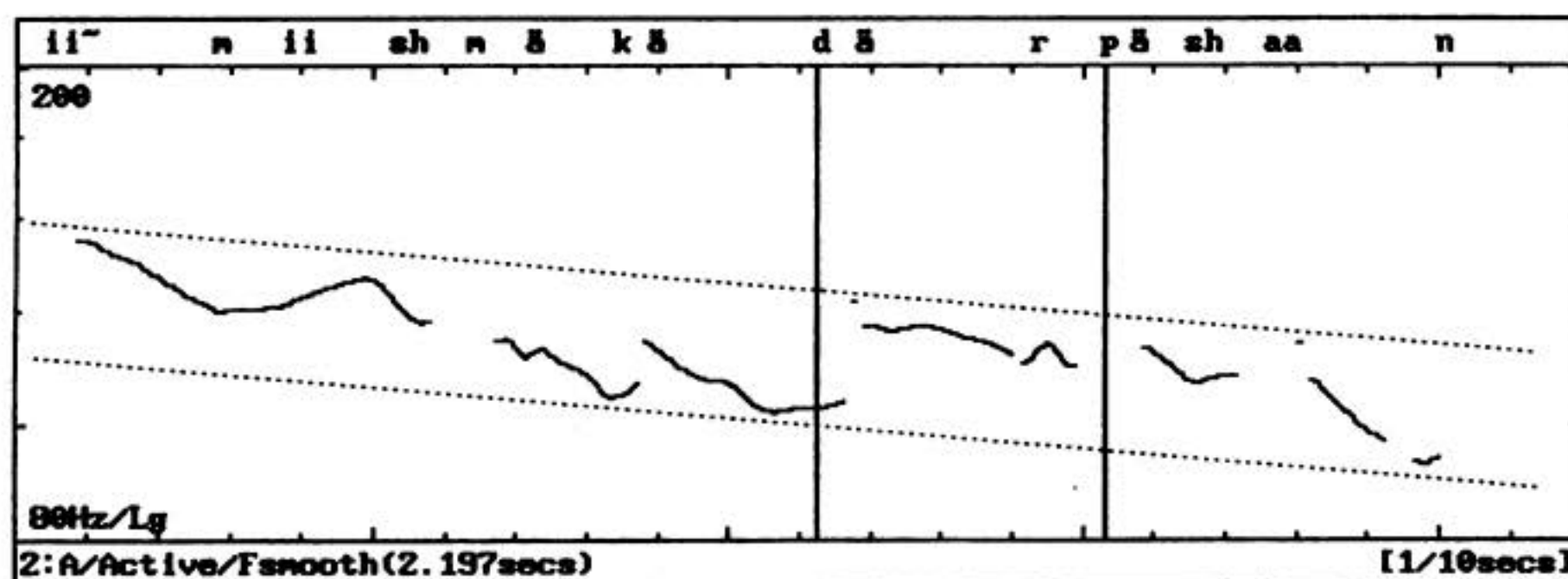


Fig. 28.2 shows another sentence with *där*: *ii~ miish mākā dār päshaant* 'this man is showing me a door' (frame sentence D). In this sentence, too, the high, level pitch on *där* is clearly visible. Note that in this frame sentence, the word that precedes the substitution word (*mākā* 'to me') has low pitch, but the word that follows (*päshaant* 'is showing') starts out high and then has a falling curve on the second syllable.

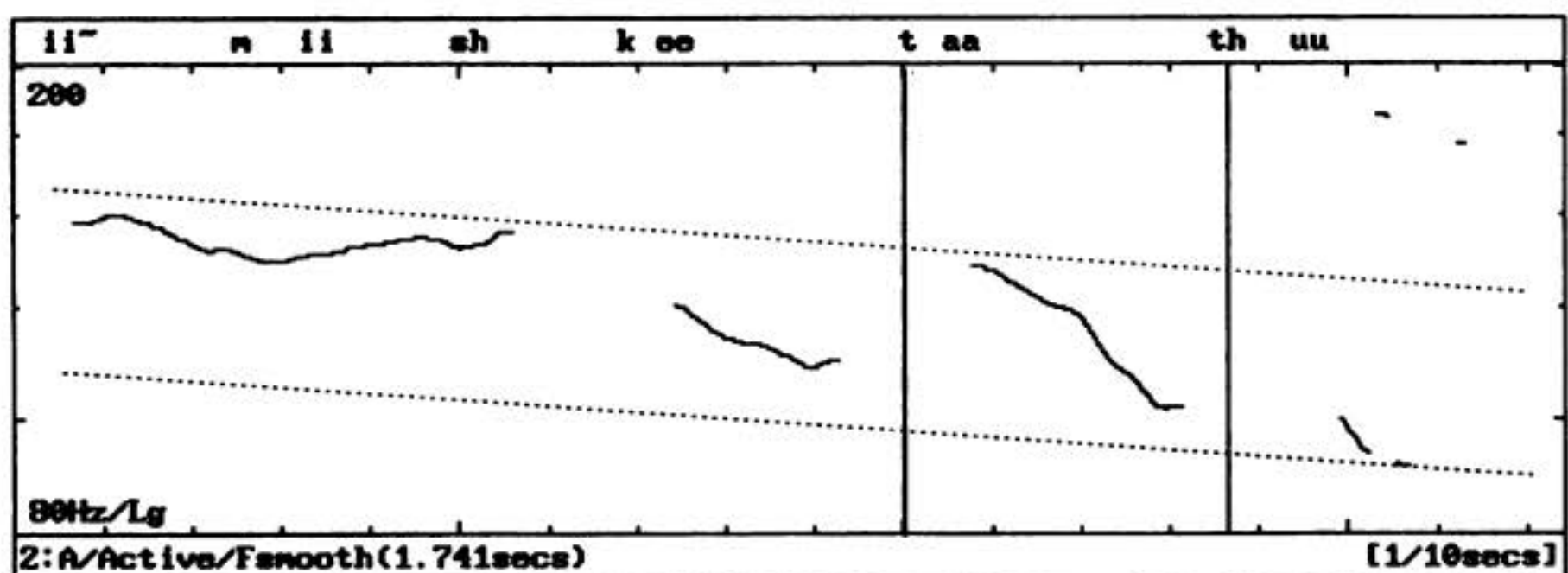
Fig. 28.2 Fundamental Frequency Graph for *där* 'Door' (High, Level Tone) in Frame D



5.1.2 High-to-low falling tone

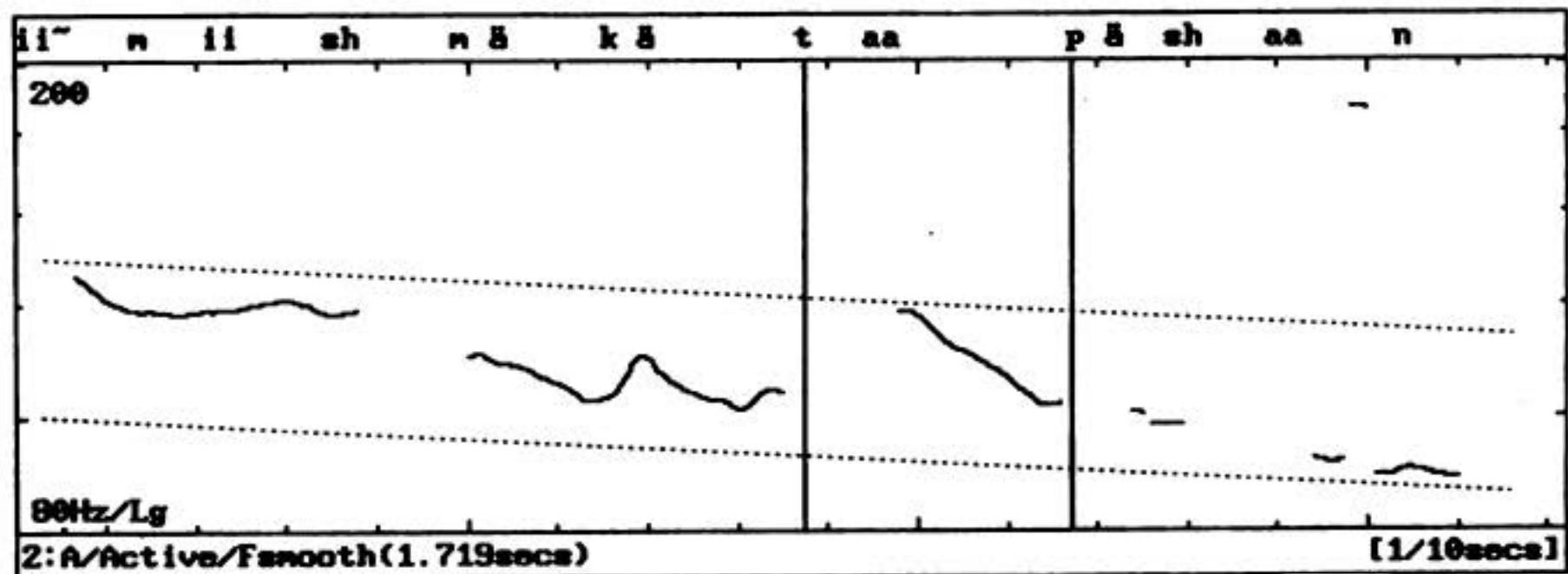
Fig. 28.3 shows the word *taa* 'wrapping blanket' substituted in frame sentence C. Again, pitch starts out high early in the word. The pitch curve is actually interrupted around the sound *t*, which is explained by the fact that *t* is voiceless, so there is no vibration of the vocal cords during the production of this sound. In contrast to the word *där*, pitch falls during the pronunciation of the word *taa* and reaches a relatively low level near the end of the word.

Fig. 28.3 Fundamental Frequency Graph for *taa* 'Wrapping Blanket' (High-to-Low Falling Tone) in Frame C



This high-to-low falling pitch curve can also be observed in Fig. 28.4, which shows the word *taa* in Frame D. Note that the word which follows (*pāshaant*) has low pitch throughout, as opposed to the high and falling pitch it has in Fig. 28.2. What we may tentatively hypothesize here, is that *taa* not only has falling pitch itself, but it also has a 'depressing' effect on the pitch of the word that follows.

Fig. 28.4 Fundamental Frequency Graph for *taa* 'Wrapping Blanket' (High-to-Low Falling Tone) in Frame D



5.1.3 Low, level tone

Fig. 28.5 shows the word *bään* 'utensils' in frame sentence C. Although some minor pitch perturbations can be observed in the graph, pitch remains relatively low throughout the word, and so is clearly distinct from the pitch curves on both *dār* and *taa*. The same pattern can be observed in Fig. 28.6 where *bään* is embedded in Frame D.

Fig. 28.5 Fundamental Frequency Graph for *bään* 'Utensils' (Low, Level Tone) in Frame C

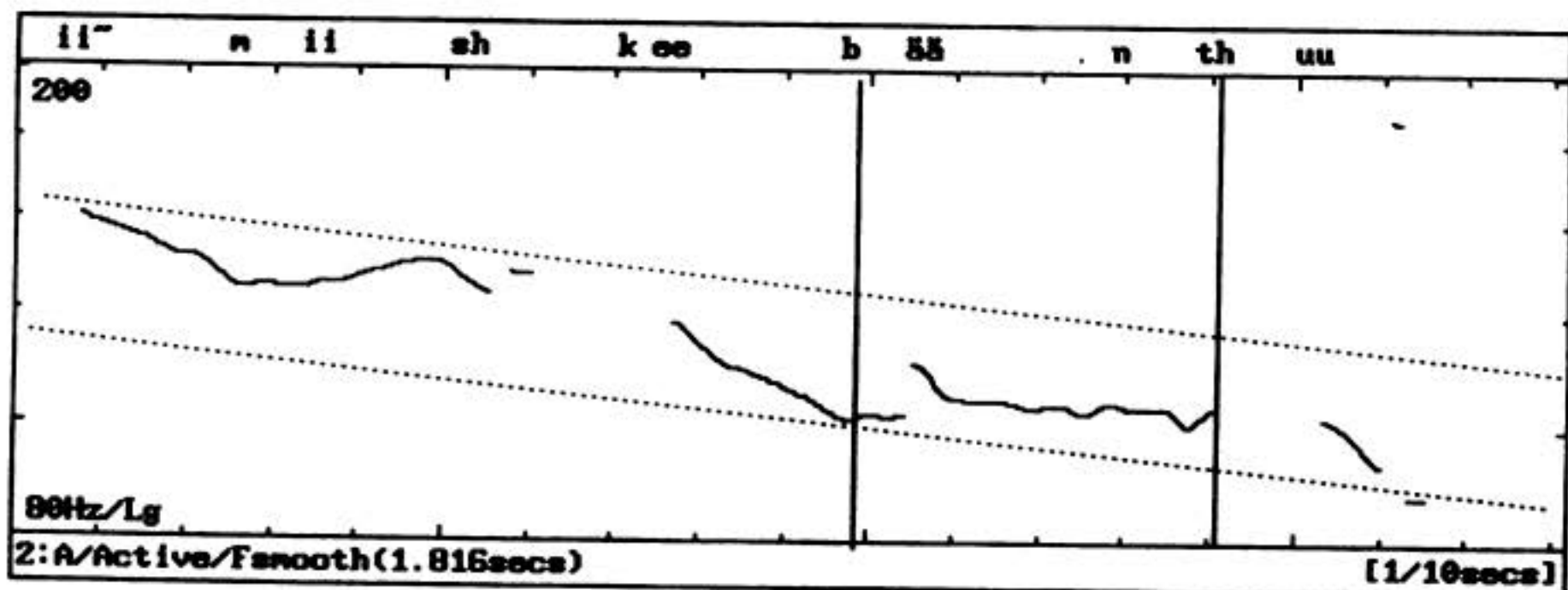
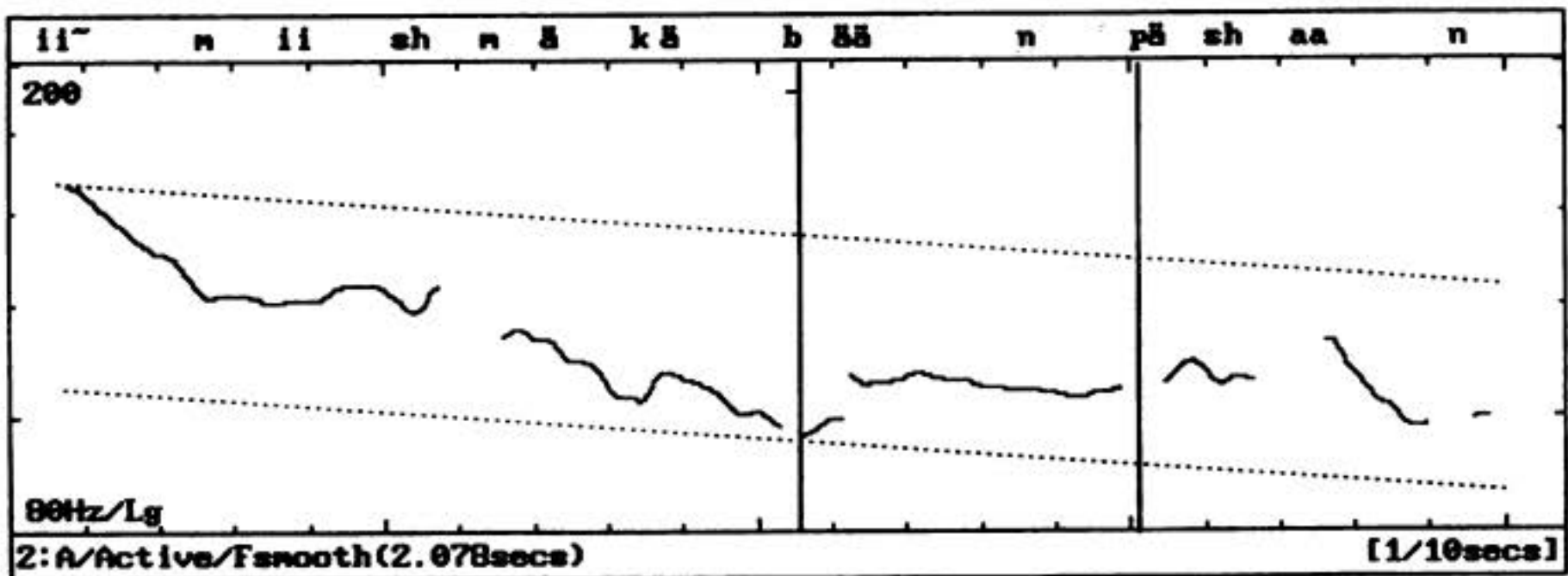


Fig. 28.6 Fundamental Frequency Graph for *bään* 'Utensils' (Low, Level Tone) in Frame D



5.1.4 Low-to-high rising tone

Fig. 28.7 gives the data for the word *goor* 'horse' in Frame C. We observe that pitch starts out low at the beginning of the word and gradually rises to become high near the end of the word. The pattern is again distinct from that on the previous three words. The rising pitch is also seen in Fig. 28.8 (*goor* in Frame D).

Fig. 28.7 Fundamental Frequency Graph for *goor* 'Horse' (Low-to-High Rising Tone) in Frame C

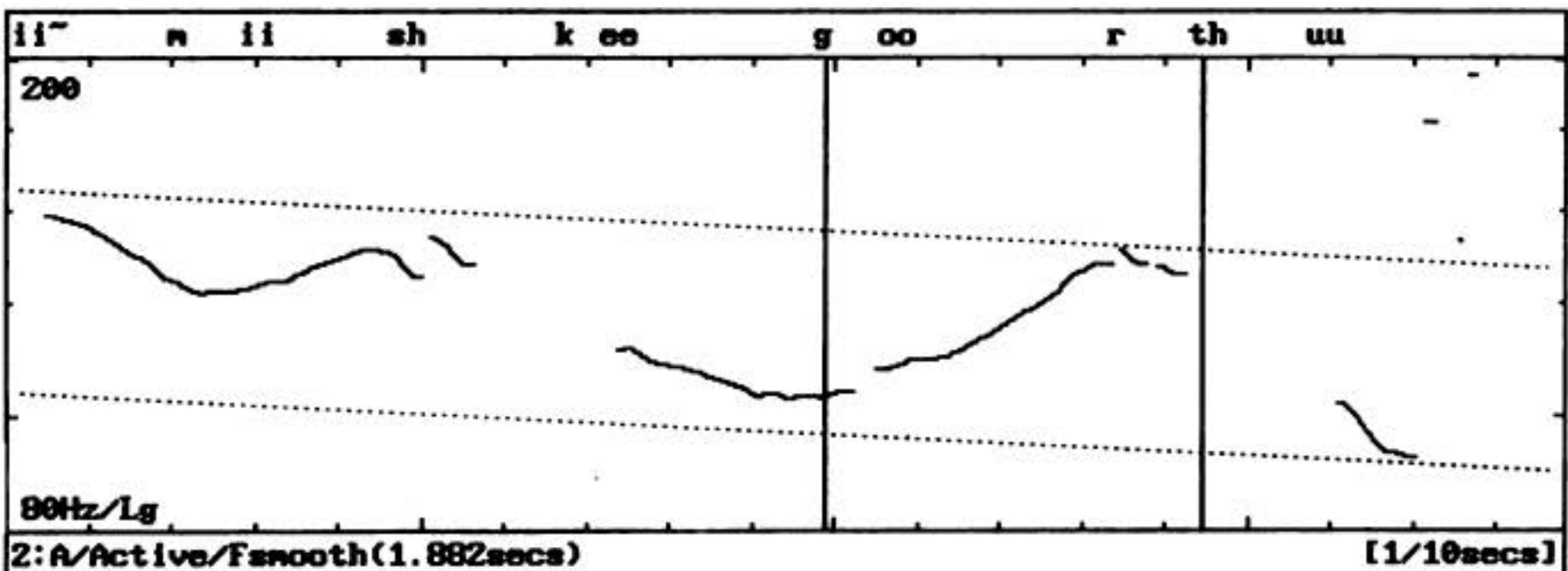
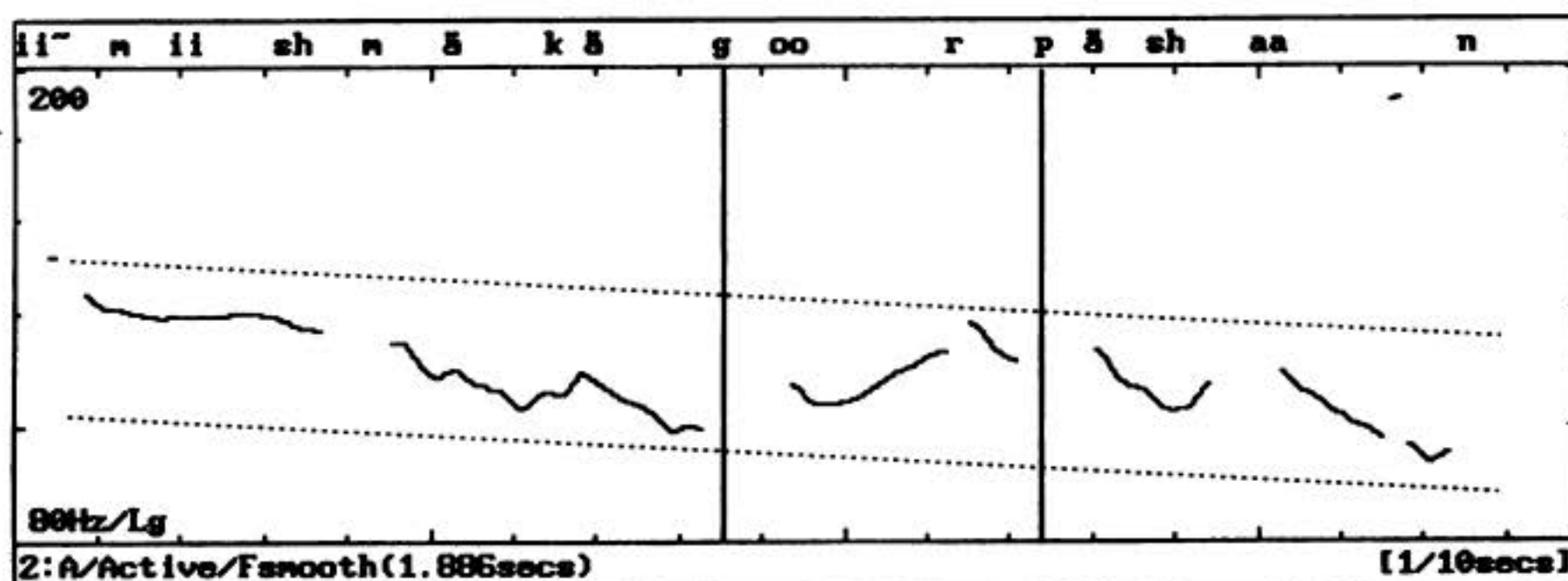
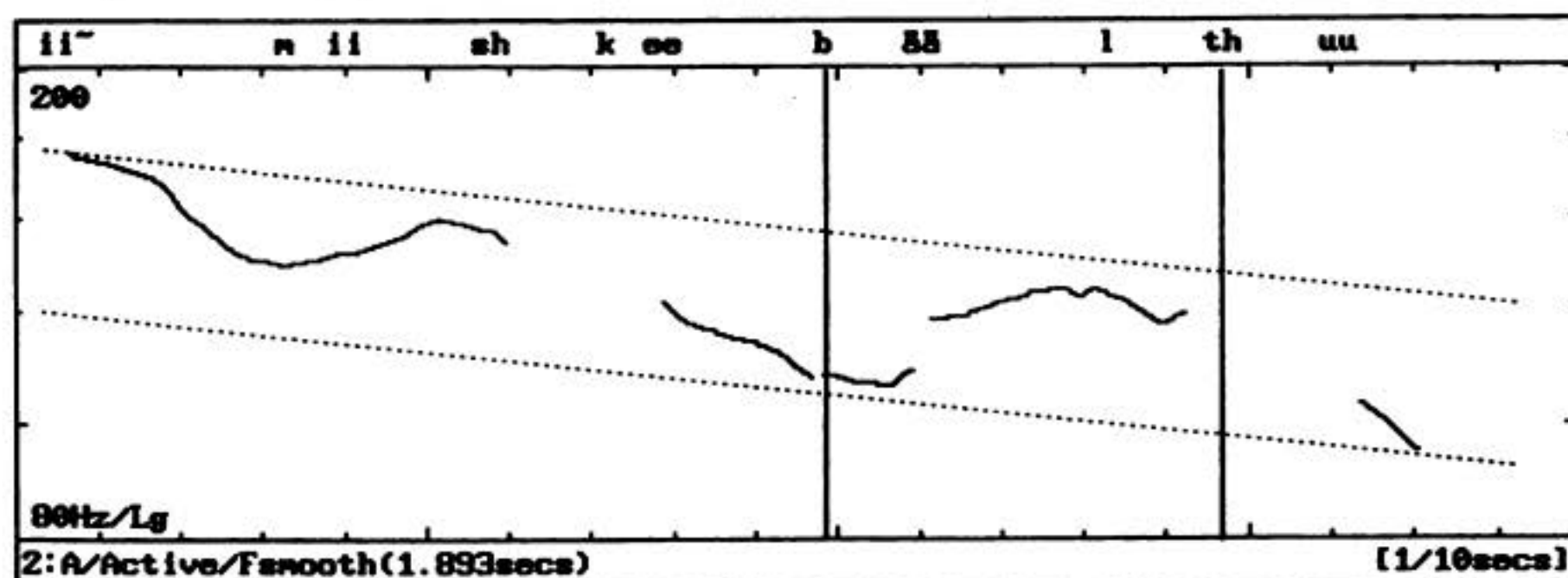


Fig. 28.8 Fundamental Frequency Graph for *goor* 'Horse' (Low-to-High Rising Tone) in Frame D

5.1.5 Delayed high-to-low falling tone

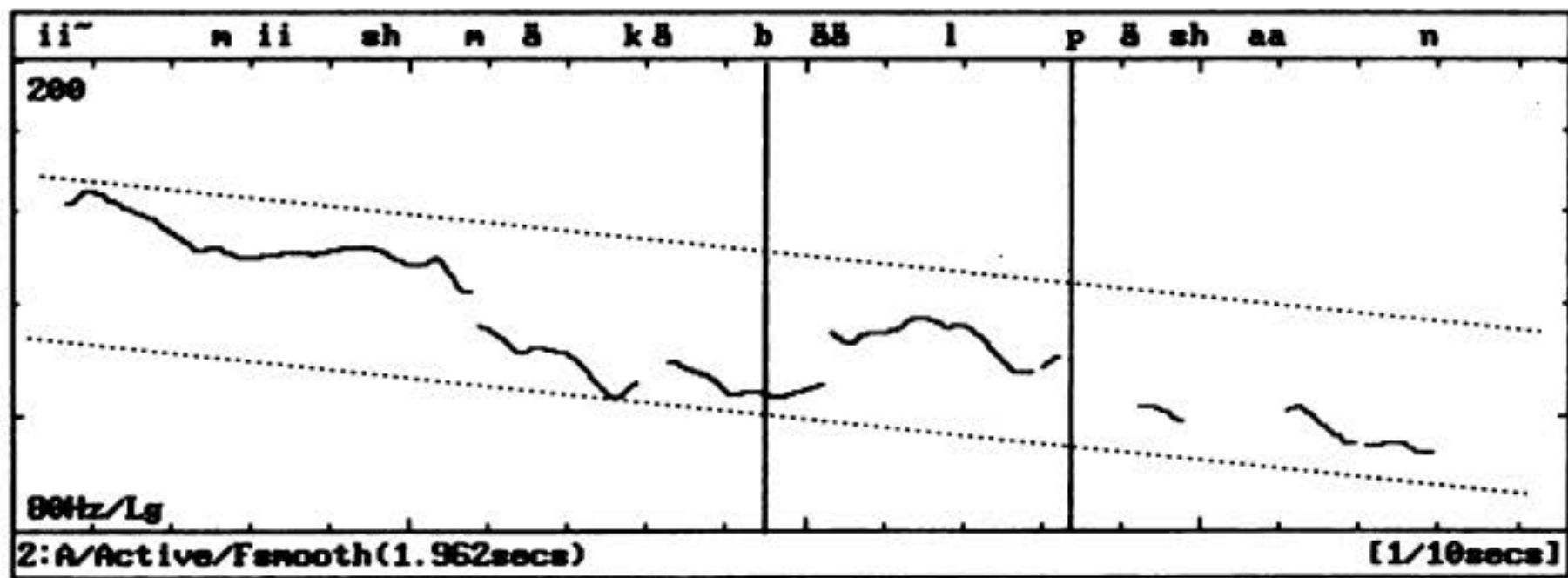
There is one more tone to be discussed. However, in Frame C, where low pitch precedes and follows the substitution word, the fifth tone cannot be clearly distinguished from the high, level tone discussed above (5.1.1). Fig. 28.9 presents the data for the word *bääl* 'hair' embedded in Frame C. As is the case with *där* 'door,' pitch rises early in the word and remains steady at a relatively high level. The difference between the high tone and the delayed falling tone can be seen if a word with high tone follows the substitution word. Frame D provides an example of such a word. In Fig. 28.2 we saw the word *där* 'door' in the sentence *ii~ miish mākā där päshaant* 'this man is showing me a door.' We observed high, level pitch on the substitution word *där*. The following word, *päshaant* 'is showing,' also started out on a high pitch, and then had a falling curve on the second syllable.

Fig. 28.9 Fundamental Frequency Graph for *bääl* 'Hair' (Delayed High-to-Low Falling Tone) in Frame C

Now look at Fig. 28.10, showing the word *bääl* 'hair' embedded in Frame D. The difference between *där* and *bääl* shows up in what happens with the following word. In Fig. 28.2 the word *päshaant* starts out high. In Fig. 28.10, on the other hand, it bears a low pitch from the beginning. We can say, then, that the word *bääl* is associated with a falling pitch, but the

peculiarity is that pitch falls, so to speak, from the end of *bääl* 'onto' the first syllable of the next word. For this reason, I have labelled this category 'delayed high-to-low fall.' The difference with the regular high-to-low fall (5.1.2) is that there the fall in pitch is executed fully within the word. Not only does pitch fall from the end of the word *bääl* onto the first syllable of the next word, but it can also be observed that pitch remains low throughout this following word. This 'depressing' effect that the delayed falling tone has on the following high tone was also observed for the regular falling tone (Fig. 28.4).

Fig. 28.10 Fundamental Frequency Graph for *bääl* 'Hair' (Delayed High-to-Low Falling Tone) in Frame D



5.2 Evidence for Multisyllable Words

The substitution list also included two- and three-syllable words. For these, the same five tonal patterns were observed. Fig. 28.11–28.15 present examples of pitch graphs using Frame D with the following words: *bire* 'girl,' *bätshoor* 'calf,' *bubäy* 'apples,' *dätär* 'fireplace,' and *daawaal* 'wall.'

In Fig. 28.11, *bire* 'girl' has relatively high pitch on both syllables and can be grouped in the class of words carrying high, level tone. *bätshoor* 'calf' (Fig. 28.12) has relatively high pitch on the first syllable, falling to low on the second syllable, and thus can be grouped in the class of high-to-low falling tone. *bubäy* 'apples' (Fig. 28.13) has low pitch on both syllables and can be assumed to carry low, level tone. *dätär* 'fireplace' (Fig. 28.14) starts out low in the first syllable, and rises to high in the second syllable. It belongs to the class of words having low-to-high rising tone. Finally, the word *daawaal* 'wall' (Fig. 28.15) shows us the delayed high-to-low falling tone: pitch reaches a relatively high level on the second syllable, then falls onto the first syllable of the next word. The pitch on this next word stays low throughout.

When we look at three-syllable words, we find that the pitch curve which is characteristic for the tone of the word is executed towards the end of the word. For instance, in a three-syllable word with rising tone, pitch is relatively low on the first two syllables, and reaches a high level only on the last syllable. This is illustrated in Fig. 28.16 for the word *älmaarey* 'cupboard,' embedded in Frame D.

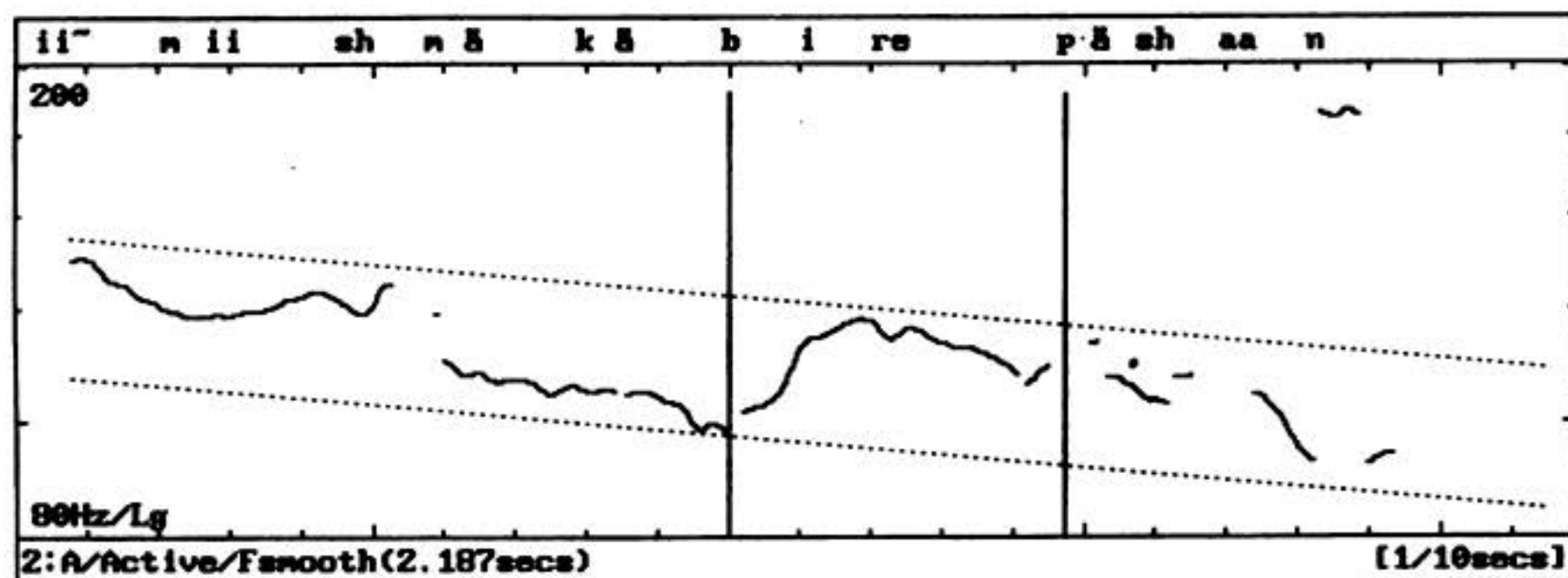
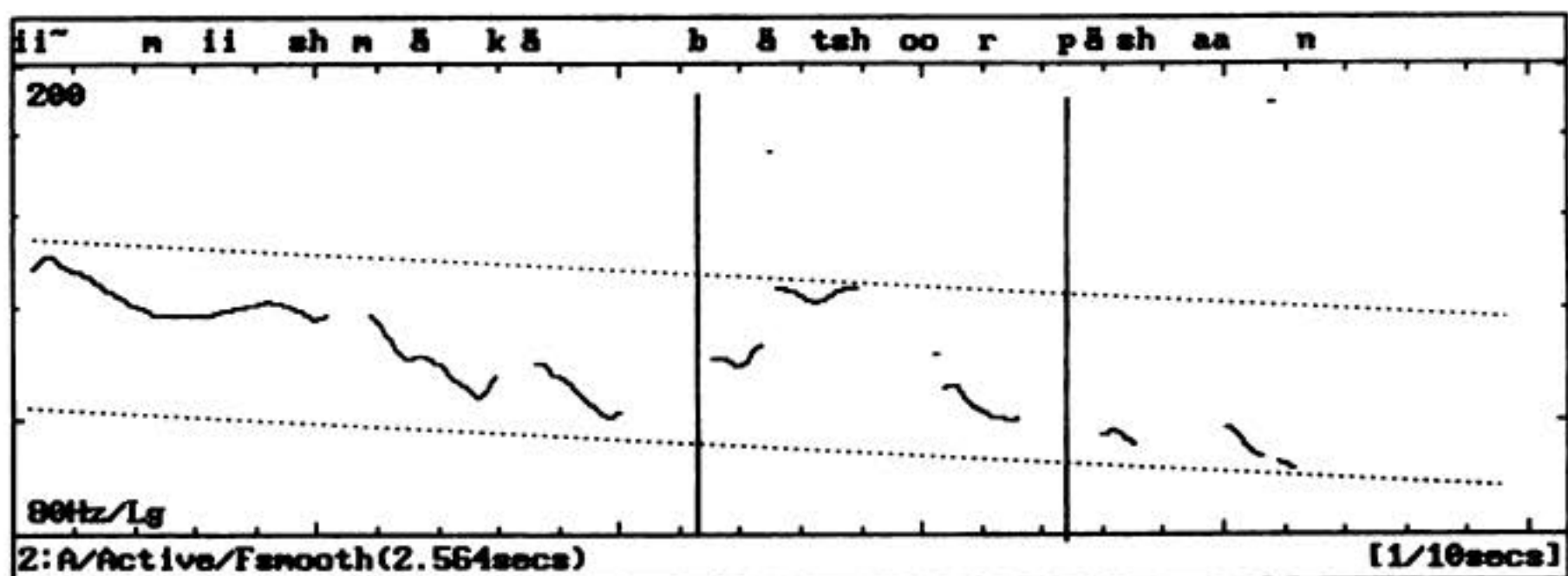
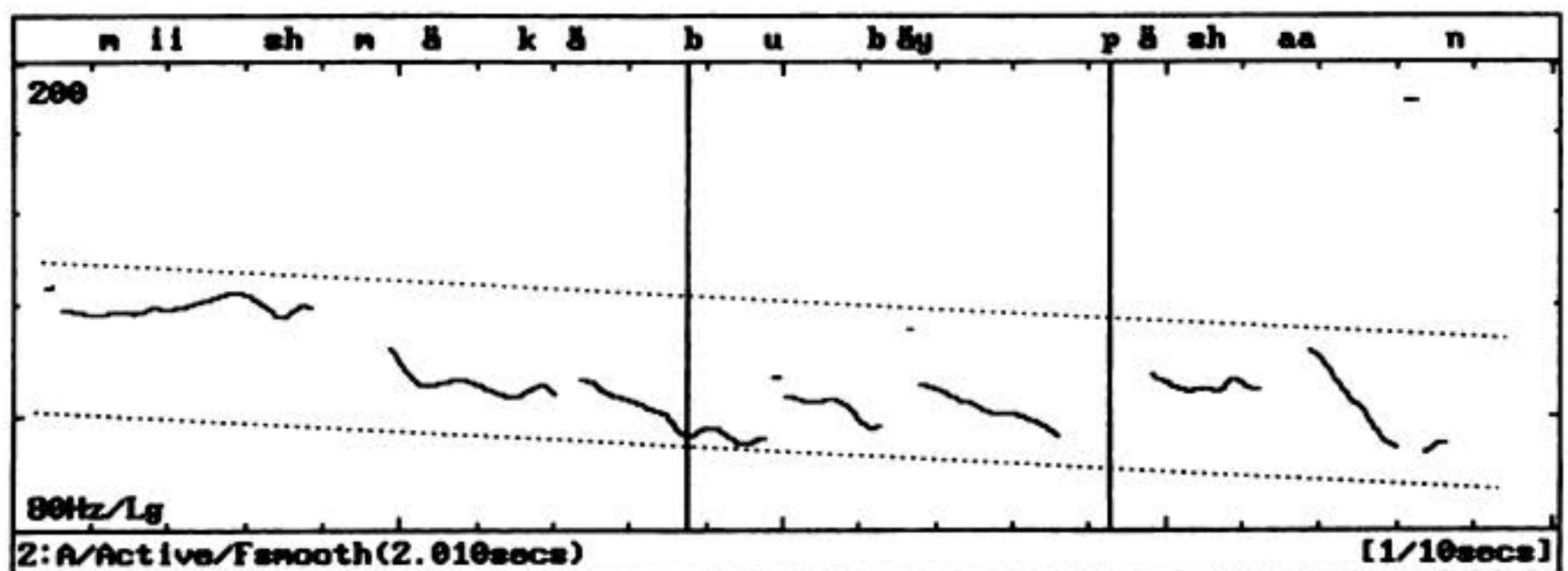
Fig. 28.11 Fundamental Frequency Graph for *bire* 'Girl' (High, Level Tone) in Frame DFig. 28.12 Fundamental Frequency Graph for *bätshoor* 'Calf' (High-to-Low Falling Tone) in Frame DFig. 28.13 Fundamental Frequency Graph for *bubäy* 'Apples' (Low, Level Tone) in Frame D

Fig. 28.14 Fundamental Frequency Graph for *dätär* 'Fireplace' (Low-to-High Rising Tone) in Frame D

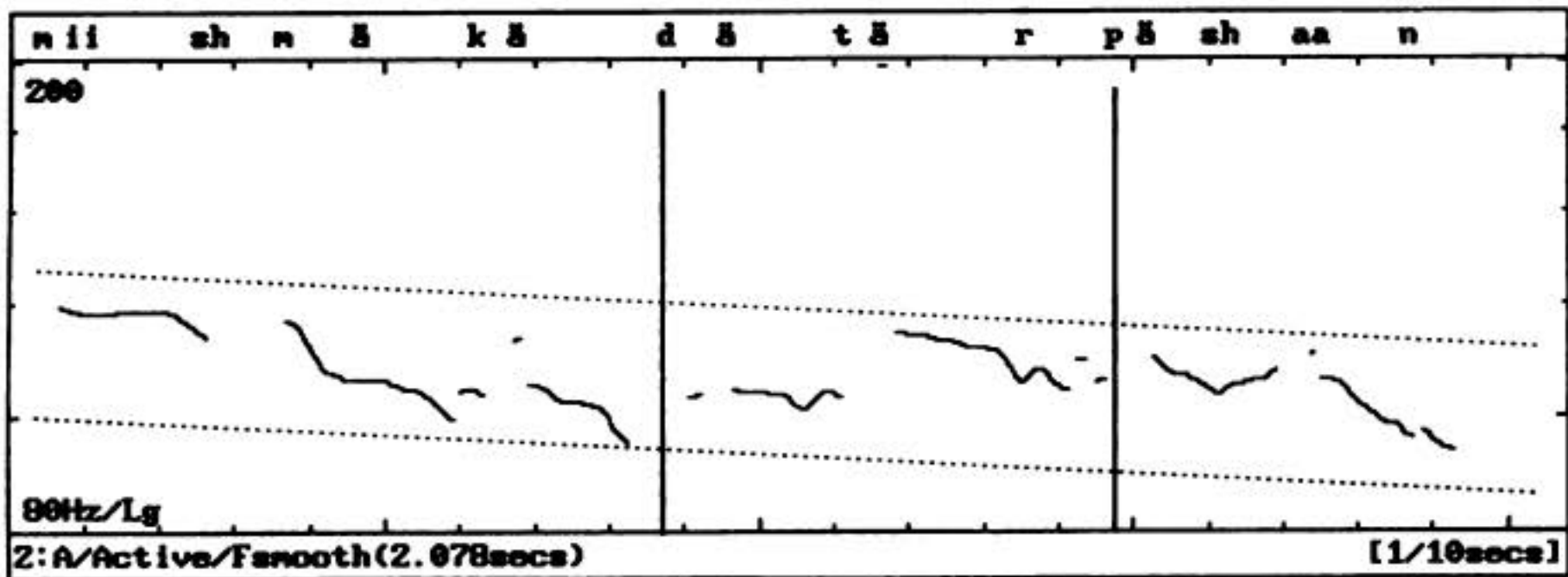


Fig. 28.15 Fundamental Frequency Graph for *daawaal* 'Wall' (Delayed High-to-Low Falling Tone) in Frame D

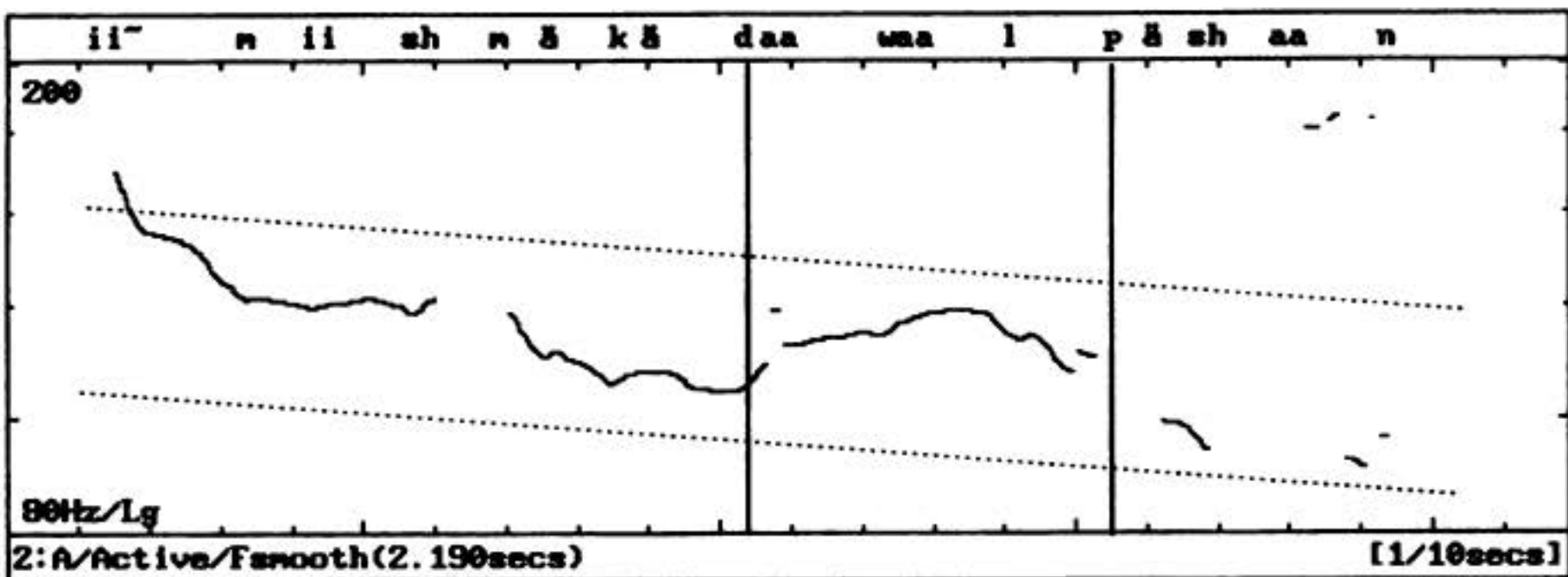
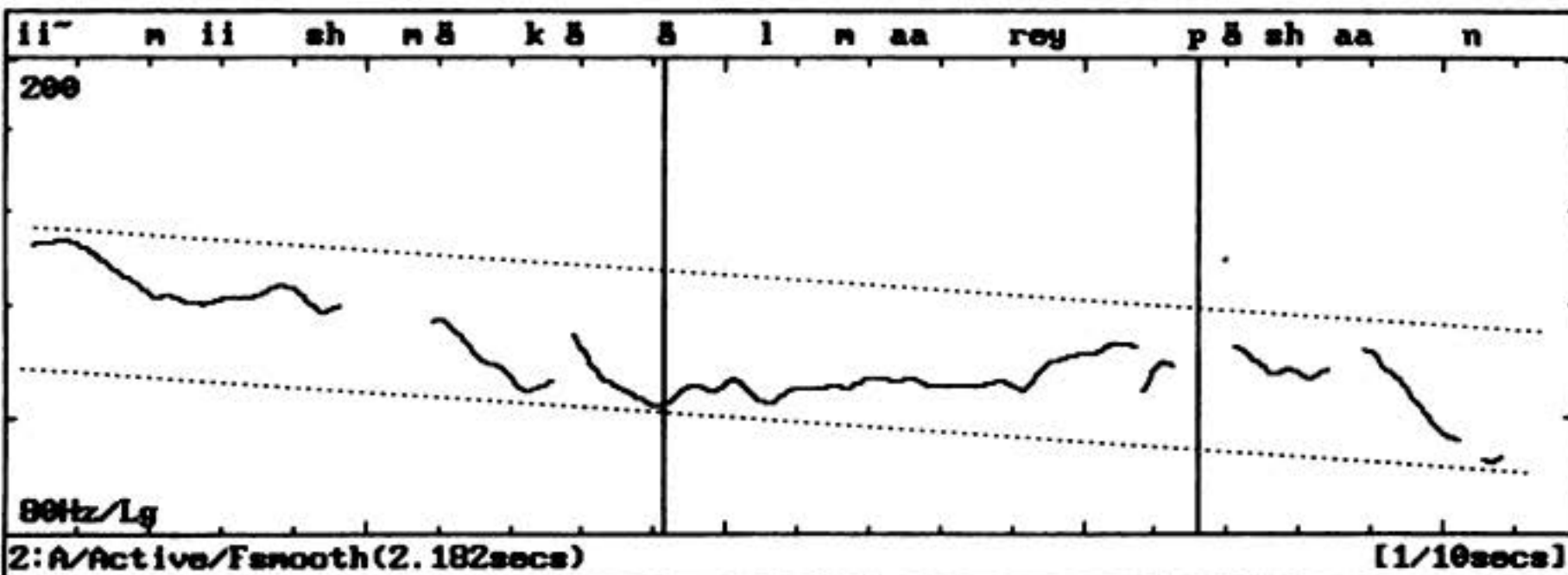


Fig. 28.16 Fundamental Frequency Graph for *älmaarey* 'Cupboard' (Low-to-High Rising Tone) in Frame D



5.3 Minimal pairs

The eighty-six-word list did not include minimal pairs for tone, but further investigation revealed that the language has many minimal pairs to illustrate contrast between the five tones that were established. In examples 1–4, minimal pairs are given for each of the ten theoretically possible contrasts.

- | | | | |
|------------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|
| (1) high level: | falling: | low level: | delayed falling: |
| <i>boor</i> 'lion' | <i>boor</i> 'lions' | <i>boor</i> 'Pathan' | <i>boor</i> 'deaf' |
| (2) high level: | falling: | rising: | |
| <i>goor</i> 'partridge' | <i>goor</i> 'partridges' | <i>goor</i> 'horse' | |
| (3) low level: | rising: | | |
| <i>bubäy</i> 'apples' | <i>bubäy</i> 'apple' | | |
| (4) rising: | delayed falling: | | |
| <i>dukaan</i> 'grave border' | <i>dukaan</i> 'shop' | | |

6. Representation

The subject of this section is how the five tones of Kalam Kohistani can be represented in a phonological analysis. I present a proposal using concepts from the theory of Autosegmental phonology, to which Goldsmith (1990) has given a good introduction.





Firstly, I assume that we need to posit no more than two distinct tonal levels for Kalam Kohistani: High versus Low. While for some languages, systems of three distinct tonal levels (High, Mid, and Low) and more have been attested (see Anderson 1978: 145), this does not seem to be the case in Kalam Kohistani. In what follows, I will use the symbol *H* to refer to the High tonal level, and the symbol *L* to refer to the Low tonal level. Phonetically, *H* normally corresponds to relatively high pitch, and *L* normally corresponds to relatively low pitch.

It is further assumed that the contour tones (the rising and falling ones) can be decomposed into sequences of level tones: a rise is a low tone followed by a high tone, and a fall is a high tone followed by a low tone. Such sequences of tones are called *melodies*. Using the symbols *H* and *L* introduced above, the combination *HL* designates a falling melody, the combination *LH* a rising melody. The term *melody* is usually extended to include level tones (*H* or *L*), when these function on a par with *HL* and *LH* as units that are associated with words or morphemes. *H* and *L* can then be said to constitute 'monotonal' melodies, and *HL* and *LH* 'bitonal' melodies. I will follow that practice in this paper.

What was called high, level tone above (5.1.1), then, can be represented in a phonological analysis as *H*. The high-to-low falling tone (5.1.2) can be represented as *HL*, the low, level tone (5.1.3) as *L*, and the low-to-high rising tone (5.1.4) as *LH*. The representation of the *delayed* falling tone will be discussed below.

Presumably each morpheme (minimal meaningful unit) of the language is associated with one of these melodies. Which melody goes with which morpheme is unpredictable (although some constraints on the association of tones and words are discussed in section 7.1), so this information has to be specified in the dictionary entry of a morpheme. However, how the tone or tones of a melody associate with the vowels within a morpheme (i.e., which vowel bears which tone) is predictable and can be accounted for by a rule.

Basically, tones associate 'from-right-to-left' in Kalam Kohistani. That is, the last tone of a melody associates with the last vowel of the morpheme, the other tone associates with the second-to-last vowel and any previous vowels (see examples 5 and 6). If a word is monosyllabic, then both tones associate with the vowel of that syllable (see ex. 7). If a melody consists of only one tone, then it associates with all the vowels of a word (see ex. 8). In examples 5–08 I illustrate these associations by drawing lines between the tones and the vowels that are associated.

- (5) lukuTor 'children'

 L H
- (6) ängusir 'finger-ring'

 H L
- (7) goor 'horse'

 L H
- (8) bire 'girl'

 H

The direction of association is significant; in many other tone languages tones and vowels associate from left to right (Goldsmith 1990: 19), pairing the first tone of a melody with the first vowel of the morpheme, and so on.

Now, the *delayed* falling tone can be represented as $H(L)$. The brackets indicate that the L does not take part in the initial association process (it is *inert*, in Goldsmith's terminology). In other words, the H is initially associated with the last vowel and any previous vowels of a word, while the L remains unassociated or 'floating.' When words are put together in a sentence, the floating L tone may associate with the first vowel of the following word, as in *bääl päshaant* 'is showing hair' (Fig. 28.10), where the first vowel of *päshaant* carries relatively low pitch, instead of its normal high pitch (seen in Fig. 28.11). The analysis is illustrated in example 9.

- (9) bääl päshaant 'is showing hair'

 H (L)

Of course, HL and H(L) consist of the same sequence of tones; the only difference is how these tones associate with the vowels of a word. It would be attractive if the analysis could collapse HL and H(L) into a single melody, and could account for the different association by means of some principle or rule. This would reduce the inventory of melodies by one, and produce a nice, symmetrical system, but at the moment I do not see how it can be done without complicating some other part of the analysis.

In my data as presently transcribed (over 2250 words with established tone), the number of occurrences of each melody are as given in example 10. It appears that the odd-behaved H(L) melody is actually the most frequent of all in this database.

- (10) H 519 L 111
 HL 578 LH 473
 H(L) 585

7. Functional Aspects of Kalam Kohistani Tone

The distribution of melodies over the Kalam Kohistani vocabulary is partly constrained by the presence or absence of *aspiration* on certain types of consonants (section 7.1). Even so, there is a fair amount of cases where words are minimally distinguished by tone alone. Also, tone is used grammatically in marking the distinction between the base form and inflected form of some nouns (section 7.2).

7.1 Aspiration and Tone

From a survey of all the monosyllabic words in my data it appears that monosyllables with an initial *aspirated voiceless consonant* (fifty-two cases) all bear an L-initial melody (i.e., L or LH melody); monosyllables with an initial *h*, too, bear an L-initial melody (eleven cases, plus one exception: *heez* H(L) 'menses'). Also, in polysyllabic words a syllable with an aspirated consonant is normally associated with L.

Monosyllables with an initial *unaspirated* voiceless consonant almost always bear an H-initial melody (214 cases); less than ten cases have an L-initial melody, for example, *xat* L 'letter.' In polysyllabic words, syllables with an initial unaspirated voiceless consonant do sometimes bear a low tone, but only when this low tone is part of an HL or LH melody; exceptions are *mooTuu* L 'now,' *tuku* L 'then.'

Syllables with an initial *voiced* consonant may bear all types of tones.

Finally, monosyllables with an initial vowel (thirty-six cases, e.g., *aC* H 'eye') all bear a high or falling melody. In polysyllabic words, vowel-initial syllables may bear other tones, too.

What is most conspicuous among these observations is that aspiration almost always co-occurs with L or LH melody, while lack of aspiration (on initial, voiceless consonants) very often co-occurs with H, HL, or H(L) melody. Consequently it is difficult to find real minimal pairs for aspiration in Kalam Kohistani: the contrast between aspirated and unaspirated consonants is almost always accompanied by a tonal contrast. How this situation arose historically should be the subject of further study.

7.2 Functional Load

7.2.1 Lexical contrasts

A search through my database of a total of over 2850 words revealed ninety-six words that are distinguished only by tone from at least one other word in the language. This is a little over 3 per cent. Examples of minimal pairs for tone were given in section 5.3.

For comparison, I conducted searches for minimal pairs involving a few other distinctive features. In these other searches, I was not able to take tonal differences between words into account, so the numbers are actually higher than they, strictly speaking, should be.

There are 343 words in my database that are minimally distinguished (ignoring tonal differences) by *vowel height* from at least one other word in the language; the feature vowel height has three values (open, mid, close) and involves contrasts between *i* and *e*, *i* and *ä*, *u* and *o*, and so on.

There are 148 words in the database that are minimally distinguished by the feature *voice* from at least one other word in the language; this involves contrasts between *p* and *b*, *t* and *d*, and so on.

There are 121 elements that are minimally distinguished by the feature *nasality* from at least one other word in the language; in this count I have included contrasts between consonants (*b* and *m*, *d* and *n*, etc.) as well as between vowels (*aa* and *aa~*, *ää* and *ää~*, etc.).

The feature tone, then, may be a little less productive in minimal distinctions between words as compared to the other three features studied. However, the count for tone is still in the same order of magnitude as that of the other three features, and it should be remembered that the counts for the other features may be inflated.

7.2.2 Grammatical use

Apart from marking lexical distinctions, that is, distinctions between different words of the language, tone is also used grammatically to mark the distinction between base form and inflected form of some nouns.

Many Kalam Kohistani nouns have two forms: the *base form* is used for the singular when no postposition follows; the *inflected form* is used for the plural as well as when a postposition follows. Often, nouns are inflected through a vowel change: *shaak* 'a piece of wood,' *shääk* 'pieces of wood.' If the base form has a melody ending in H, then often the inflected form has a melody ending in L. *shaak*, for instance, bears melody H, while *shääk* bears melody HL. There are also cases where the vowel does not change. In such cases, tone becomes the only indication of the distinction between base form and inflected form. Examples are *boor* H 'lion' versus *boor* HL 'lions,' and *bubäy* LH 'apple' versus *bubäy* L 'apples.'

8. Conclusion

In this paper I have presented evidence for the existence of five contrastive tones in Kalam Kohistani: a high tone, a low tone, a rising tone, and two types of falling tone. The two falling tones are distinct in that one involves pitch falling from relatively high to relatively low *within* the word, while the other tone involves relatively high pitch on the word itself, falling to relatively low on the first syllable of the next word.

Next, an analysis of this tone system was proposed that recognizes two tonal levels: H (High) and L (Low). In this analysis, contour tones (rising and falling tones) are seen as being composed of sequences of level tones: a falling tone is a high tone followed by a low tone (i.e. HL), and a rising tone is a low tone followed by a high tone (LH). Such sequences were called *melodies*. It was then shown that a dictionary entry only has to specify a melody for a word; how the tone or tones that make up a melody associate with the vowels of that word can be accounted for by a general rule, irrespective of the number of tones in the melody and the number of vowels in the word.

Finally, the *functional load* of Kalam Kohistani tone was discussed. Even though there is a strong correlation between aspiration and low or rising melody, there is a fair amount of cases where words are minimally distinguished by tone alone. Also, tone is used grammatically in marking the distinction between the base form and inflected form of some nouns.

While this paper hopefully throws some light on the issue of Kalam Kohistani tone, it leaves many questions unanswered. Firstly, the presentation has remained relatively informal and inexact. More can be said about how tones are phonetically implemented. The relations

between stress and tone, vowel length and tone, and syllable weight and tone were hardly touched upon in this paper.

Secondly, much more needs to be said about how neighbouring tones influence each other when morphemes and words are put together to form sentences, and about the interaction of tone and sentence intonation. There are other phenomena, too, that need to be included in a more comprehensive study of Kalam Kohistani tone. In particular, the distribution of *breathy vowels*, *vowel lengthening*, and *creaky voice* seems to be partly conditioned by tone. Much, then, remains to be done, and I hope to touch upon these subjects in another place.

Acknowledgements

The research on which this paper is based is being conducted under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, and in cooperation with the National Institute of Pakistan Studies (NIPS), Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad. The support of Dr. Ghulam Hyder Sindhi (director) and Dr Tariq Rahman (associate professor), both of NIPS, was instrumental in making this project possible. In the early stages of the project, I also benefited from the support of Dr Anjum Saleemi, then at the Department of English, Allama Iqbal Open University, Islamabad.

I am grateful to my colleagues in Islamabad for fruitful discussion of many of the findings presented in this paper, and in particular to Carla Radloff and Ron Trail for reading and commenting on an earlier version of the manuscript. Keith Snider, Ger Reesink, and Harry van der Hulst provided valuable suggestions in response to an earlier, unpublished presentation of the Kalam Kohistani tone system. The responsibility for any shortcomings in the current text, however, remains with me.

Finally, I thank my informants and many other friends in Kalam, without whose hospitality and enthusiastic support this work would not have been possible.

Appendix I

Word List (These Are the Words Tested in the Sentence Frames)

See section 3 for an explanation of the symbols; the abbreviation *v.length.* indicates that the last vowel undergoes lengthening utterance-internally.

älmaa'rey	[LH] cupboard. <i>noun, fem.</i>
ä'ngir	[H; v.length.] finger. <i>noun, fem.</i>
ä'ngaar	[H(L)] fire. <i>noun, masc.</i>
ängu'sir	[HL] finger-ring. [Note: There is utterance-final laryngealization] <i>noun, fem.</i>
aC	[H; v.length.] eye. <i>noun, fem.</i>
aa~y	[H(L)] mouth. <i>noun, fem.</i>
'bätshoor	[HL] calf. [Note: There is laryngealization utterance-finally] <i>noun, masc.</i>
bääl	[H(L)] hair. <i>noun, masc. pl.</i>
bään	[L] utensils. <i>noun, masc. pl.</i>
baag	[LH] place. <i>noun, masc.</i>
bi're	[H] daughter; girl. [Note: There may be laryngealization utterance-finally; the last vowel is lax, so I assume it is short.] <i>noun, fem.</i>
bo'Tään	[H(L)] shoes. <i>noun, masc. pl.</i>
bu'bäy	[L] apples. <i>noun, fem. pl.</i>
cä'lak	[H; v.length.] spinning wheel; sewing machine. <i>noun, masc.</i>
cä'lap	[H; v.length.] turban. <i>noun, masc.</i>
cic	[H; v.length.] breast. <i>noun, fem.</i>
Choor	[L] walnut. <i>noun, masc.</i>
där	[H; v.length.] door. <i>noun, masc.</i>

dä'rin	[LH; v.length.] land; earth; ground. [Note: There may be breathiness in the first syllable utterance-finally] <i>noun, fem.</i>
dä'tär	[LH; v.length.] fireplace. [Note: There may be breathiness in the first syllable] <i>noun, masc.</i>
dan	[H] tooth. [Note: It has laryngealization utterance-finally] <i>noun, masc.</i>
daa'waal	[H(L)] wall. <i>noun, masc.</i>
doos	[H] day. <i>noun, masc.</i>
du'kaan	[H(L)] shop. <i>noun, masc.</i>
dut	[L; v.length.] lip; edge; side. <i>noun, masc.</i>
Daag	[H(L)] back of body. <i>noun, masc.</i>
gaa	[L] grass. <i>noun, masc.</i>
'geda	[HL] donkey. <i>noun, masc.</i>
go	[H] ox; bull. <i>noun, masc.</i>
goom	[L] wheat. <i>noun, masc.</i>
goor	[LH] horse. [Note: There may be breathiness followed by laryngealization utterance-finally] <i>noun, masc.</i>
hāl	[L; v.length.] plough. <i>noun, masc.</i>
him	[LH] snow. <i>noun, fem.</i>
is	[H; v.length.] woman. <i>noun, fem.</i>
ish'po	[H] sister. [Note: The last vowel is lax so I assume it is short] <i>noun, fem.</i>
jää	[LH] brother. [Note: There may be breathiness followed by laryngealization utterance-finally] <i>noun, masc.</i>
jo'aar	[H] maize. <i>noun, fem.</i>
kaar	[H(L)] work. <i>noun, masc.</i>
kaas	[HL] large bowl. <i>noun, masc.</i>
ke'Too	[H(L)] cattle. <i>noun, masc.</i>
ko'cer	[H(L)] clothing; dress. <i>noun, masc.</i>
ku'cur	[H(L)] male dog. <i>noun, masc.</i>
ku'kur	[H(L)] rooster; chicken. <i>noun, masc.</i>
kur'si	[H] chair. <i>noun, fem.</i>
kuT	[H; v.length.] knee; angle. <i>noun, masc.</i>
kheer	[LH] field. [Note: There may be utterance-final laryngealization] <i>noun, fem.</i>
laam	[H(L)] village. <i>noun, masc.</i>
laa'Ten	[LH] kerosene lamp. <i>noun, fem.</i>
luku'Tor	[LH] children. <i>noun, masc. pl.</i>
'mänuC	[HL] men. <i>noun, masc. pl.</i>
maan	[H(L)] skin bag or tyre; raft floating on skins. <i>noun, masc.</i>
miish	[H(L)] man. <i>noun, masc.</i>
'mulan	[HL; v.length.] mullah. <i>noun, masc.</i>
muk	[H; v.length.] face. <i>noun, masc.</i>
nän	[H; v.length.] river. <i>noun, fem.</i>
nä'zoor	[H(L)] nose. <i>noun, masc.</i>
nak	[H; v.length.] fingernail. <i>noun, masc.</i>
'päären	[HL] shirt. <i>noun, fem.</i>
pall	[H; v.length.] leaf. <i>noun, masc.</i>
pan	[H] path. <i>noun, fem.</i>
poo	[HL] son; boy. <i>noun, masc.</i>
pha'kol	[LH] Chitralli cap. <i>noun, masc.</i>
säb'zii	[LH] vegetable. <i>noun, fem.</i>
sa	[H] bridge. <i>noun, fem.</i>
su'nuq	[H; v.length.] box. <i>noun, masc.</i>
su'raay	[H(L)] a kind of water jug. <i>noun, fem.</i>
shä'la	[H] wood. <i>noun, masc.</i>
shään	[H(L)] stretcher; charpai. <i>noun, masc.</i>
shaak	[H] wood; stick. <i>noun, masc.</i>
shi'leT	[H; v.length.] ladder; stairs. <i>noun, fem.</i>
shiT	[H; v.length.] village house. <i>noun, fem.</i>
tä'bi	[H] tool used for making bread. <i>noun, fem.</i>

tā'lun	[H; v.length.] rice. <i>noun, fem.</i>
tam	[H; v.length.] tree. <i>noun, masc.</i>
taa	[HL] woollen wrap. <i>noun, masc.</i>
thoos	[L] head; forehead. <i>noun, masc.</i>
thun	[LH] pillar; post. <i>noun, fem.</i>
tša'Rak	[H; v.length.] road. <i>noun, masc.</i>
Tep	[HL] cap. <i>noun, fem.</i>
Tik	[H; v.length.] button; ring. <i>noun, masc.</i>
Thong	[LH] axe. <i>noun, masc.</i>
u'mär	[H(L)] age. <i>noun, fem.</i>
uu	[H(L)] water. <i>noun, masc.</i>
uuT	[H(L)] camel. <i>noun, masc.</i>
xä'läq	[L] people. <i>noun, masc.</i>
yal	[H] mill. [<i>Note: There may be utterance-final laryngealization</i>] <i>noun, masc.</i>

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THE MIRROR OF WRITING

*Ruth Laila Schmidt and Razwal Kohistani**

Introduction

In January of 1994 Razwal Kohistani and I set out to devise a scientifically designed and tested writing system for the Shina of Kohistan District, using Arabic orthography. We then used the writing system to produce a fifty-seven-page primer which teaches literacy along with the basic principles of environmental awareness. Production of the primer was sponsored by the Himalayan Jungle Project of Birdlife International, which will use it to promote environmental awareness in the Palas valley, Kohistan District, in its integrated development activities.

Insofar as was practical, we intended that our writing system accurately represent the contrastive sounds, or phonemes, of Kohistani Shina. We were aware that a writing system which is to be used for everyday purposes cannot be completely phonemic, because once the spellings of individual words are fixed, then for pedagogical reasons, they should be preserved as far as possible.¹ We did, however, expect to find a means of showing the basic consonant and vowel phonemes of the language, as well as its contrastive tones.

The Sound System of Kohistani Shina

The taxonomic phonemes of Kohistani Shina have been analysed by Schmidt and Zarin (1981). A revised overview of this analysis is shown as Table 29.1. We still consider it to be correct in most respects, except for the treatment of the tones. The rising-falling tone identified in that paper is not a separate phoneme, but an allophonic variation of the falling tone. The phonetic description of the rising tone also needs to be revised. Although we continue to call it a 'rising tone' because it corresponds to the rising tone in other dialects of Shina, in most environments it does not rise. Phonetically, a vowel with a 'rising tone' in Kohistani Shina is a long vowel with a medium-high pitch which does not fall, whereas a vowel with a falling tone is a long vowel which starts on a high pitch and falls.

We have also made some minor changes in the definitions of certain phonemes. In this category it is important only to note that the very short or devoiced final vowels *-i*, *-u*, and *-o* can be more economically described as palatalization or labialization.

* Respectively: Dept of East-European and Oriental Studies, University of Oslo, Blindern, Norway, and Himalayan Jungle Project.

Table 29.1 Sound System of the Shina of Palas Kohistan (Roman)

Vowels		Front	Central		Back	
High		/ i			u	
Mid		e			o	
Low		æ	a /			
Diphthongal Glides						
Consonants		/y			w/	
	Labial	Dental	Alveolar & Palatoalveolar	Retracted	Velar & Postvelar	Glottal
Stops	/ p b	t d		ʈ ɖ	k g q	
Fricatives		(f)	ṣ sz	ʂ ʐ	x g̱	h
Affricates		ts	c j	ɕ		
Nasals	m	n		ɳ	ŋ	
Laterals	l	r		ɽ /		
Aspiration	/ h /, occurs with / p b t d t̪ d̪ k g ts c j ç n m l r /					

Suprasegmentals

- / ˈ / Syllable stress
- / : / Vowel length, occurs with all vowels
- / ~ / Nasalization, occurs with all vowels
- / ˊ / Rising tone, occurs with / i: e: a: u: o: /
- / ˋ / Falling tone, occurs with / i: e: a: u: o: /

The Arabic Orthography

The Arabic writing system, or orthography, differs from the Roman one in one important respect. In Roman orthography, both consonants and vowels are represented sequentially in horizontally arranged characters (segmental characters). In Arabic orthography, consonants and semivowels are represented segmentally, but short vowels are added by three signs written above or below the line.² Long vowels can be represented (to a certain extent) by | *alif*, and the semivowels < ye: and < wa:w. Initial vowels must be shown by the Arabic character for a glottal stop, | *alif*, plus the appropriate vowel sign.

Many consonant characters have identical segmental shapes and are distinguished by dots or groups of dots written above or below the line. In effect, for Urdu at least, the Arabic writing system is a syllabary rather than an alphabetical writing system. Short vowels are usually not written unless they are necessary for the recognition of words.

Unless it is modified, Arabic orthography affords fewer possibilities than the Roman one for representing short and long vowel contrasts, or for distinguishing the short mid vowels *e* and *o* from the short high vowels *i* and *u*. Vowel glides such as *ai*, *a:e*, *au*, *a:o*, *ei*, *e:i*, *oe*, *o:e* present even greater challenges, as most of them must be represented by some combination of vowel marks plus suprasegmental *hamza* (ʾ).

Theoretically it is no more difficult to show syllable stress and tone in Arabic orthography than in the Roman one, as in both cases it is a matter of adding appropriate symbols above the line. However, in the case of the Arabic writing system, the space above the segmental character is often occupied by vowel signs and/or dots or other symbols which are necessary to distinguish the consonant characters. If additional suprasegmental characters are crowded into this space, the word becomes difficult both to print clearly and to read (However, the *naskh* variant offers more space than *nastaliq*).

Adaptation of the Arabic Orthography for Shina

Scholars of Shina have been working for almost thirty years to establish a writing system for Shina. The first was Namus (1961), who published a detailed description of the Shina language. Namus's work was continued by Al-Nasir-Chilasi, Zia (1978, 1986), and Taj (1989). There have been substantial differences of opinion among these scholars about whether it is more important to represent the tones and differences in vowel length, or whether the writing system should be kept as simple and uncluttered as possible. As a result, there are considerable differences among the various systems. To date, none of them has gained general acceptance as a written medium for Shina.

Rather than modifying an existing orthography, or trying to duplicate a Roman character phonemic analysis of Shina in an Arabic-based orthography, we wanted to discover afresh which sounds are most essential to represent in Arabic characters. We, therefore, started our own work by comparing minimal pairs or minimally contrasting sets of words.

As a practical consideration, we decided not to represent syllable stress in our orthography, in order to leave space for writing short vowels and tones, as well as for the symbols needed to distinguish the consonants. However, this decision had unforeseen consequences, because in Shina syllable stress affects vowel length. Short vowels which receive stress are lengthened to medium. If a stressed long vowel loses its stress, it becomes short. (This happens when a stressed suffix is added to a root with a long vowel, which may be seen in the example given in note 1: *bà:l*, 'child'; *ba'li*, 'children'.)

Length is also affected by tone. Phonetically, the longest vowels are those which occur with the rising tone. Those which occur with the falling tone are not quite so long. Vowels which we would like to consider 'long' for lexical reasons, but which receive neither tone, are actually medium-long. This is seen in the infinitive suffix *-o:n*. (In other dialects of Shina, the infinitive suffix occurs with a rising or low rising tone, but we have found only one occurrence of this: *da'hó:n*, 'to burn'.)

Working with sets of minimal pairs, we set out to express vowel length contrasts without recourse to syllable stress as a predictor. When syllable stress was ignored, it was necessary to express the phonetic vowel length in terms of a three-way contrast:

Short: Medium: Long

If final palatalization and labialization are analysed as vowels (indeed, in the dialect of Gilgit, they *are* vowels) then a fourth term must be added: extra short/devoiced. Thus, after all our labours, we discovered that by performing taxonomic phonemic analysis in the Arabic writing system, we had re-invented the traditional analysis of Shina vowels by its own scholars, which ignores both stress and tone and treats everything as length: LIGHT (خفيف): SHORT (كوتاه): STANDARD (معياري): LONG (طويل)

In this analysis, vowel length predicts syllable stress (in most environments) as well as the occurrence of one or the other of the two tones (it does not predict which tone will occur). It was a pragmatic choice to adopt the traditional vowel taxonomy for our writing system however, we still needed different symbols to elaborate the term 'long' into rising-long and falling-long. We decided to use *ulta: wa:w* (؎) and *khari: zabar* (؎), a system which is similar (though not identical) to the representation of these tones by Zia (1986). The resulting five way contrast can be represented in the Arabic writing system if *alif*, *ye:* and *wa:w* are modified to show them (see Table 29.2).

It is in the treatment of stress, length, and tone that we see the most striking difference between the two analyses. The inventory of consonant characters is identical in both analyses. The basic inventory of vowel phonemes is almost the same, except that *æ* must be treated as a glide in our orthography; and final unstressed *-u* and *-o* are not distinguished.³

It is important to observe that both of these phonemic solutions are valid. This is not a case where one analysis must be wrong if the other one is correct. Rather, it is an instance of the phenomenon of the non-uniqueness of phonemic solutions. It is possible to use length to predict stress and the occurrence of tone, and this approach is more appropriate to the consonant-rich Arabic orthography. Representation of a twoway length contrast in Arabic characters can be forced, but is inconvenient to read and write, and aesthetically unsatisfactory.

In the vowel-rich Roman orthography, it is easier to represent a three-way tone contrast, with tone predicting the occurrence of long vowels; in this way only two degrees of length (long and short) need be distinguished. Roman orthography can nevertheless accommodate an analysis of a threeway length contrast. The usual argument against doing it that way is not that it is incorrect, but that stress and tone *can* be used to predict length, and that the analysis becomes more powerful if they are taken into account.

Arguments have also been made concerning the relative merits of both orthographies for representing speech sounds. Some writing systems are held to be more scientific than others. But even the International Phonetic Alphabet, which was designed expressly to represent speech sounds, is no more than a writing system; and because it is alphabetic rather than syllabic, it provides a perspective from which it is most natural to perceive phonetic data as a string of individual sounds which should be identified in a horizontal sequence.

Implications for Comparative Study of Regional Languages

Features such as vowel length contrasts, syllable stress, and lexical tone are taken into consideration in typological language mapping. The occurrence of tone, for example, is a linguistic isogloss that groups Shina with Khowar, Burushaski, Kalam Kohistani, and Punjabi.

Table 29.2 Sound System of the Shina of Palas Kohistan (Arabic)

Vowels					
Short	ـَ		ـِ		
Standard	ی	ے	ا	و	ُ
Long (falling)	ئِ	مِے	اِ	وِ	وِ
Long (rising)	ئِ	مِے	اِ	وِ	وِ
Light	ی	ـَ	ـِ	ـِ	و
Glides	یے	ئِ	ائِ	وِ	اِ

Consonants چ ج چ خ ب پ د ت ڈ ٹ ق ک گ
 نگ ن م ف ش س ر لا غ خ
 ز ر ل

Aspiration ہ پھ تھ ڈھ دھ ڈھ جھ چھ ٹھ کھ گھ لھ مھ نھ

Nasalization, occurs with all vowels ن ب

Falling tone, occurs with / i: e: a: u: o: / ا

Rising tone, occurs with / i: e: a: u: o: / اِ

But what is tone in Shina? Can it be observed and analysed independently from vowel length? Can length contrasts be isolated from syllable stress and tone? For reliable evidence, we must return to our sets of minimal pairs. These attest to the contrasts between:

1. long vowels with falling tones and long vowels with rising tones;
2. medium-long vowels (with level tones) and long vowels (with falling or rising tones);
3. short vowels and medium-long vowels;
4. stressed and unstressed syllables.

The minimal pairs demonstrate that tone, length, and stress are phonemic, but they do not tell us which has primacy over the others. That conclusion would be the result of an analysis, which would of necessity be performed through the medium of a particular orthography. It is the argument of this paper that the orthography we use influences the way we construe speech sounds.

Thus, we are on firm ground only when we observe that Shina has phonemic tone, length, and stress. If we try to go beyond that, and say that Shina has a threeway tone contrast, or a three-way length contrast, the typological statement itself loses some of its power.

The reason for this is that, except when we are dealing with minimal pairs, we do not perceive speech sounds directly. We can only observe them through the mirror of writing.

NOTES

1. The stems of Shina nouns often have a variant form before the plural suffix. In some cases it is necessary to represent this stem variation: *pon* (پُون), 'road,' *podī* (پودی), 'roads.' But in other cases the word would become difficult to recognize, for example, *bà:l* (بال), 'child'; *ba'li* (بالی), 'children.' We felt that in the latter case the *alif* should be preserved, and so we write *ba'li* as (بلی) (with *alif* but without the falling tone).
2. The Arabic vowels correspond roughly to the concept of suprasegmentals in Western linguistics. Suprasegmentals, in roman phonological notation, are marks added to the roman alphabet to show syllable stress, nasalization, aspiration, retroflexion, palatalization, tone, and other qualities of vowels, consonants, or syllables. These marks are usually added above the horizontally arranged characters, from which we get the term 'suprasegmental.'
3. These need not be distinguished in the Roman analysis either, if both are treated as labialization.

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SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE VARIATION IN THE PRONUNCIATION OF KALASHAMON AS SPOKEN INSIDE AND OUTSIDE PRESENT- DAY KALASHA SOCIETY

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Introduction

In this study we shall deal with two aspects of Kalashamon: 1) observations on the pronunciation of single words that cannot be explained in terms of a geographical division, and 2) observations on some of the dialects of Kalashamon.¹

We have observed that pronunciation differences exist even in the dialect of the northern most valleys, Ramboor and Bumboret. We can describe this variation phonetically but it is difficult to explain the reasons for the variation. In the first place we could only relate it to the speaker's sex, but after having collected more data we also see it in relation to the speaker's degree of contact with strangers.

In the paragraph dealing with the dialectal variations in the pronunciation of single words we present material from some of those places outside of the present-day Kalasha society mentioned in the 1991 articles by the Italian anthropologists Alberto and Augusto Cacopardo. Word samples from these localities are valuable as they represent the speech of people above 50 years of age. These people are the last ones who speak (and even remember) Kalashamon in those places, and as they have not spoken the language for thirty years or more, their way of pronunciation is thus a relatively old one. In consideration of the age of these people and because the dialects are dying with them, an early extension of the collection of word samples from these former Kalasha societies is very important if we shall ever have a clear picture of the spread of Kalashamon in former times.

In each of the three paragraphs that deals with these aspects of the language we include a brief survey of the literature on Kalashamon that focuses on them.

After the presentation of the observations we sum up and make tentative conclusions regarding the ways in which our observations can enrich the knowledge of the sound system and the dialectal variation of Kalashamon already gained by previous research. But first we will make some comments on the nature of our material, and on the way that we have been working during our fieldwork.

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The Method and the Informants

The method used in the first part of our fieldwork was not an ideal one. The informants, usually two persons at a time, were picked up by our guide² and our driver and brought to a suitable place. There they were met by us, and together we went through a word list consisting of sixty-to eighty isolated words, chosen randomly. Luckily, the informants all reacted positively and they accepted the very awkward situation, which included tape- and video recordings, with great calmness. It is, however, important to keep in mind that our data elicited this way by total strangers does not represent natural speech.

In spite of its obvious disadvantages we chose this method because of the intention to cover as many dialects as possible during Professor Rischel's stay in the area.

In the second part of our fieldwork we did not work as intensively with word lists. We concentrated on learning the language and thereby collecting material in more natural situations.

The dialects we investigated are those spoken in Ramboor, Bumboret, Birir, Jinjeret Kuh, Suwir, Urtsun, Lawi, and Birga. In Ramboor and Bumboret we worked with several informants of each sex. The Birir and Suwir data represents the speech of both male and female informants, the rest of the data represents the speech of male informants only.

In Ramboor, Bumboret, Birir, Jinjeret Kuh, and Urtsun people speak Kalashamon in their daily life. According to our informants they stopped using Kalashamon thirty-five to fifty years ago in Suwir, Lawi, and Birga, and now only occasionally speak it for amusement. In these places Khowar has taken over as the main language presumably because of cultural and religious pressure.

Concerning the number of speakers, we had the following figures from our informants: in Suwir only five to eight old people still remember the language, in Lawi approximately 100 people still know the language, and in Birga around twenty to twenty-five people remember some Kalashamon, mostly single words. It should be mentioned that our two male informants from Birga had difficulties in remembering some of the words and were unable to make a conversation with each other in Kalashamon. The fact that the people from these places do not use Kalashamon as their everyday speech must be taken into consideration when analysing the data.

The Transcription

The transcription does not reflect a detailed phonemic analysis but should be read as a simplified phonetic transcription. In particular, the question of the phonemic status of the quality of some of the dialects' a-vowels and the question of vowel length are problems that we cannot give a clear picture of at the moment and, therefore, they will not be discussed further in this work.

The following is a short pronunciation guide to the symbols used. *j* and *c* are voiced and unvoiced alveopalatal affricates, respectively, pronounced approximately like the first sound in the English *juice*. *ž* and *š* are voiced and unvoiced alveopalatal sibilants, respectively, the unvoiced pronounced approximately like English *sh* in *ship*. *dh* is a voiced aspirated stop consonant. A capitalized letter *U* represents a retroflexed sound *u*, made by bending back the tip of the tongue while pronouncing a *u*. Likewise *R*, *S*, and *T* are retroflexed consonants pronounced by bending back the tip of the tongue to touch the palate further back. *_* means that the following syllable is stressed. *:* and *˜* mean vowel length and nasalized vowel respectively. *l* is the dental *l*-phoneme contrasting with the supradental *l̥*.

Variation in Kalashamon

Variation Conditioned by Non-geographical Factors

In sociolinguistics it is customary to distinguish between sociolinguistic variation and free variation. Sociolinguistic variation is defined 'as one which is correlated with some non-linguistic variable of the social context: of the speaker, the addressee, the audience, the setting etc' (Labov 1972: 237). Furthermore, outer conditions that are socio-economic or ethnic or concerned with age group must not be disregarded when trying to explain linguistic variations among speakers of the same dialect.

Free variation is defined as variation distinguished by the absence of linguistic conditioning and a lack of meaning difference that correlates with variant choice.

Besides sociolinguistic and free variation there is also linguistic-conditioned variation. The conditioning factor could be a neighbouring sound as when an *a* sounds more 'dark' after a *k* than after a *c*.

In the northern Kalashamon dialect we find variation seemingly random.

The first variation feature to be considered is a throat feature, a so-called glottal stop (marked with ') pronounced just before or simultaneously with a final-stop consonant and here written before the consonant. In the first place it looks as if women have this feature while men do not, as examples 1–5 show.

<i>Women</i>			<i>Men</i>	
1. 'tongue'	ji'p	(w1, w2)	jip	(m1, m2, m3, m4)
2. 'eye'	e'c	(w1, w2, w3)	ec	(m1, m2, m3, m4)
3. 'cow'	ga'k	(w1, w2, w3)	gak	(m1, m2, m3, m4)
4. 'donkey'	ga'rdo'k	(w1, w2, w3)	gar'dok	(m1, m2, m3, m4)
5. 'moon'	Ma'stru'k	(w1, w2)	ma'struk	(m1, m2)

We do not have w3's pronunciation of examples 1 and 5. The same is the case concerning m3 and m4 with regard to example 5. The parentheses in example 1 *ji'p* shows that one of the informants (w2) does not make the glottal stop consistently in all our notations of that word. Furthermore, we must make a note about example 3 where m2 has a somewhat different voice quality on the vowel (creaky voice—a throat feature related to glottal stop).

The following examples give a more complicated picture.

6. 'water'	u'k	(w1, w2, w3, m2, m4) ³	uk	(m3, m1)
7. 'man'	mo'c	(w1, w3)	moc	(w2, m1, m2, m3)
8. 'fly'	Manga 'zi'k	(w2)	Manga 'zik	(w1, w3, m1–m4)

In example 6 all three women have the glottal stop but so do two of the men, and two of the men do not have it. In example 7 we see a new situation where two of the women have the glottal stop and one does not. In example 8 the distribution among the women is the reverse.

In the word for 'cup', *kop*, where the contextual conditions for ' are present the pronunciation with ' is variable even among the female informants.

Examples 1–8 show the unclear situation of the distribution of '. The other differentiating feature is a slight diphthongization of the *e*-vowel here written *ea* even though the

diphthongization can be more or less prominent. We have two examples where the distribution seemingly agrees with the sex of the speaker.

		Women		Men	
9.	'mountain'	'dheata	(w1, w2, w3) ⁴	'deta' ⁵	(m1, m2)
10.	'table'	meas	(w1, w2)	mes	(m1, m2)

And then again we have a less convincing distribution in examples 11 and 12.

		Women		Men	Men	
11.	'one'	ea'k	(w1, w2, w3)	ek	(m3)	eak (m4, y1, y2) ⁶
12.	'jaw'	'kal-ea'k	(w1) ⁷	'kalek	(m1, m2)	'kaleak (m4, y1, y2)

The two young men have variant pronunciations of example 12 'kalek, especially in fast speech. Finally, we have in example 13 a word in which all the informants have the diphthongization.

13. 'eyelashes' ec' phealuk

The variation is thus not unambiguously related to the speaker's sex, but still there is a stronger tendency towards female informants having the variant features than male informants.

The male informant that constitutes the exceptions most often is m4, who is an elderly gentleman that speaks Kalashamon and Khowar, but neither English nor much Urdu. These characteristics concerning foreign languages are shared by the female informants and the two young men y1 and y2, who often have a pronunciation similar to the women. To use knowledge of foreign languages as a sociolinguistic relevant variable may seem even more convincing when we add that the three male informants that most often do not have the glottal stop and e-diphthongization are between 25 and 35 years of age and are employed in professions that require good knowledge of foreign languages (especially Urdu and English).

The overall tendency to a sociolinguistic variation still leaves space for individual variation. This more subtle variation by single speakers may be due to stylistic or emphatic variation. It could also be due to natural variation in a non-written language.

Dialectal Variation in Kalashamon

The question of the dialectal division of Kalashamon is most intensively dealt with by Morgenstierne (1973) and in the 1991 articles by Alberto and Augusto Cacopardo. The American linguist R. Trail has also made some studies of lexical correspondences between Kalashamon as spoken in Bumboret and as spoken in Urtsun. These studies are the primary basis for the distinction in *Languages of Chitral* (Decker 1992), where a northern and a southern variety of Kalashamon are recognized (Decker 1992: 104–5). The northern variety is spoken in Bumboret and in Birir and the southern variety is spoken in Urtsun. The division is based on phonetic similarity of certain lexical items and on the opinions of the investigators' informants about the varieties of Kalashamon in the different places. For example, it is mentioned that the variety spoken in Urtsun is identical with that spoken in Suwir, but not with that spoken in Kalkatak.

Morgenstierne (1932, 1973) has grouped Ramboor and Bumboret together because of 'apparently no, or only slight difference' (1973: 187) between the language in these two valleys. Birir is also included in the dialect group with Ramboor and Bumboret because 'the limited material at my disposal does not point to any important isoglosses' (1973: 187). Because of limited space we shall not discuss the linguistic arguments behind this grouping, but only shortly mention those of Morgenstierne's observations that are relevant for the observations presented in this paper.

Forming a southern dialect we have the Urtsun dialect where 'Ancient *a* and *a:* are kept apart before a nasal' (1973: 188). We are also informed (1973: 190–238) that words that have an *a* between vowels in Ramboor and Bumboret have an -R- in Birir, and that several words with a long vowel in Birir and Urtsun have a short vowel in Ramboor and Bumboret.

The instances of each of these differences are few, however, and the fact that the words from Kalkatak, Suwir, and Lawi are not taken down by Morgenstierne, but by Mr Wazir Ali Shah in another method of transcription should also be taken into consideration.

In their 1991 articles Alberto and Augusto Cacopardo challenge Morgenstierne's division of the Kalashamon dialects. They claim that there are four dialects of Kalashamon: two varieties of a northern group, where Ramboor, Bumboret, and Birga form one variety, and Birir and Jinjeret another, a southern dialect formed by Urtsun alone, and an eastern group consisting of the villages Kalkatak, Suwir, Lawi, Uzurbekande, and Gromel (a part of Drosh) (Alb. Cacopardo 1991: 279–82).

In contrast to Morgenstierne, Alberto and Augusto Cacopardo speak (the Ramboor/Bumboret variety of) Kalashamon themselves, and their division of the dialects are based on the comparison of their informants' pronunciation with their own, on the answers to their questions on mutual intelligibility between the dialects, and, though not exemplified in the articles, by comparison with their informants' pronunciations with that given by Morgenstierne (1973).

Below we go through some examples of dialectal divisions of Kalashamon. Each example will be followed by brief comments and at the end of the chapter we sum up and relate our findings to those of Morgenstierne and the Cacopardos.

The first dialect feature we shall look at is the variation between *a* and *o* before a nasal consonant (N). This feature has also been noticed by Morgenstierne (1973: 202) as separating the (southern) dialect of Urtsun from the (northern) dialects of Ramboor/Bumboret, and Birir.

14.	'water mill'	15.	'work'
Ramboor/Bumboret, Birir	žontr		krom
Jinjeret, Birga	žōtr		krom (not Jinjeret)
Urtsun	žantr/žātr		kram
Suwir, Lawi	ža:ntr/žā:tr		kram

Ramboor/Bumboret, Birir, Jinjeret, and Birga go together in having -*oN*- or *ō*. And Urtsun, Suwir, and Lawi group together in having -*a*-, -*ā*- or -*aN*-. The variation between a nasalized vowel and an oral vowel followed by a nasal consonant will be ignored here.

Consider now examples 16 and 17:

16.	'to bring'	17.	'village'
Ramboor/Bumboret, Birir	žonik	Ramboor/Bumboret,	
Lawi, Birga	žo:ne/žo:ni	Birir, Urtsun, Suwir	grom
Urtsun, Suwir	ža:ne	Lawi	gram

In example 16 Lawi also has an *o* before a nasal consonant, as opposed to Urtsun and Suwir with an *a* in that position. In example 17 it is Lawi that has the *a*-variant as opposed to the other areas.

In the next example we see the pattern from examples 14 and 15 with Ramboor/Bumboret, Birir, Jinjeret, and Birga going together, this time with the *a*-variant though, and it is now Urtsun, Suwir, and Lawi that have the *o*-variant:

18.	'house'
Birir, Jinjeret, Birga	han
Ramboor/Bumboret	jeSTakhan ⁸ 'the village temple'
Urtsun, Suwir, Lawi	ond

Examples 14–16 point to a dialectal division that includes Ramboor/Bumboret, Birir, Jinjeret, and Birga in one dialect group and Suwir and Urtsun in another, with Lawi standing in between, sharing forms with both of them. But examples 17 and 18 give rise to some confusion. Example 17 has Lawi alone in a group with the *a*-variant, and in example 18 we have the grouping from example 14, but this time with the *a*-variant in the northern dialect area, and the *o*-variant in the southern dialect area.

Our observations regarding this feature supports only partially the statement made by Morgenstierne (1973: 187–88) about a northern and a southern dialectal division of Kalashamon. And since we have word forms with *-oN-* in Urtsun and Suwir and with *-aN-* in the north, we must say that the distinction between *-aN-* and *-oN-* dialects must be investigated further.

The next dialect feature we shall consider is that distinguishing dialects with a retroflex vowel from those lacking that vowel feature and instead having an *R* and/or a plain vowel. In examples 19 and 20 we have two words which in the Ramboor/Bumboret and Urtsun dialects are differentiated only by the first vowel but which in some of the other southern dialects show some peculiarities:

19.	'(wooden or metal) pot'	20.	'plait'
Ramboor/Bumboret	'khUi	Ramboor/Bumboret,	
Urtsun	'khOi	Urtsun	'cUi
Birir, Jinjeret, Birga	'khu:Ri	Birir, Jinjeret	'cu:Ri
Suwir	'kho:Ri	Suwir	cau'ri:k
Lawi	'khei	Lawi, Birga	'cu:l

In both words Ramboor/Bumboret and Urtsun group together with a retroflex vowel, and Birir and Jinjeret group together with a retroflex *R*. In the word for '(wooden or metal) pot' Birir and Jinjeret are joined by Birga and Suwir. In the Lawi variety of these two words there is no trace of either the feature of retroflexion or the *r*-sound. Instead, Lawi, together with Birga, shows a word form with a final *l* in the word for 'plait.' Suwir has a fourth variety of the same word.

These examples showing a correspondence between *R* in Birir and Jinjeret and a retroflex vowel in Ramboor/Bumboret support Morgenstierne's findings (Morgenstierne writes '—' where we hear a retroflex vowel). But the examples do not support the statements about the overall division of the dialects. In example 19 we have five different word forms and in example 20 we have four. And neither of these groupings are in concordance with the statements put forward by the Cacopardos or by Morgenstierne.

Concerning the difference in the vowel height in example 19 it is noticeable that Urtsun groups with Suwir and Lawi, and that Birga groups with Ramboor/Bumboret, Birir, and Jinjeret. The latter grouping supports the suggestion made by the Cacopardos, but the former merges the Cacopardos' eastern and southern dialects.

The Birir and Jinjeret variety do also have retroflex vowels. Consider examples 21 and 22:

21.	'ear'	22.	'throat'
Ramboor/Bumboret,		Ramboor/Bumboret,	
Birir, Jinjeret,	k ^h ō	Birir, Jinjeret,	
Urtsun, Suwir	k ^h ā	Urtsun, Suwir	gA
Lawi, Birga	ka''uk	Lawi, Birga	ga'uk

In both examples we have a large group with a retroflex vowel. The group consisting of Lawi and Birga do not show any trace of either the feature of retroflexion or, concerning example 21, the feature of nasalization. In example 21 we also have a difference concerning the vowel qualities, besides another pattern of the *a-o*-contrast from examples 14–16 with the nasalized vowel showing the trace of the historical *-aN* element.

The divisions in these two last examples are threefold: Ramboor/Bumboret, Birir, and Jinjeret in one group, Suwir and Urtsun in another, and Lawi and Birga forming a third group.

Summing up on these observations, we can make only a few generalizations. Ramboor and Bumboret word forms are almost identical, making the speech of these two valleys one dialect. Birir and Jinjeret Kuh also have almost identical word forms which make these valleys a homogeneous dialect area, supporting the observation made by the Cacopardos (Alb. Cacopardo 1991: 281). Sometimes Birir and Jinjeret Kuh group together with Ramboor and Bumboret and sometimes they do not. Owing to our limited material we are not in a position to say whether Birir and Jinjeret Kuh are distinguished from the Ramboor/Bumboret dialect area by 'any important isoglosses' (Morgenstierne 1973: 187) other than the one exemplified in examples 19 and 20, nor whether these two groups are varieties of a larger (northern) group, as is claimed by both Morgenstierne and the Cacopardos.

Our observations also prevent us from concluding that Birga unambiguously belongs to the same dialect group as Ramboor/Bumboret, as some word forms from that locality are identical to those from Birir and Jinjeret, and some to those from Lawi. Because of the geographical distance, however, it is remarkable that Birga sometimes can be grouped with Ramboor/Bumboret, Birir, and Jinjeret.

If the speech of Lawi and Suwir should make up one dialect area, as suggested by the Cacopardos, our observations show that this is a heterogeneous dialect area. The same conclusion must be drawn if we, as Morgenstierne suggested, regard Urtsun and Suwir as one dialect area. Our data rather suggests that the speech of each of the localities, Urtsun, Suwir, Lawi, and Birga, should be looked upon as having its own special features.

More research is needed in these areas, though, and of course also in Kalkatak, Uzurbekande, and Gromel, before we consider it safe to suggest any conclusive divisions and subdivisions of the dialects of Kalashamon. In that respect it is also important to consider to what extent each dialect has been influenced by the surrounding languages and thereby has become perhaps more distinct from the other dialects.

Finally, but not least, it is wise to supply the linguistic findings with the results obtained by the research done by geographers, historians, and anthropologists. When the findings of

these fields of research are combined with the linguistic findings we will know a great deal more about the history of the Kalasha language and of Chitral.

Conclusion

These were some of the observations we made during a two month field trip. In our opinion only one conclusion can be drawn, namely, that these observations urge further investigation of Kalashamon, regarding the structure of the sound systems of each of the dialects, and regarding the position of the dialects to each other. Only more fieldwork and larger corpuses of linguistic data will give us more insight into these exciting areas of language study.

NOTES

1. The observations on the pronunciation of Kalashamon that we shall present in this paper have been made during two months of fieldwork in the district of Chitral, in July August 1995. The fieldwork was supported by His Royal Highness Crown Prince Frederik's Fund, by the Danish Research Council of Humanities, and by Det lange Udvalg, DANIDA. We are, of course, grateful for their support.

In the first two-and-a-half weeks the fieldwork was carried out in close cooperation with Professor Jørgen Rischel, Department of General and Applied Linguistics, University of Copenhagen. In the rest of the period the fieldwork was carried out by us authors alone. Some of the observations presented in this paper were made during the cooperation with Professor Rischel. We thank Professor Rischel for also having commented on earlier versions of this paper, but he is of course in no way responsible for the way that we have chosen to present the material, nor for our interpretations.

2. During the two months school teacher Mr Engineer Khan, Batthet, Ramboor, worked very closely with all of us. Without his help in guiding, translating, and arranging we would not have accomplished half of what we have done.
3. For informant M4 we used another word ('head lice' ju'k) due to lack of documentation on the word 'water'.
4. All three women have a variant pronunciation of this word: 'dheta.
5. The variation *d* vs *dh* is not an issue here, but indicates the same tendencies as the other features regarding contact with foreigners and foreign languages. See the following.
6. Y means young male informant.
7. Unfortunately we do not have this word documented with W2 and W3 but in similar contexts they have the diphthongization too, for example 'chair' 'hanea'k.
8. In Ramboor and Bumboret the word for 'house' is dur. The other word for 'house' still exists in the compound word for the village temple.

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MAJOR THEMES IN MODERN KHOWAR POETRY

*Ismail Wali Akhgar**

The classic portion of poetry written in Chitral during the last three centuries is mostly in Persian. The following poets have left behind their manuscripts: Mohammad Shukoor (1603–85), Muhammad Si-yar (1780–1847), Tajmmul Shah (1780–1842), and Muazzam Khan Azam (1865–1945). Their poetry shows that they were trained in the informal system of education prevalent at the time and were influenced by the ideas of the great poets and mystics of Persia. The outer form of their poems is also Persian in style. They have expressed their feelings and thoughts both in the form of the lyric and the epic. Their main images, symbols, and allusions have been taken from the same source, for example, the flower and nightingale, the moth and candle, the figures of Majnoon and Laila, Yousaf and Zulikha, and Shireen and Farhad. Their subjects are love, both human and divine, heroic actions, war, the merits of the ruling *mehtar*, the demerits of a rival, the position of man amidst cosmic forces, and love for the native land. Thus, our modern Khowar poetry stretches over three centuries. The basic ideas presented by the modern poets can be traced back to these origins. The art of the above-mentioned poets covers every aspect of imaginative experience, from lyrical uneasiness through cosmic melancholy to heroic grandeur.

Of them, Mohammad Shukoor Gharib seems to be a man of great and admirable inventiveness, as he has tried to get an artistic combination of Khowar and Persian expressions in some of his poems without affecting metrical design and rhythmical beauty. One of his long lovelyrics is, one can say, in pure Khowar. This lyric can be taken as the first example of written poetry in Khowar and thus its writer can be termed as the father of Khowar poetry. The lyric is the expression of his noble and sublime feelings of love. The images in the following lines are of great artististic beauty. They show the poet's delicacy of thought and profundity of imagination;

ta phreSu giro chuy ta mux rošt anus,
ta chuy anusáante jerum chuy anus

O, my beloved
Your locks are like the darkness of the night while your face is like the brightness of the day. I
revolve round your nights and days.

The invasion of Chitral by the British in 1895 was a turning point in the history of Chitral. People reacted to this event in different ways; poets became reactionary, at least on the imaginative plane. Muazzam Khan has expressed his dislike of this intervention in the following verses;

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dar qafai yak farangi se musulmán áamadand
rahamat-u-nūrhayāt-u-sultān áamadand

Satirizing three historical figures the poet says, 'Three muslims followed an Englishman, They are Rahmat, Noor Hayat, and Sultan.' Gul Azam Khan, another poet of the same period, has expressed a similar reaction by using professional titles:

cháarbu-o-če-Dom bráargini mulko apsaráan

[As the result of the invasion] menials have become elites of the country.

This theme has taken on many colours and different shades with the passage of time and is still an interesting subject of poetic expression in our society.

The first poet who can be called modern in every sense of the word is His Highness Mohammad Nasir-ul-Mulk (1897–1943). He was the first man from Chitral who received modern education. His three books were published in his lifetime. He studied the new ideas and theories prevalent in Europe at that time. His poetry is said to be philosophical in origin. His book, *The Booklet of Creation (Sahifatut Takwiin)*, itself is a witness to his philosophical bent of mind. Besides his individual approach to his inner observations, the corrupt clergy is the target of his satire. However, the medium of his expression is Persian, not Khowar.

The next poet of note is Mirza Firdous Firdousi. Apart from love and other conventional subjects, his poetry contains verses which reflect his imaginative attraction to the natural beauty and resources of the area. One of his poems, entitled 'My Dear Country,' points to the fact that he loved his native land with full patriotic zeal and this love has found expression in this little poem. The poem also shows that he has not joined his predecessors in following the Persian styles in letter and spirit as his rhyme scheme in the poem conforms with that of the traditional songs in Khowar; for example, the words *Badan* and *Makhzan* have been used to rhyme with *Kaan* (tree) and other such words of long vowel sound. However, his diction is not totally free of Persian expressions. His imagination is fired by the refreshing smell of the flowers of the Russian olive, green meadows, and crystal-clear streams. The beauty of his native land is dearer to him than that of Switzerland. The poetry of his predecessors contains individual verses in praise of their native land, not a full poem of sixteen lines under the same title. Thus he is the first poet who wrote a full poem in Khowar in praise of the valley of Chitral. This forms the basis of all those poems which are written in Chitral on the same theme, though there are many variations in the style in modern Khowar poetry. Thus, Firdousi established a tradition which is followed with full poetic zeal in the present time.

Bacha Khan Huma is Firdousi's contemporary. Love of God is the motive behind his poetry. He has described mystical love and its different shades at the spiritual level of human experience. Most of his poems are entitled either as 'Hamd' ('Praise of God') or 'Naát' ('Devotional Poem for the Prophet Muhammad'). Part of his diction is Arabic in origin and modern readers may find some difficulty in grasping his meanings. Some of his images and symbols are personal and thus reflect his imagination. For example, one of his poems is about the repercussions of premarital sexual contact between a young girl and boy. In this poem, the male character is presented a cat and the young girl as milk. The connection between cat and milk makes its meaning clear. In the same poem, an unmarried young daughter is portrayed as the calf who should not be allowed to eat the maize crop of others by her father. His tone is didactic and his approach to the subject is academic.

Independence from British rule freed the people of this area from royal subjugation and its poets began to pay homage to the new country and its founder. Two poems of Bacha Khan, one in Khowar and the other in Urdu, deal with the ideal leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam. Others have followed him in their poetic eulogies paid to the new country which had been their dream for freedom and democracy. However, Bacha Khan's mind is not free from the thought of class differences, as in one of his poems a man belonging to the lower class of servants is the target of his satire.

One of the main impacts which the British intervention had on our culture was the breakup of our spiritual link with the Persian language and the social values of Central Asia. After this, Persian began to lose its official and academic significance in our society. A few decades ago it was not possible for everyone to acquire modern education. That is why poets were attracted to their mother tongue for the expression of their yearnings.

In the present period, Baba Ayub is amongst the first poets who chose pure Khowar as their medium of expression. His diction is free, to a great extent, from Persian mannerisms. Love, religion, and adherence to the local culture are his main themes. His love is free from sensuality and he is not ready in his imagination to have physical contact with his beloved. One of his love-lyrics, popular amongst both the young and the old, includes the following lines, which are often quoted:

kya maza kišer LoLika gamburio,
gunah horo boi Chini šunkhiin ki hoi

What a pleasure to look at the flower!
But it would be really a sin to pluck it for its smell.

Besides its symbolic importance in the field of Platonic love, the verse gives a lesson in environmental preservation. The flower in the verse can be taken as a symbol of natural beauty whose destruction may result in many disasters.

Baba Ayub seems to be a fundamentalist in his approach to religion. Some of his poems are the expression of his resentment of the alien laws still prevalent in the country. Pure Islamic society is his religious ideal and he yearns for martyrdom during his imaginative *jihad* against the alien and non-Islamic laws. His poem, 'My Yearning,' is a clear reflection of his feelings:

islami inqilāb angiko bače ma armān boyan
tān frošk rāhbaro ača biko bače ma aramān boyan

For Islamic revolution
Is my yearning
Submission to the teachings of the Prophet
Is my yearning.

mayun The čuLirān rošti giko bače
yaflato orarāar angah biko bače ma aramān boyan

The oriole is chirping for the break of dawn
To wake up from the slumber of ignorance
Is my yearning

Apart from this religious subject, his poetry also deals with his emotional attachment to Pakistan in general and his native land in particular. A few examples:

heràr ači ma Chetràro nowjuwán ma xos
ki hoi tan batháno bače zanu mál qurbàn ma xos

After that every youth of Chitral
Is dear to me
Then the life and wealth sacrificed for my country is dearer to me

In the same poem he has expressed his hatred of the new cultural values symbolized by a modern bowl and an electric fan;

Dongòt armán ma niki qadimi ma ɣàn ma xos
phankòt šauq no koròm ma anwázo gan ma xos

My yearning is not for a modern bowl
My old wooden plate
Is dear to me
I do not like electric fan
My own morning breeze is dear to me.

The desire for a revival of the indigenous culture and religious values is shared by many poets in the valley.

During the last three decades many poets have presented their poems in *mushairas* (poetry recitation gatherings). There is no space in this study for a historical assessment of the growth of different themes to the present day. The tendency of those poets who are living today is either towards humour or emotional intensity. There are some poets who have their individual styles. They try seriously to revive the ancient values of poetry. Of them, Chishti and Irfan are followers of the mystical traditions. Chishti's use of difficult mystical terms makes his message a little obscure. Irfan's expressions are simple and spontaneous. Chishti's thought is like that of Badil and Irfan's verses have the colour of Hāfiz Sherazi.

Amin-ur-Rehman Chughtai's poetic art is a world in its own. Chughtai is a conscientious poet. He is a master of metrical intricacies. Apart from his love poetry, his art is the expression of his reaction to his imaginative experiences in an objective way. Social evils of laziness, fashion-worship, hypocrisy, and administrative mismanagement are some of his major subjects. There is also a group of young poets who get technical guidance and spiritual inspiration from him. Among his promising pupils is Saleem Kamil, whose subject is imaginative romance. Tender feelings of love find beautiful expression in Kamil's lyrics.

Three poets who follow the traditional patterns of Khowar songs in their art are Amir Gul, Mubarak Khan, and Gul Nawaz Khaki. They are famous singers and have their individual styles. Amir Gul is known for his love lyrics and Mubarak Khan for his poetical attack on mismanagement at different levels of society.

One of Mubarak's long poems is about the defective hydel power station in Chitral which has been a political and administrative nuisance since its installation. Gul Nawaz Khaki's thought can be called progressive in the sense that he represents the problems of the common people in his poetry. Old Khowar words generally appear in his diction.

A versatile genius whose greatness is recognized in many circles is Dr Inayatullah, known as Faizi. He is the 'moving force' behind all literary activities in Chitral. On the surface his poetry is a reflection of his nationalistic feelings. He is greatly concerned by the fact that his

people are not getting their due share from the government treasury. His poem, 'The Cry of a Chitrali,' is an artistic expression of his feelings in which he movingly depicts the socio-economic problems of Chitral regarding its isolation, low level of economic development, and lack of modern facilities. His other poems give us a message of awareness of the demands of the modern age. He deals with impersonal subjects in a personal way. He can turn any subject into poetic art including such diverse topics as Indira Gandhi's murder, the indifference of bureaucracy, the social problems of marriage, and the dirty game of politics. Many sad episodes are hidden under the mask of his humour. His poems are of great symbolic significance for a student of Khowar poetry. His satire is conveyed through irony and his art is the expression of ironies at different levels of human experience. Javed Hayat, a young poet, has been Faizi's student in college. His imagination is also alive to the problems of the valley. He has represented the downtrodden people of Chitral through his personification of the mountain of Rawalai (Loari). The political exploitation of the voters in the area by the promise of a tunnel through the Loari has been a long and bitter experience for the people of Chitral and Javed Hayat has turned the same exploitative manoeuvre into a beautiful poem in which the mountain addresses the people in the followings words:

vote maCkak ma pitai eqtidár ganini
tan Lengak khúrsio ma baxár ganini

Vote seekers ultimately get to power
On the pretext of mine
They get their shaky chair
From the Tunnel of mine

Káa šumuúr baxo súm tante cár ganini
saf mauilo sum báyi na bašár ganini

Then nobody would bother about the tunnel
They would be rather concerned to purchase new model cars.
What to speak of me
They would even forget their Creator.

In the same poem the poet further says,

tu zomán qáidi to khiálo qáidi
ta faryaád ta sum toónj tu suwalo qáidi

[O, Chitralis!]: You are prisoners in the mountains
And you are prisoners of your thoughts
And you are prisoners of a demand
which is never fulfilled

tu we-meru kromak tu zawálo qáidi
hai yariib Chetrári máho sálo qáidi

Your toils are without any goal
Because you have no leader
You are a prisoner of a declining fate
O poor Chitrali! you have thus been a prisoner
for months and years

Javed Hayat's tone is personal like that of Faizi. The man who treats such subjects objectively is Saleh Nizam. He possesses a humorous nature. Apart from other things he has inherited humour and wit from his father, Qazi Nizam, who is a great poet as well as a political personality of the region. He uses this wit in his poetry. The embezzlement of funds by concerned officials move his humour and he has devoted a full poem to this subject. Hunting of migratory ducks is the hobby of every Chitrali and Saleh has written a long poem to condemn the practice. Hunting arouses feelings of pity and sadness; however, Saleh's poetry has rendered this sad experience with humour, which makes it both interesting and appealing. Princess Diana's visit to Chitral, a memorable event for many people of the area, also received humorous treatment.

Maula Nigah can be matched with Saleh in his humorous treatment of social themes. Two of his poems are of great interest in this regard. One is on the game of cricket and its adverse effect on the minds of our youth. The other is on the subject of addiction to drugs in our society. The first poem is a combination of English and Khowar expressions generally used by the players of cricket. The second poem is about the physical, mental, and spiritual ills caused by addiction. Many young poets follow Saleh and Nigah in the humorous treatment of their subjects. For example, Mukhtar Ali Baba, a teenager, has written an interesting poem about the 'Dish Antenna' and its adverse effects on our culture.

Human love is a recurring theme in poetry. It has found different expressions in the art of different masters. Poetical feelings would dry up without it. Two young poets are well-known in the valley for the expression of the feelings of love and its numerous shades in their lyrics. Their tone is impassioned and their artistic designs are too natural to be called artless.

There is no end to the eulogies of 'swordlike eyes,' 'rosy lips,' 'curly hair,' 'moon-like face,' and 'tender fingers.' There are two other famous poets known in the area by their pen names of Shahid and Zakhmi. Shahid means 'witness' and Zakhmi means 'wounded.' Both are witnesses to their inner wounds. These inner wounds come out in the form of their love lyrics. Their Shelleyan strain has made them popular among the youth. Another poet who ranks with Shahid and Zakhmi in his depiction of this experience is Sarfaraz Ali Khan. However, he treats other themes, too. Like Shahid and Zakhmi, his expression is full of sorrow and grief, as follows:

yeča hamiš ašruó qitránte yerūm kalapat
zindágio awana durdanánte yerūm kalapat

Always tears in the eyes
How long shall I
Revolve round these drops
My life has nothing but a few
precious drops of pearls
[But] how long shall I revolve around
these pearls.

ma hardio šišo tan hosten chini tu bajao
hazár nas biru nasánte yerūm kalapat

You broke the mirror of my heart
with your own hands and went away
It has turned into thousands of pieces
and how long shall I revolve round these pieces.

ma hardio di tu gani ta hardi boxto sár dāng
tan hardio maSki boxtānte yerdúm kalapat

You took away my heart
while your heart is harder than a stone
[Tell me!] how long would I revolve round
the stones in search of my heart

This brief review is an introduction to one who wants to conduct thorough research work on the themes in our modern poetry. The current trend is that poets are using subjects of everyday life for their poetic expressions. Besides political, ideological, and socio-economic problems of the area, subjects of international interest, for example, environmental crisis, are dealt with in our poetry. Poetry is the only written form of imaginative literature here which can be used for investigating the inner and outer problems of the people. Other forms of literature for example, prose, either are still in their infancy or exist as literary criticism.

Section VII

History (Political, Social, and Economic)

TRADE LINKS IN THE EASTERN HINDU KUSH: THE CHITRAL ROUTE

*Hermann Kreutzmann**

Introduction

Approaching Chitral, the present-day visitor is confronted with the cul-de-sac situation of one of the largest districts of Pakistan. Chitral's communication and traffic links are virtually reduced to only one major road connecting Chitral with Peshawar. This circumstance is especially felt during the cold season from October to May when the Loari Top (3118 m) is practically impassable. A number of enterprises have been envisaged to link Chitral and its dispersed villages with modern traffic infrastructure. The Kunar Valley Road could be an alternative all-year-long approach from the south, but it crosses through Afghan territory. Presently this road is not safe for all kinds of traffic. Plans for a tunnel underneath the Loari Top are regularly discussed; drilling started in the 1970s but came to a sudden halt shortly afterwards and was never commenced since. The strategic importance of the Lutkoh valley for the supplies of Afghan *mujahiddeen* (holy warriors) has improved the traffic infrastructure towards the Dora Pass. The Shandur Pass Road is presently upgraded and different contractors—national and international—are involved in sections of this corridor, which eventually could provide Chitral with a truckable connection leading to the Karakoram Highway (KKH). Nevertheless, the present situation seems to be a reflex on Chitral's strategic position within international boundaries contiguous to neighbours of different political alliances. In this study, it is attempted to draw attention to a certain historical period prior to the closure of international boundaries and the introduction of motorized traffic when Chitral commanded a trade corridor for commerce with Central Asia.

Central Asian Trade Competition and Routes of Exchange in the Nineteenth Century

During the 'great game' played between Russian and British diplomats, special attention was directed towards regions outside their direct sphere of control such as the urban oases of Kashgaria, where a strong competition for market domination arose. Access to these Chinese-dominated cities and turntables of Central Asian trade was easier from the Russian railhead at Andijan than from British India. The mountain barrier of the Hindu Kush, Karakoram, and the Himalayas posed a major obstacle to modern traffic, that is, railways, in the second half of the nineteenth century. From the end of those lines caravan trade based on mules, horses, camels, and human portage was the only feasible option. The distance between Andijan and Kashgar could be covered in twelve marches by crossing only the Terek Dawan (3870 m).

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Trade caravans from British India were channelled through three routes. All of them were much longer and involved the hardship of crossing major mountain passes. The longest but most important route was the Leh corridor, involving fifty marches between Srinagar and Yarkand by covering a total distance of 1706 kilometres from the railhead in Rawalpindi to Kashgar. Five passes above 5000 metres had to be crossed in addition to numerous river fordings. The caravans needed to carry fodder and supplies for fourteen consecutive marches. Reaching for the same destination, the route via Gilgit was much shorter. The 1335 kilometre-long sector afforded only twenty-nine marches between Gilgit and Kashgar and the passage of two passes of minor difficulty. Problems abounded in the Hunza valley, where frequent fording of rivers and difficult passages along the notorious hanging paths restricted the volume of trade. This route regularly imposed heavy losses on the traders. Meagre resources on route resulted in shortages in fodder supply, but one of the biggest problems was the extraordinarily high demand in toll taxes and grazing fees by the rulers of Hunza and Nager. Their cupidity affected the reputation of this trade corridor as well. The Chitral route remained the shortest thoroughfare of all by covering a distance of 1169 kilometres between Peshawar and Kashgar. Here the major uncertainty was the dependence on good relations with Afghanistan as the territory of the neighbouring country had to be crossed on the route to and from Central Asia (cf. Harris 1971). This feature proved to be a shortcoming and created many reservations by traders and administrators.

Assets and Constraints of the Chitral Route

On the route via Chitral the railhead at Dargai was the starting point for British Indian goods on their journey towards Kashgar. It took forty marches for mule and/or horse caravans to cover the distance. From Chitral Bazaar, the valley was followed north and in Mastuj the route turned up the Yarkhun River (cf. Younghusband 1894, 1895). Crossing the Boroghil Pass (3807 m) on the border with Afghanistan the caravans proceeded to Sarhad-e-Wakhan. Here, the Wakhan and Chitral routes united. In the direction of Kashgar, the traders proceeded through the Pamir-e-Khurd (Little Pamir) and crossed Kirghiz grazing grounds towards the Wakhjir Pass (4923 m) where they left the Afghan-controlled Wakhan Corridor. Entering the Taghdumbash Pamir and Chinese territory, the Chitral route linked up with the one from Gilgit. From Mintaka Aghzi in the Kara Chukur valley both continued via Tashkurgan to Kashgar and Yarkand respectively. The Chitral route proved to be faster than the Gilgit and Leh routes by a span of two days to nearly three weeks.

Depending on favourable political relations with Afghanistan, the narrow transit sector posed a vulnerable trading corridor. Between 1897 and 1904 the Afghan government attempted to deviate the Chitral trade to another sector. After Amir Abdur Rahman Khan's conquest of Kafiristan (nowadays Nuristan), he attempted to display territorial control by leading a trade route from Faizabad to Parun, Asmar, and Bajour which involved twenty-nine stages without major obstacles (Holzwarth 1990: 199). In the aftermath, Anglo-Afghan relations deteriorated again with a culmination in the 1919 war. This struggle terminated British domination and finally led to Afghan sovereignty. Although Chitral militia supported British forces during this war, the Afghan government kept an interest in continuing trade via Badakhshan and officially acknowledged the Chitral route in 1920. On this route varying custom duties were levied on different commodities: export of pistachio nuts (50 %), cumin (40 %), sheep and opium (30 %), woollen fabrics, and animal skins and hides (10–20 %). The import duties of consumer goods ranged between 100 per cent for luxury items, 40 per cent for tea, and 15–22 per cent for cotton

and sugar (Ghani 1921: 250–61 quoted in Holzwarth 1990: 202). The political developments, additional custom duties, and the insecurity of trade—as much in the so-called tribal areas of Dir and Bajour as across the boundaries—counterbalanced the timesaving aspect on this route, which was only seasonally open in the summers. Even the lower unit cost, that is, the fact that the average transport fees for standardized pieces of commerce were lower than those on any other route, could not make up for this and draw substantial quantities of trade volume.

All the same, the trade via Chitral fluctuated during this period in a manner that Chitral held a share of 34.6 per cent in 1932 of the total Central Asian trade volume which was reduced to only 0.2 per cent four years later (Figs. 32.1 and 32.2). Looking at different trade items, we see a regional peculiarity emerge which is connected with the commodities exchanged. While in the overall Central Asian trade the import of Xinjiang *charas* (hashish, *Cannabis indica*) ranged around a fifth of the total, the *charas* trade via Chitral accounted for more than three quarters in the 1920s (Table 32.1). Besides officially accepted drug trade by licensed dealers, a certain share was smuggled in order to avoid the payment of taxes and custom duties to Chinese, Afghan, and British authorities. For this specific purpose, the Chitral route had an additional advantage compared to other thoroughfares. The overall volume might have been much higher taking into account the observation by Skrine (1925: 234) in the 1920s about ‘...Chitrali and Badakhshi traders who smuggle Yarkand *charas* (hemp drug) into India and Afghanistan through Chitral, and Afghan opium into Kashgaria on their return journey.’ Comparing the commercial costs for 1931 reveals that the *charas* import to British India via Chitral was about 19 per cent cheaper than via Leh. This calculation includes all transport charges, taxes, and customs duties. The difference was significant for *charas*, felts, and animal skins while the import of silk was cheaper via Leh.¹

Table 32.1 Trade via Chitral (1920–26)

	1920–21	1921–22	1922–23	1923–24	1924–25	1925–26	1920–26
IMPORT FROM XINJIANG TO BRITISH-INDIA (IN RS)							
<i>charas</i> (hashish) ^a	13,400	27,000	-	33,000	168,600	42,000	284,000
woolen and cotton fabrics	-	7112	2960	3264	2956	8122	24,414
dried fruit	2100	-	260	-	-	-	2360
goats		53	361	543	-	335	1192
other items	1840	1112	20,924	4916	24,248	1900	54,940
total import	17,340	35,224	24,144	41,180	195,804	52,022	365,714
percentage <i>charas</i> of total	77.2 %	76.7 %	0 %	80.1 %	86.1 %	80.7 %	77.6 %
EXPORT FROM BRITISH INDIA TO XINJIANG (IN RS)							
opium ^b	24,000	17,920	1600	-	-	9360	52,880
woollen and cotton fabrics	11,899	9050	9880	14,453	4070	29,416	78,768
other items ^c	2948	7217	5215	7510	15,035	7450	45,375
total export	38,847	34,187	16,692	21,963	19,105	46,226	177,020
percentage opium of total	61.7 %	52.4 %	9.6 %	0 %	0 %	20.2 %	29.9 %

a. The value of one *maund* (37.32 kg) of *charas* amounted to Rs 200.

b. The value of one *ser* (0.933 kg) opium was given as Rs 80.

c. Other items include commodities such as tea, sugar, salt, and dried fruit.

Source: Calculations on the basis of data from IOR/L/1076/232: 23.

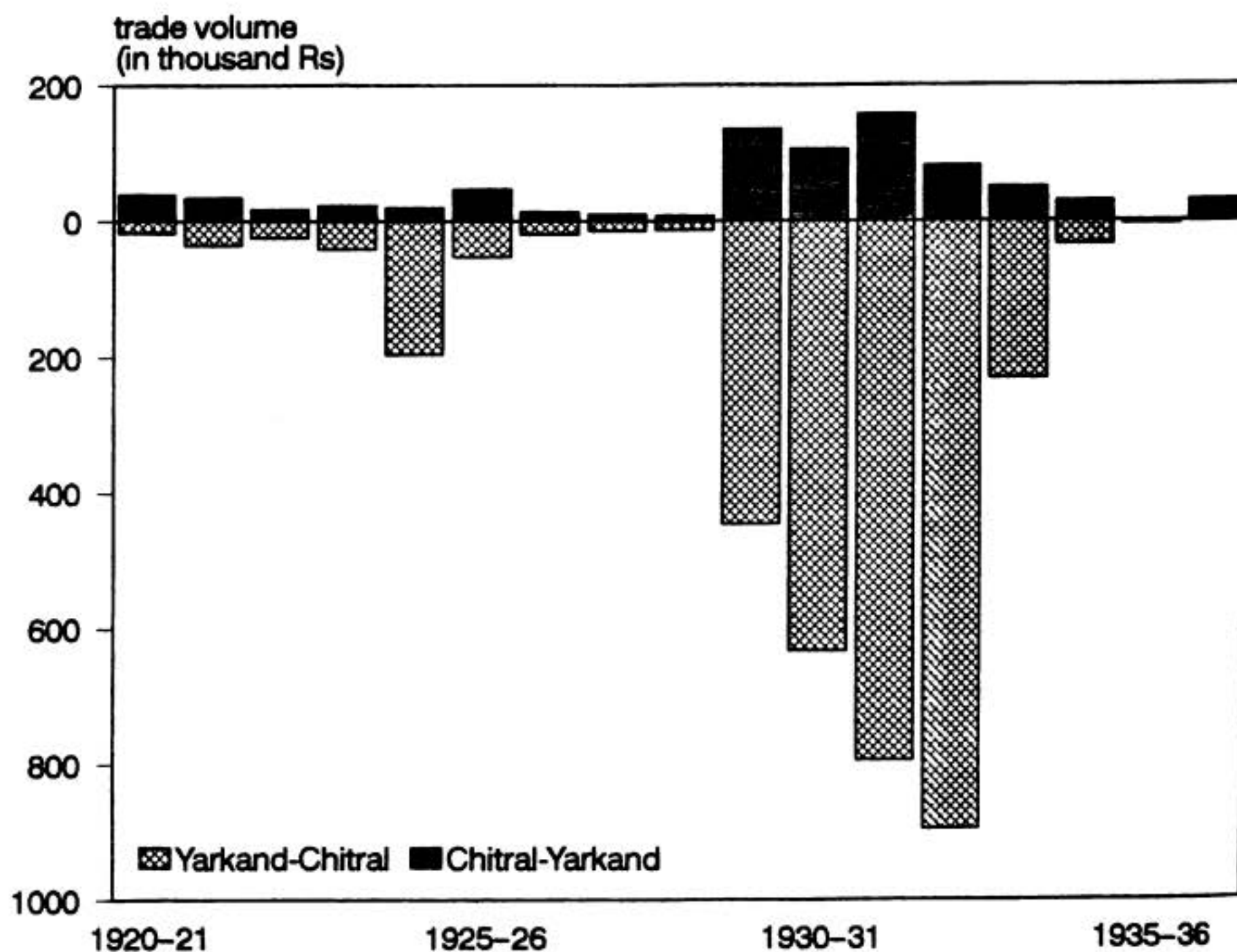
The persons whom Skrine identified as traders and smugglers from Chitral and Badakhshan covered only one part of the business. Licensed drug dealers involved in this profitable

enterprise originated mainly from Hoshiarpur (Punjab) and Shikarpur (Sindh). Expanding their business, these Hindu traders were also engaged in money-lending. Along all trade routes they controlled a transborder network of financial institutions. When a new bazaar was built in Chitral in 1904, the British political agent

...advised the *Mehtar* to set aside a certain number of shops for Hindus. There is at present only one shop owned by a Hindu in Chitral, and the introduction of some competition of this sort would tend to break the ring of Bajauri *Parachas* [small merchants] who at present have matters too much their own way.²

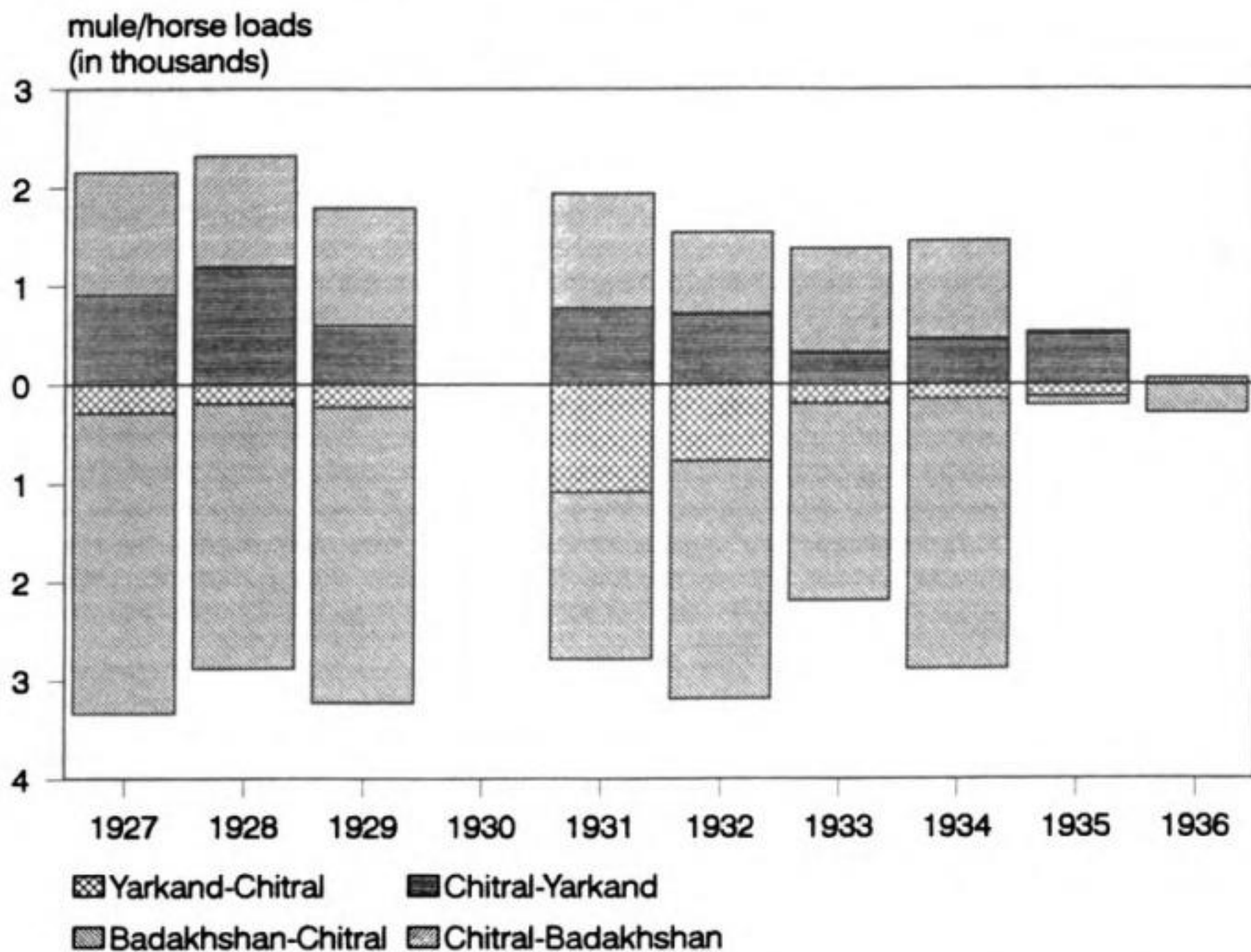
Like other enterprises, this trade was interrupted due to the disturbances in Xinjiang in the 1930s as well. While some of the established downcountry traders continued for a while with colonial support, Chitral was already out of licensed *charas* trade as the transit corridor through Afghanistan was no longer feasible. All Xinjiang *charas* entered British India via Leh, the little that was left before the closure of the borders and the expulsion of traders.

Fig. 32.1 Chitral-Yarkand Trade via Boroghil Pass



Source: IOR/2/1076/232

Design: H. Kreutzmann

Fig. 32.2 Caravan Trade via Boroghil and Dora Passes

Source: IOL/P&S/12/1753

Design: H. Kreutzmann

In the other direction (south-north) about 30 per cent of all export via Chitral (Tab. 32.1) was commanded by opium (*teryok*, *Papaver somniferum*). This cash crop gained in importance as an export commodity of Badakhshan in the beginning of the twentieth century. Holzwarth (1990: 206–14) attributes this development to two factors: first, in 1907, Anglo-Sino negotiations about opium trade had led to an agreement about the gradual reduction of exports to China; second, Xinjiang gained more detachment from core politics after the Chinese Revolution of 1911. Thus, a power and economic vacuum furnished favourable conditions for making opium sales by satisfying the continuing demand of Chinese users. As this trade was mainly dominated by Badakhshanis and Pathans from Bajour and the Malakand Agency, the Chitral route played an important role. The British consul-general stated the developments:

The Sinkiang authorities have been making strenuous efforts during the past few years to eradicate the opium traffic and heavy penalties are imposed on Chinese subjects found to be in possession of opium. In the past, the opium traffic in South Sinkiang has been chiefly in the hands of Afghans and Pathans of Indian territory (especially of Bajaur and the states of the Malakand Agency) and the activities of these Pathans have to some extent been partly responsible for the anti British attitude of the Sinkiang authorities. These men have been making use of their status as 'British protected persons' to escape the consequences of being discovered in illegal activities but they have persistently ignored orders and warnings issued from this Consulate-General forbidding British subjects to have any dealings in opium.³

The fact that Pathan and Badakhshani traders operating on the Chitral route were mainly involved is somehow surprising as the production zone of *charas* was far away from Chitral in the Yarkand and Khotan districts, and to a limited degree in Russian/Soviet Turkestan. Other routes would have been closer, but the advantage was the lower burden from taxation and customs, thus increasing the trade profits. While in tsarist Middle Asia the export of *charas* was prohibited since the beginning of the twentieth century, Xinjiang experienced a similar declaration in 1909 in connection with the opium legislation of the central government in Beijing.⁴

Besides these lightweight and valuable drugs, items such as woollen and cotton fabrics, dried fruit, and livestock products constituted some of the commodities exchanged via Chitral Bazaar. Here, traders from Afghanistan and Central Asia met with those of the south. The Norwegian linguist Georg Morgenstierne observed in 1929:

From beyond the Hindu Kush passes a constant stream of traders comes down to Chitral. The two most important passes are the Dorah in the north-western, and the Baroghil in the north-eastern corner of Chitral. But communication with the north is by no means restricted to these comparatively easy passes, and in spite of snow-blindness and dangers many lightly equipped travellers use the higher and much more difficult passes to the north of the Dorah in order to save a day or two. But these passes have scarcely ever been used by invaders.

Across the Baroghil came Wakhs, but chiefly traders bring blocks of reddish rock-salt and lapis lazuli [lazurite] from the mines belonging to the Afghan government, but exploited by the local population during the rebellion in 1929. Chitral is a local emporium of some importance in these regions. [p. 31: There is no bazaar in Chitral above the capital]. While several caravans from Badakhshan carrying rugs, Russian china etc. passed through Chitral on their way to Peshawar, the local traders from Munjan and neighbouring valleys rarely go further than Chitral, but dispose of their goods there.⁵

The importance of this trade can be estimated by comparing the state income derived from this sector with other sources and by looking at the groups participating in it. The only central place for these enterprises was located in Chitral proper. Consequently, it is not a surprising fact that the state authorities played an important role in it.

The *Mehtar* of Chitral's Revenue and Income from Trade

The Lockhart and Woodthorpe mission visited Chitral in 1885 and estimated the sources of state revenue. According to their observation the ruling families played a significant role in the transborder trade and had managed to monopolize certain activities:

The *Mehtar* of Chitral derives his income from the following sources:-

1. The sale of timber and orpiment [auripigment, As_2S_3] to foreign traders.
2. The sale of lead to Bájaorí traders, and of lead and gold-dust in the country.
3. Slave-trade.
4. Toll on horses and all pack animals passing through from Badakhshán to Dír, Bájaor, and Pesháwar, and *vice versa*.
5. A fixed contribution of sheep, goats and grain, rugs, *choghas* and *tsadars* from each province [regional sub-unit of Chitral].
6. Tribute from Káfiristán, and fines imposed on the subject Kalásh Káfirs, &c.
7. The Kashmir subsidy.

He also barter English piece-goods and other merchandise from Peshawar, such as tea in Badakhshán for *Yambús*, or Yárkand ingots of silver. He further takes his pick of the horses brought from the north for the southern markets. The traders consequently have taken to hogging the manes of their best ponies, which disfigures them in Chitrál, but does not interfere with their sale in Pesháwar.'

Tolls—These are numerous and vexatious to the traders passing through the Mehtar's territory. He himself takes the proceeds of a few stations, but his sons and favoured officials are allowed to take toll at many others.

The rates fixed at Chitrál for horses, &c., laden or unladen, passing through from foreign countries and returning, are as follows:-

Per 1 horse—2 Kábal rupees. Per 1 mule—1 Kábal rupee. Per 3 asses—1 Kábal rupee. (Lockhart & Woodthorpe 1889: 266–67)

What were the major sources of income? Basically there were two important ones according to their list: exchange relations with non-local traders, and taxes levied in Chitral. This dual structure of state revenue underpinned the significance of external relations and commercial endeavours. As the hereditary ruler of Chitral had to satisfy the demands and needs of a growing number of relatives in different parts of his state these sources became the more important. At that time, the *mehtar* of Chitral received an annual subsidy from Kashmir to the value of Rs 3600 on top of his income from these sources (Lockhart & Woodthorpe 1889: 268). His allowance was raised later on and in 1889

...the Mehtar of Chitral was granted a subsidy of Rs 6,000 per annum and a large consignment of rifles. In 1891 the Government of India, with the intention of strengthening the position of the Mehtar, decided to double this subsidy on the condition that he accepted the advice of the British Agent in all matters relating to foreign policy and the defence of the frontier. (Malleeson 1907: 43).

In comparison with the British-Indian support, the *mehtar* of Chitral managed to derive a similar revenue from tolls on trade which accounted for Rs 33,397 averaging Rs 6679.40 per annum between 1896 and 1901.⁶ The sources of income developed and continued to move upward in a similar manner, and in 1906, '...*Mehtar* Shuja-ul-Mulk receives a subsidy of Rs. 1,000 *per mensem* and an annual allowance of Rs 8,000 as compensation for the loss of the Mastuj and Laspur districts' (Malleeson 1907: 79). From 1927 to 1936 the *mehtar* of Chitral accrued Rs 136,413 in import and export taxes from traders in Chitral. Those were the 'good' years when the contribution from trade dues amounted to Rs 18,338 per annum on average (Table 32.2). Although data is scanty and needs to be supplemented with explicit lists of internal sources of state income, it can be concluded that a substantial contribution to Chitral's state revenue was derived from exchange relations with entrepreneurs. This factor is often neglected when the political structure of Chitral is explained only on the basis of internal and land-related social hierarchies.⁷ The centre of power based its overall control of the state on its wealth extracted from the rural areas as much as from pecuniary resources supplied by traders. The predominantly non-local businessmen used Chitral as an important entrepot. For them, Chitral Bazaar was a central place for the exploitation of trade niches. Chitral held a favourable locational position in relation to consumer places and resource areas such as Badakhshan, Xinjiang, and the NWFP.

Table 32.2: Chitral State Revenue from Import and Export Taxes: Badakhshan and Chinese Turkestan (1927–36)

Year	Chitral-Badakhshan (Dora and Boroghil)		Chitral-Chinese Turkestan (Boroghil)		Trade Revenue
	Import	Export	Import	Export	Total (In Rs)
1927	13,269	6240	1435	4525	25,469
1928	8868	5620	982	5985	21,455
1929	7736	5985	1167	2970	17,858
1930	no data	no data	no data	no data	no data
1931	6703	5865	5437	3840	21,845
1932	3418	4100	3885	3595	14,998
1933	4193	5297	985	1602	12,077
1934	6656	4977	732	2302	14,667
1935	96	87	625	2552	3360
1936	335	290	32	5	662
1927–34 annual	50,843 7263	38,084 5441	14,623 2089	24,819 3545	128,369 18,338

Source: Calculations on the base of data from IOL/P&S/12/1753: 40–41

The share of the local people in any surplus from trade and subsidies indicates that little trickled down. Their exchange with traders was basically restricted to the supply of portage. In addition, some barter trade in fodder and food for consumer goods occurred. As part of their obligations local farmers had to be available as load-carriers (coolies) for the portage of state goods. The residents functioned as labourers for the maintenance of tracks and bridges under the ubiquitous scheme of forced labour (*kar-i-begār*, *rajaaki*) for the ruling class, a constellation which could be observed in neighbouring mountain societies as well. Thus, a relationship developed in which the external resources such as subsidies, octroi, and customs duties helped to stabilize the centre of power. From the colonial perspective indirect rule in the form of installing and supporting a *mehtar* or *mir* had led to the direct transfer of state subsidies to loyal chiefs. The right and procedures of internal distribution and allocation of funds was reserved under their sole authority. In a similar manner revenue from trade was mainly accumulated at the seat of power. From the perspective of the local population forced labour in the form of portage, provision of supplies, and infrastructure construction and maintenance was taken for granted or without remuneration, thus enhancing the wealth of the local rulers. Consequently, the socio-economic gap between centre and periphery within the mountain societies widened by providing a traffic infrastructure for external or imperial interests and non-local entrepreneurs. The limited spin-off effects of developments such as the provision of roads and bridges for inter-village communication and limited marketing and exchange of locally produced goods should not be omitted.

The End of Chitral's involvement in Central Asian Trade

The sudden interruption of trade made felt the mutual dependence: the purchase of local grain and fodder by itinerant traders had provided a welcome local market for the mountain farmers in need of bartering for salt, tea, and other consumer goods such as kitchenware and cotton cloth. For the well-to-do, luxury items were available in Chitral Bazaar only. Overall trade declined significantly in the mid-1930s after the Afghan government's decision to inflict a

trade embargo on Chitral. The pretext for terminating exchange relations in this trade sector was the alleged illegal import of *charas* into Afghanistan and uncontrolled export of gold and lapis lazuli. Consequently, Chitral's trade corridor with Xinjiang was cut off as well. The *mehtar* of Chitral, Shuja-ul-Mulk, assessed the importance of exchange relations:

Our flourishing timber trade which was the chief source of income during my father's time has been totally prohibited. The Afghans are... bent upon ruining our trade... have been looking on us as a thorn in their side, and by imposing prohibitive taxes on the Sarhadi Wakhan, they have stopped the trade between this country [Chitral] and Yarkand... This year they have practically closed all the Badakhshan routes to all the import and export trade with Chitral.⁸

The British political agent in Malakand reported to his superiors about the situation in Chitral and emphasized on the fiscal effects and the survival conditions for the local population:

...The country [Chitral] is being very hard hit by the restriction on trade over the Dorah and Baroghil Passes imposed by the Afghan Government...practically all trade has ceased between Chitral and Badakhshan and Wakhan. It is a very serious matter for the Chitral State revenues and also for the inhabitants of Northern Chitral the livelihood of many of whose inhabitants depended on this trade. Salt was a most important import from Badakhshan and its stoppage is causing great hardship. The Afghans of the provinces concerned must also be feeling the loss of their trade with Chitral... Afghanistan is trying to bring pressure on Chitral to use the Kunar valley route only with possible development of this route to facilitate traffic.⁹

The following months did not bring any improvements in the bleak situation, and in 1936, trade performance had reached the bottom line. Income from trade contributed to Chitral's state revenue only a meagre 3 per cent of the value which had been generated five years earlier (Table 32.2). The entrepreneurs in Chitral trade filed a petition which was presented through British diplomatic channels: 'The traders of Chitral wish to be allowed to import the following from Badakhshan: Pistachio nuts, caraway, almonds, salt, opium, dried cheese, lapislazuli, carpets, namdahs, cloth (khaddar), cloth (silk), pattis and chogahs, skins and wild animals (stone marten, fox and panther), sulphur, wool, sheep and goats.'¹⁰ All efforts did not significantly improve the situation and failed to restore bilateral exchange relations. On a lower level, some trade continued by smuggling of goods across the border passes; especially by this method substantial quantities of opium reached Chitral annually (Holzwarth 1990: 205–06). Besides the unilateral Afghan termination of trade caravans across the Boroghil and Dora passes, internal developments in Xinjiang attenuated the prospects. Overall, a significant decline of all trade between British India and Central Asia followed.

Response to Trade Decline and Border Closures

The commencement of the Cold War and the subsequent Chinese Revolution resulted in the closure of international boundaries and mountain passes and amplified the decline on all sectors. Central Asian trade via the Chitral route had come to an end already in 1935. This turning point marked the beginning of a domestic response to the loss of goods exchange. Parallel to the trade decline and the growing restrictions of the Xinjiang authorities on the export of *charas*, the cultivation of this valuable cash crop was promoted in Chitral. As a new source of income generation it replaced the revenue loss accrued out of trade decline and served a continuing

demand in British India. After the Chinese borders were sealed in 1950/1951, the superior quality products from Xinjiang ceased to be a competitive commodity on the market. This event further boosted *charas* cultivation in Upper Chitral. Staley (1966: 234) measured the share of revenue accounted for by taxes on *charas* production in the order of one third of the total. The cultivation zones in Chitral range from 1760 meters to 3350 meters in altitude and are located in Lotkuh, Torkhow, Mulikhow, and Yarkhun. Licensed cultivation was permitted in Swat and Chitral while *charas* cultivation was prohibited in the Gilgit Agency. The total export of *charas* from Chitral was estimated at 500 *maunds* (18,516 kg) in 1964. A state sales tax of Rs 5 per pound of *charas* was levied within Chitral while an additional export tax of Rs 11.50 per pound had to be paid when it left the state.¹¹ Other estimates highlighted its importance in the state's trade balance by attributing 80 per cent of all exports to *charas* in the 1960s.¹² The introduction of this cash crop can be perceived as a direct result of trade decline and response to vanishing economic opportunities.

Potentials and Prospects

The case of Chitral has been presented as an example of the termination of international trade and domestic responses. While its decline coincided with the factual closure of all three South Asian approach routes perpetually, plans have existed to reopen the thoroughfares if political conditions permit. This medium-term perspective gains in importance as political conditions have been affected by recent developments. How has Chitral prepared itself for commercial exchange with independent Central Asian republics? This consideration has to be evaluated on the basis of infrastructure assets and sectors of surplus production.

The infrastructural factor is tied with the closure of the Chitral route. The economic attraction and potential of Chitral itself has not been able to sustain further improvements in order to improve the link to downcountry Pakistan. Prior to partition only the road between Ashret and Chitral Town was widened for motor vehicles. Those had been carried in pieces across the Loari Top and mechanics reassembled them at the location. The Loari Pass remained a serious obstacle until 1947, when the first jeep managed to cross. From then onwards a regular service between Dir and Chitral came into being but was restricted to the summer months.¹³ The road from Chitral via Mastuj to Sor Laspur was improved in a manner that motorcycles could ply between Chitral and the foot of the Shandur Pass (Power 1948: 70). A shuttle service was introduced between Drosh and Chitral where approximately forty vehicles were in use to link the two central places. Dichter (1967: 47) mentions that this service included the connection of Chitral with the only airport (in Balach since 1951; Ghufraan 1962: 268) at Drosh serviced twice a week. In 1962, Chitral Airport was inaugurated with daily flights, weather conditions permitting. Considerable extensions of jeep tracks were commissioned after partition when Chitral State acceded to Pakistan. By the mid-1960s the road network within the cul-de-sac of Chitral had increased five times.¹⁴

All these developments do not disguise the fact that the loss of Chitral's function as a highland entrepot for cross-boundary and transmontane trade affected the traffic situation detrimentally and was connected with a slow growth of infrastructure. The previously central position of Chitral Bazaar had been converted into a cul-de-sac position at the end of an exchange corridor. Henceforth, Chitral's economic relations were totally directed southwards, a change which found its political expression by terminating the area's special constitutional status and in the abolishment of the state in 1969. The short-lived advantage of being a

commercial turntable in the Hindu Kush has never come back to Chitral since. This has had an effect on the district's economy.

For comparative purposes, it might be suitable to state that the availability and sale of consumer goods in Gilgit District is much higher than in Chitral District. The total value and per capita supply of consumer goods from downcountry Pakistan is only less than a quarter in Chitral (Kreutzmann 1995: 220). All the same, the demand for the import of rice, wheat flour, and grain is quite substantial in Chitral, an area where agriculture overshadows all other economic activities. The import of these basic foodstuffs across the Loari Pass covers about three-quarters of the value of all goods purchased. The still growing dependence of Chitral on external supplies involves high costs for carriage as the Loari Pass remains a major physical obstacle and the Kunar Valley Road insecure.

While in the beginning of this century different modes of transport were applied for sustaining international trade, the present technology of motor vehicles leaves little scope for alternative routes as the cost of road construction in mountain areas exceeds the allocation in public budgets by far. This fact is symbolized in the Loari tunnel project, which was planned for two decades and commenced in the 1970s but stopped soon after.

NOTES

1. The Afghan authorities levied a transit tax of Rs 21 per pony-load of silk at the customs checkpoint at Sarhad-e-Wakhan while the same quantity of *charas* passed through for Rs 4.50 (IOL/P&S/12/3246: India Office Library & Records: Departmental Papers: Political & Secret Internal Files & Collections 1931–1947: Chinese Turkestan: Trade: Development of Trade between India and Chinese Turkestan. Letter of Consul-General Kashgar 11.7.1931).
2. IOL/P&S/7/165/1054: India Office Library & Records: files Relating to Indian States Extracted from the Political and secret letters from India 1881–1911: Chitral Diary 30.4.1904.
3. IOL/P&S/12/2358: India Office Library & Records: Departmental Papers: Political & Secret Internal Files & Collections 1931–1947: Letter from H.H. Johnson, Consul-General Kashgar to Government of India, Simla, dated Kashgar 15.8.1940.
4. IOL/P&S/7/240/923: India Office Library & Records: Files Relating to Indian States Extracted from the Political and Secret Letters from India 1881–1911: Memorandum of Information... May 1910. The date given was 21.11.1909 for implementing this legislation. In the following year it was reported that this prohibition act had not immediately affected opium and *charas* cultivation at all (IOL/P&S/7/242/1367: India Office Library & Records: Files relating to Indian states extracted from the Political and Secret Letters from India 1881–1911: Memorandum of Information August 1910).
5. Morgenstierne 1932: 31–2. Faizi (1991: 188) mentions the establishment of a bonded warehouse in Boroghil (Yarkhun) in 1926 in order '...to check the illegal import of *charas*.'
6. IOL/P&S/7/136/982: India Office Library & Records: Files Relating to Indian States Extracted from the Political and Secret Letters from India for 1908, Vol. 8.
7. Cf. in this context the descriptions of Chitral's social structure and taxation system by Barth (1956: 80–83); Beg (1990: 7); Eggert (1990); Lorimer (1980: 224–29). Biddulph (1880: 66) already mentions the importance of trade for the state revenue of Chitral.
8. IOL/P&S/12/1753: India Office Library & Records: Departmental Papers: Political & Secret Internal Files & Collections 1931–1947: Afghanistan. Trade. Stoppage of Trade between Chitral and Badakhshan: Rough Translation of the Persian Speech delivered by His Highness Sahib of Chitral...in the Durbar held in Chitral on 6th of Oct., 1935: pp. 94–96.
9. IOL/P&S/12/1753: India Office Library & Records: Departmental Papers: Political & Secret Internal Files & Collections 1931–1947: Afghanistan. Trade. Stoppage of Trade between Chitral and Badakhshan: Memorandum on 'Chitral Trade', P. A. Dir, Swat and Chitral, Malakand 15.10.1935: pp. 90–91.
10. IOL/P&S/12/1753: India Office Library & Records: Departmental Papers: Political & Secret Internal Files & Collections 1931–1947: Afghanistan. Trade. Stoppage of Trade between Chitral and Badakhshan: Memorandum from the Political Agent Dir, Swat and Chitral, Malakand 26.3.1936: p. 64.

11. Data provided by the Chitral state revenue authorities, quoted from Staley 1966: 234.
12. Dichter 1967: 45. A significant share left the state as contraband; legal export was restricted to the so-called 'tribal areas' alone.
13. Proudlock 1947: 193–94. Cf. for the development of traffic conditions prior to partition Schomberg 1938: 24, 29; Power 1948; Staley 1966: 202.
14. Israr-ud-Din 1967: 47. For recent extensions of the road network and the planned tunnel project underneath the Loari Pass, cf. Israr-ud-Din 1967: 47–48; Amir Mohammed 1981: 10–15; Haserodt 1989: 141–46.

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RELATIONS BETWEEN CHITRAL AND BALTISTAN

*Muhammad Hassan Hasrat**

Chitral has geopolitically been part of little Bolor, whereas Baltistan is identified as greater Bolor by some foreign as well as local researchers. In the ancient Tibetan version, Chitral was called 'Goq Yul' and later on 'Broshal.' Both the territories (Chitral and Baltistan) have remained as separate sovereign states since the prehistoric period and are situated at a distance of at least 400 to 500 kilometres from each other, separated by the Karakoram and Hindu Kush ranges. However, Chitral and Baltistan have similarities in culture and are temperamentally near to each other. Some historical, lingual, ethnic, and cultural relations between the two territories are discussed in this work.

It is quite strange that the writers of the history of Chitral are silent about its relations with Baltistan. However, researchers on the surrounding regions make ample references regarding historical relations between the two areas.

At the beginning of the eighth century the Tibetans extended their boundaries up to Pamir and clashed with Chinese interests. At that time, Chitral came under the influence of the Tibetan Empire, called 'Patola Shahi.' On this occasion, Chitralis and Tibetans found a chance to face each other for the first time.

It is said that when Sangin Ali, the ruler of Chitral, loomed large and attacked Gilgit, Raja Sultan Mirza of Gilgit was defeated and fled to Skardu for asylum and to seek help. So, Ali Sher Khan Anchan, the great ruler of the Maqpon dynasty of Baltistan marched on Gilgit with a huge army worthy of his glorious name. In Gilgit, Sangin Ali was defeated at the hands of Ali Sher Khan Anchan and thus the latter extended his dominion to Chitral.

According to tradition, Ali Sher Anchan, to commemorate his victory, entangled a grind stone in the branches of a plane tree in Chitral near the village of Broshal, which, by some historians, has been claimed to be still present some time ago. In Balti folk songs and stories, Chitral is known as a part of Broshal and this plane tree is referred to as 'Brosho Shingal.' Balti folklore pays tribute to Ali Sher Khan Anchan for his remarkable conquest and the boundary of his kingdom referring to it as '*Leh Purang na Brosho Shingal*,' meaning 'from Purang (Tibet) in the east to Brosho plane tree in the west.' All these achievements of Ali Sher Khan Anchan have been attributed by some researchers to his grandson Ali Shah. A bridge was also built near the Chitral fort and named Cho Bridge, meaning the royal bridge. *The Gazetteer of India* has recorded that this bridge was constructed by Raja Sultan Murad, the grandson of Shah Murad of Skardu. In fact, Chitral had been conquered by the Maqpon rulers of Skardu on three occasions, first, by Ali Sher Khan Anchan (1580 to 1624 AD), and second, by Sher Shah and Ali Shah, the grandsons of Ali Sher Khan Anchan, under the rule of Shah Murad (1650 to 1688 AD). In a stanza of a Shina folk song, the exploits of Sher Shah and Ali Shah in Chitral are extolled in the following words: 'Sher Shah Ali Shah constructed

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a wall in Chitral and then dust was raised due to huge number of horses and army in the battle field. Maqpon brothers constructed a wall in Chitral and dust was raised.'

On the third occasion, Raja Sultan Murad (1723 to 1753 AD) marched on Gilgit and then as far as Chitral, forcing the chiefs to pay allegiance to him. At Chitral, he repaired or reconstructed the Cho Bridge.

After a long silence between Chitral and Baltistan, communication between them resumed once again when the people of Gilgit and Baltistan revolted against the Dogra rulers during 1947-48. A number of armed militia forces and the State Bodyguard of Chitral came to the help of the freedom fighters on their request and rendered admirable services in Skardu under the guardianship of the *mehtar* of Chitral. The old people of Baltistan still remember and praise the valuable services of Colonel Mutaal Mulk and his soldiers who helped in relieving Skardu Fort from the Kashmiri contingent.

History is a witness to the fact that the prisoners brought by the Maqpon rulers from Chitral during the sixteenth century were settled in different parts of Baltistan. Moreover, groups of Chitrali adventurers have also migrated to Baltistan from time to time. Though these Chitralis are totally amalgamated in Balti culture and have no separate identity today, some of these tribes living in Tolti, Khaplu, and Siksa of Baltistan do continue to recognize themselves as 'Goq-Pa' connecting with 'Goq Yul' that is, Chitral. It is also said that the village Ghandus of Kharhong, Baltistan, was settled by ancestors of the Oma-chikpa family who came from Chitral in the prehistoric period. Arandu village of Shigar, and Shingus and Tiriko villages of Rundu valleys are referred to as Chitrali settlements also.

A Balti folk song 'Broshal-pa,' also describes a story in which a man named Muhammad belonging to Broshal (Chitral) married a lady named Sikim in Baltistan. After some time, when Muhammad wanted to return to his native land, his Balti wife narrated her sentiments through some verses and Muhammad replied. This song, which is sung as a duet, oresebts a giid exanke if kive between the couple (i.e., Chitral and Baltistan).

It is narrated that Ali Sher Khan Anchan introduced the game of polo in Gilgit and Chitral during his military campaign in the sixteenth century. Polo is a word of Balti origin meaning ball which has been adopted by others. According to folk tales, it is suggested that the polo game was well-developed and in vogue in Baltistan thousands of years earlier during the Kesar era (Kesar was the hero of a famous Tibetan epic). Moreover, it is claimed, most of the terminology of polo is of Balti-Tibetan origin. The present styles of polo in Chitral and Baltistan have many similarities between them. The credit for a polo ground at the Shandur Top, among some others, is also given to Ali Sher Khan Anchan. It is said that its correct pronunciation is 'Shamdun' instead of 'Shandur', which is actually a Balti word for a wild flower reportedly grown on the said plateau. A Balti folk song named 'Abda Khan' also enlightens us on the polo match played by Ali Sher Khan Anchan on the Shamdun ground. In this song, Ali Sher Khan says that he does not enjoy playing polo on the Shamdun ground due to the absence of his son Abda Khan. In another version of this song, he talks about holding his court of public gathering in Chitral, complaining about the absence of his son, Abda Khan. Besides polo, sports such as hunting of wild animals, tug-of-war, wrestling, archery, stone throwing, and hide-and-seek are played in both Chitral and Baltistan.

It has been observed that certain fundamental social characteristics are common to both Baltistan and Chitral. There are great similarities in different mythologies and legends between the two areas. Some proverbs, riddles, and many other folk tales both in Balti and Khowar languages are of a common nature. For example, the imaginary offering of a fort to the winner of riddles is a common tradition even today in Baltistan and Chitral.

It has been noted that some Balti and Khowar folk songs are exactly the same ideologically. For instance, 'Masharif Bashaono' in Khowar and 'Ango Dalmo Suk' in Balti are both a dialogue between a doe and her deer. It is interesting that the central idea and even some sentences of this folk song are the same in both the Balti and Khowar languages. It is a good example of the mental harmony between the people of Chitral and Baltistan centuries earlier. Today also the Balti and Chitralis are, psychologically and mentally, harmonious and peaceful, harmless and noble souls. Their folk imaginings are also in harmony with each other. For instance, *Mayon* the weaver bird, is considered the ideal bird of the poets in both the regions (its name is also pronounced the same way in both Chitral and Baltistan). It is also a common practice for mothers in Baltistan and Chitral to silence their weeping babies by terrifying them by saying that a cat will come to bite off their ears.

It is also common among the people of Baltistan and Chitral to bathe in the hot water sulphur springs in case of skin diseases; pull horn pipes on the back of the patient and open a vein with a I lancet to draw spoiled blood; tighten a broken bone with the help of two planks; and wear an amulet as a charm against the evils of most diseases. It has been known that a prominent folk dance, called *Ragi Kar* in Balti and *Khongora Phonik* in Khowar, in which the dancers wave their swords in the air, is found in both Chitral and Baltistan.

The Kalash women wear a sort of long gown-type shirt, named *Sangach*, made of woollen cloth. Their caps are decorated with corals and shells called *Ko-Phas* and have a long tail which hangs up to their waists. Balti women had the same clothes three to four decades earlier.

An illumination festival, Chaomos, is celebrated in Chitral by the Kalash on or after 21st December every year. Its background is annexed with the traditional solar circulation according to the Kalasha mythology. The same festival is celebrated in Baltistan during the same season. Some kinds of traditional food in Chitral and Baltistan are of a common nature:

<i>Balti</i>	<i>Khowar</i>	<i>Description</i>
<i>Zan</i>	<i>Hool</i>	The flour is cooked in water and eaten with melted butter or soup.
<i>Hitzab</i> <i>Balay</i>	<i>SoSp KaLi</i>	It is cooked in either water or edible oil/fats and prepared in liquid form mixing a sweet flour in it. Some diseases were cured in the past by using this kind of food.
<i>Kro Balay</i>	<i>Lažek</i>	The grains of wheat are ground in a mortar and cooked with meat or heads and feet of animals. Spices are used in it. It is like the Chinese chicken corn soup or <i>halim</i> cooked in the subcontinent.

Finally, we can definitely say that Baltistan and Chitral have enjoyed close cultural, lingual, racial, and historical relations since ancient times and offer an important venue to our researchers to probe further to enhance understanding of the people of these regions. Such studies will also help to bring the two peoples closer to each other once again.

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THE TURBULENT PERIODS—AN ACCOUNT OF MASS MOVEMENTS IN CHITRAL (1917–53)

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'Chitralis are a people tenaciously attached to old observance and custom, including fidelity to the ruling house as such, though not necessarily to its individual members, but look with a suspicious horror not upon crime, but upon innovation.'¹

These remarks were passed by Lord Curzon in 1894, and he was right in his assessment of what he saw during a visit to Chitral almost a century ago. But things change and twenty years later the Chitralis turned against the system evolved and supported by their forbear. The year of the Bolshevik revolution in neighbouring Russia marked the opening of a new chapter in the history of Chitral, where people took to the streets against the sitting ruler of the princely state, Shuja-ul-Mulk, who was then backed by British India's power. This uprising was followed by another attempt to dethrone him in 1926. The violent tide rose against the state rulers once again in 1946 and 1949 and continued even after the merger of the state with the NWFP in July 1969.

Among the princely states of the Hindu Kush region, Chitral has the distinction of having the oldest political setup and the most efficient public administration system, evolved and successfully run for more than thirteen centuries by rulers from Bahman-e-Kohistani (670 AD) to the last Katore prince (1969). During the long span of history, Chitral paid tribute to different neighbouring powers at different periods but internally it remained independent. The state rulers and their subjects had a mutual understanding and both were of the view that each party was indispensable for the other. Though the rulers were despotic, the subjects were faithful and peaceful.

The beginning of the twentieth century was the era of reawakening for the people of Chitral. The ruler had consolidated his power with the help of British India. It was thought that he would continue to enjoy public support like his predecessors. He levied certain new taxes on his subjects, for example, *ushur* that is, payment of one-tenth of the land farm produce—a religious obligation upon Muslims which they pay to the deserving people at their own discretion. In 1915, the ruler ordered that all *ushur* of Mastuj be collected for the state through the state administration. After the *ushur*'s partial consumption by the ruler's large family and state officials, it was to be distributed among the public. The first popular uprising against the ruler began from Mastuj and it was a public reaction to this order.

The Uprising of 1917

The Mastuj area to the west of Shandur in the Hindu Raj Range was previously included in the Khushwaqt territory administered by the rulers of Yasin from the east of the range. In

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1895, Mastuj came under the direct control of British India. After his formal coronation on 2 September 1895, Shuja-ul-Mulk began to think over plans to annex Mastuj to his dominion. During his visit to India in 1899 he took up his plea with the viceroy and persisted in his demand until the government handed over the Khushwaqt territory to him under an agreement on 13 May 1914.² After assumption of the charge of Mastuj the *mehtar* ordered the realization of *ushur* from the people of Mastuj. The public did not respond positively and a revolt was stirred up in May 1917 in which a spiritual leader of the Ismaili community from Chuinj and a lady activist from Buni played key roles.

Syed Shah Nawaz alias Bulbul Shah was a religious leader of the Ismaili community. He was a landlord and a prominent figure in the area. Owing to his friendship and intimate relations with the Khushwaqt ruler of Yasin, he was unhappy with the annexation of his area to Katore territory. There were even theories about possible intrigues by Shah Abdur Rehman Khan, the then *mehtar* of Yasin. The Zondre tribe of the area had fostered the ruler of Yasin. It was also active in the agitation, and a lady from the Zondre clan of Buni also launched a similar campaign against the Katore *mehtar*. Her name was Zhoor Nama and she was an aged woman. Her father, Lasht Duroyu, hailed from a respectable family and her cousin Ali Noor Khan held an important post in the local administration. She pretended to die, and came out of the grave after some time to give the impression that she had been given new life to fight against the Katore *mehtar*. She claimed that she was given the task of cleansing society of his misdeeds. For this purpose, she chose the 'whisk' as her symbol. Her movement became popular and it gave indirect support to the mass movement led by Bulbul Shah. People of Yarkhun, Mastuj, and Laspur had joined hands with Bulbul Shah while the public of lower Mastuj Sonoghor, Awi, and Buni joined Zhoor Nama. She called herself Faqir that is, Beggar, but people gave her the title of Buzurg (Saint). Both the movements had one goal, that is, replacing the Katore *mehtar*, Shuja-ul-Mulk. The leaders had mass support but mobilization of street power was yet to start. The assistant political agent, N.E. Reilly, suggested that the *mehtar* deal with the agitation on his own. The *mehtar* sent two contingents of a 1000 men under Atalique Bahadur and 3000 under Atalique Sarfaraz Shah to Mastuj. Bulbul Shah was exiled to Badakhshan and Zhoor Nama was punished severely. After some time she was handed over to her cousins who killed her by drowning her in the river. Thus, the uprising against the *mehtar* came to a tragic end. The situation was brought under control within a period of two months. In July 1917, Shuja-ul-Mulk visited Mastuj and the people expressed their allegiance and full support his rule.³

The Revolt of 1926

Though Shuja-ul-Mulk succeeded in quelling the first uprising against his authority, there were people in Chitral who were opposed to his rule and wanted to dethrone him. The 1926 revolt was such an attempt by his opponents. Some notables from the royal family and some elites of the ruling class were unhappy over the influence of some other people on the *mehtar*. They wanted to make their own way into the corridors of power by creating posts of ministers and a prime minister. Mir Haider Ali Khan of Kesu, Mir Ali Khan of Damik, Sufi Sikandar Khan of Patti, Hakim Munsif Khan of Drosh, Azizullah Khan Lal, Broze, and Mohammed Saeed Khan of Mastuj were leaders of this revolt. They consulted like-minded people and made a group of twenty-two persons, all important figures belonging to the ruling class. The group tried to attract mass support by chanting popular slogans against the *mehtar*. Waiving of some unpopular taxes and forced labour were the main demands. The group was about to

make an attempt on the life of the *mehtar* for paving the way to a ruler of their own choice. The *mehtar*'s eldest son, Nasir-ul-Mulk, was a potential substitute because he had intimate relations with the group leaders and was not liked by his father.

On the night of 22 March 1926, the group held its meeting in secrecy and under strict security in a house in Shiaqo-tek, Chitral. They decided to go ahead with the plan immediately and get rid of the *mehtar*. The proceedings of the meeting were leaked out to the *mehtar*, however, the next morning by one of the conspirators, whose house had served as its venue. The *mehtar* ordered an inquiry into the alleged conspiracy and sought the help of the government. Consequently, on 22 March four persons, Sufi Sikandar Khan, Haji Amir Ali Khan, Mehtarjao Mir Haider Ali Khan, and Hakim Munsif Khan, were arrested. Others managed to escape by pleasing the *mehtar* and assuring him of their confidence and loyalty in future. On 26 May 1926, the detained leaders were sent to a prison in Abbottabad, Hazara, where they remained behind bars for four years. Sufi Sikandar Khan of Patti breathed his last after twenty-six days of illness in prison. The rest were released in June 1930. The prisoners were given B-class facilities in prison and their expenses were born by the treasury of the *mehtar* of Chitral. It was a revolt in name only. No mass movement took place. Neither the leaders nor their well-wishers could raise street power against the prevailing system.

Popular Uprising of 1946

Though the first two revolts could not yield positive results, these attempts were indicators of public reaction against the sitting ruler. Eventually, twenty years after the second revolt a popular uprising took place against the *mehtar* in 1946. It may be pertinent to note that the first movement was initiated in Mastuj on the eastern borderland of Upper Chitral and the second one was planned and perceived by the people of Drosh on the southern borderland of Lower Chitral. This third revolt was also backed by the masses belonging to Drosh, the brain behind it being Shahzada Mohammad Hussam-ul-Mulk, a prominent figure from the ruling family and younger brother of the sitting *mehtar*, His Highness Mohammad Muzaffar-ul-Mulk, and governor of the Drosh area. The cause of this revolt was the decision of the *mehtar*, on 23 May 1946, to appoint his son, Saif-ur-Rahman, as heir apparent due to his own critical health condition. The decision was challenged by Hussam-ul-Mulk, who on some occasion had been verbally assured by the *mehtar* that his son, Samsam-u-Mulk, who was also son-in-law of the latter, was going to be appointed as heir apparent.⁴ To hinder the action of the *mehtar*, Hussam-ul-Mulk, in a short time, was able to raise the people of Drosh against the sitting ruler. This uprising, known as *daSmán duhu*, made plans to undertake a long march to Chitral Town. On 25 May information reaching Chitral gave the impression that the governor of Drosh was going to attack Chitral to seize the throne. Though later Hussam-ul-Mulk tried his best to clarify that he had no ill intentions against the throne and only wanted to meet the *mehtar* to remove his misgivings, it was too late. Consequently, a 3000-strong contingent of bodyguards from Lotkuh was mobilized under the command of Atalique Sarfaraz Shah, the iron man who had crushed the Mastuj uprising in 1917. The commandant of the Chitral Scouts in Drosh was ordered to arrest Hussam-ul-Mulk while Shahzada Shahabuddin was sent to Drosh to replace him as governor. Orders were carried out accordingly and on 27 May 1946, Hussam-ul-Mulk was sent to Loralai prison in Balochistan, where he remained a prisoner until his release on 19 September 1949. The bodyguard force raided Drosh and returned after a week of plundering and looting. The unfortunate event was a result of intrigue in the court of the ailing *mehtar*. It, however, proved to be a milestone in the history of Chitral in the

sense that it paved the way to popular uprisings and mass agitations against the *mehtar* during the period 1946 to 1949 and onwards. In prison, Hussam-ul-Mulk devoted himself to socio-political planning. He masterminded a pamphlet, *Mazalim-e-Chitral (Oppressions in Chitral)*, against the *mehtar*, which was published in Delhi by Chitrali students led by Maulana Amir Ali of Tirich, and widely distributed among the people of Chitral living downcountry from Peshawar to Lahore, Delhi, and Bombay. Some copies of the booklet even reached different corners of Chitral despite strict vigilance on the part of the *mehtar*.⁵

The Loralai prison gave Chitral an intellectual prince in the person of Hussam-ul-Mulk, who later wrote extensively on the culture of Chitral and created socio-political awareness among the masses in the area. He also organized a group of political activists to distribute handbills, posters, and other propaganda material against the government. His encouragement went a long way in promoting political activities in Chitral through an influential and vocal group of theologians.⁶

The Upheaval of 1949

Despite all odds, His Highness Muzaffar-ul-Mulk has to his credit the singular honour of bringing about Chitral's accession to Pakistan in November 1947.⁷ On 14 August, he had donated Rs 40,000 in cash for the rehabilitation of refugees and sent a high-level delegation to meet Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the governor general of Pakistan, in Karachi. The *mehtar* had a meeting with the Quaid-i-Azam in Peshawar in April 1948. The former also sent his bodyguard contingents to war on the Kashmir front, and under the command of Colonel Mutaal Mulk, Skardu was liberated from the occupation of Dogra forces in August 1948.⁸

Despite all these victories, the *mehtar* could not quell the political movements. After the detention of Hussam-ul-Mulk, Drosh had become the centre of political activities. Social workers, religious leaders, and activists had organized themselves against the *mehtar*. Maulana Noor Shahidin, Maulana Qalandar Khan, Maulana Mohammad Aqil, Maulana Noorul Ain, Qadir Nawaz Khan, Maulana Abdul Karim, Zafar Ahmed, Saifullah Jan Lal, Mir Hussamuddin, and their comrades opposed the *mehtar* and his administration. After the emergence of Pakistan, political authorities guided and encouraged the anti-state forces. At the same time, an internal conflict was going on between the *mehtar* and his brothers on different issues. Mutaal Mulk, Khoshwaqtul Mulk, and Khosh Ahmadul Mulk had also developed differences with the *mehtar*, and had their own political views and designs. On 6 January 1949, His Highness Muzaffar-ul-Mulk died and the next day Crown Prince Saif-ur-Rahman was crowned as the new *mehtar*.⁹ He was hardly 26 and dependent on his advisers and courtiers like his father in the last days of his life. Soon after his coronation, the young *mehtar* announced several concessions for his subjects and waived many taxes but the political activists wanted more concessions. The Drosh-based leaders demanded a share in power and shifted their headquarters to Chitral. At the same time, the people of Mastuj, led by Mohammad Saeed Khan, Sahib Nagin, Shah Syed, and others, created another front for the fulfilment of their demands and started to pass on wire messages to the authorities of the central government, to intervene in the affairs of Chitral and give the people their fundamental rights.

The mass agitation in Mastuj began in March 1949 and it spread from Yarkhun and Laspur down to Reshun. Shahzada Burhanuddin, commander-in-chief of the State Bodyguard, mobilized his troops towards Mastuj and arrested 400 persons including Sahib Nagin, Mohammad Saeed Khan, Shah Syed, Shokor Rafi, and other leaders. He also arrested Atalique Sarfaraz Shah of Chitral, the man who had earlier crushed the uprisings in Mastuj in 1917 and

Drosh in 1946, on the charges of indulging in intrigues against the *mehtar*. The drastic measures taken by the commander-in-chief of the State Bodyguard worsened the situation. Torture cells, physical punishment, and insulting treatments in public brought a very bad reputation to the administration. Leaders of public opinion launched a movement to demand the establishment of the a responsible Islamic government with immediate effect. They also came in contact with Manzar Alam and Chaudry Khaliquz Zaman of the Pakistan Muslim League, showing their intent to join the political mainstream in the country. The state administration took a serious view of the situation, and ordered a baton charge of nine leaders, including Salar Rahmatud Din and Haji Ghazi Khan, on 26 May. The detainees were put in torture cells. In his popular song, Sahib Nagin of Mastuj blames pro-Congress elements for these atrocities. The mobs grew larger day, by day and the Chitral State Muslim League was formed on 20 June 1949.¹⁰ This first political party was supported by influential people among the ruling elite. Consequently, an inquiry was ordered into the affairs of the state to give relief to the public. In May 1949, Mohammad Sharif Khan, political agent, Malakand, finalized his inquiry report. As a result of his findings, all the prisoners were unconditionally released. Shahzada Burhanuddin and Dilaram Khan were detained and sent to Peshawar for mishandling the matter.

The Muslim League held a big rally on 17 September 1949, Chitral Polo Ground. It was the first show of street power against the *mehtar*.¹¹ After this rally, the government decided to introduce a new setup instead of the traditional one. On 16 October, His Highness Saif-ur-Rahman was sent to the Pakistan Administrative Academy, Lahore, for training.¹² An administrative board was constituted. Sarfaraz Shah, Shahabuddin, and Syed Nadir Shah were its members. In 1950, the pro-*mehtar* forces organized themselves under the banner of the Ittehad League, headed by Agha Saadi Khan Chughtai. On 14 August 1950, both the rival political parties took out processions to show their strength. This game of numbers was won by the Muslim League, whose leader, Maulana Noor Shahiddin, managed to show a much larger gathering.¹³

The mass movement and upheaval of 1949 continued until April 1953, when the governor of the NWFP introduced the interim act of administrative reforms for Chitral. Under this act, the age-old state administrative machinery was abolished. Local governors were replaced by *tehsildars* (revenue officers), the State Bodyguard was substituted by the state police and an advisory council of elected representatives of the public was provided for.¹⁴ Though, under an agreement, the Chitral State Muslim League was given a share in power, the mass movements went on until the merger of the state in 1969.¹⁵

The study of this period of the history of Chitral in the twentieth century reveals that the Katore principedom of Chitral resembled the last decades of the Khawarizm Shahi dynasty of Turkestan. To quote V.V. Barthold, 'they were superior to their rivals in consistency and political skill and they gradually rose to a paramount position in the eastern part of the Muslim World. By his misrule Khawarizm Shah Mohammad aroused the hostility of the military class and the clergy, as well as of the popular masses.'¹⁶ As far as the character of the people is concerned it is still the same as what lord Curzon noted in 1894: loyal and submissive to the leader who has their interests at heart.

Acknowledgements

The paper is mostly based on the author's interviews with eyewitnesses of the events, such as Shahzada Hussam-ul-Mulk, Sahib Nagin, Saifullah Jan, Qadir Nawaz Khan, Mir Hussamuddin, Maulana Abdul Karim, Maulana Mohammad Aqil, Qazi Sahib Nizam, Agha Saadi Khan Chughtai, Wazir Ali Shah, and many other important figures of the period under discussion.

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PRINCE SHER AFZAL KHAN—THE ILL-FATED ADVENTURER OF CHITRAL

*Rahmat Karim Baig**

Prince Sher Afzal Khan, popularly known as the Gerzinda remained a controversial figure in the state politics of Chitral both during his life-long struggle for *mehtarship* and after his death as a prisoner of war. His rule inside and outside the state has both fascinated and disgusted sections of the state subjects in his own time and after his arrest. He left his devotees perplexed at a crossroad in history when his claim to the *mehtarship* of the principality of Chitral was completely genuine.

The younger son of mehtar Shah Afzal the Second, Sher Afzal was fostered by the Baikay clan of Torkhow, where he achieved a substantial following. Additionally, his cordial behaviour with various sections of society, with a view to cementing his relations for a possible scramble for the *Mehtarship*, helped him in winning widespread support. Secret motives cannot be ruled out as his later activities confirmed but for the time being he behaved like a gentleman, enjoying the liberties and privileges allowed to him from the revenue of the area. His ambitious heart was shocked by Prince Nizam-ul-Mulk's arrival at Shagram for fostership—a place which was very vital for Sher Afzal's future course of action. Within a couple of years, after secret deliberations with his close associates he decided to leave for Badakhshan owing to the activities of the disinformation cell which was working to drive a wedge between Sher Afzal and his royal brother. His motives, however, became known to the *mehtar* before his escape from the state and he was summoned to the capital. Sher Afzal was generously allowed to have whatever he wished but it was hard to win him over. After a short time, he left the state with his family for the tribal areas of Kohistan from where he headed to Kabul. He was not a rebel; he never raised a standard of revolt against the authority of the ruling prince; rather, he was a dissident. His fiery nature could not pull on with the repressive measures and mounting expansionist designs of his brother, who had undoubtedly grown stronger and whom he could not openly oppose at that juncture of history. He, therefore, considered it advisable to leave the state and discreetly chose to attend the court of the *amir* of Kabul. He knew that the *amir*, especially the general feeling in Kabul, had never been friendly towards Chitral. Though there was no open hostility between the two states, the Kabul court had often been a refuge for fugitive Chitrali princes and the miasma created by them usually attracted the malcontents of the state of Chitral. Although the Kabul court had never launched a large-scale offensive against Chitral to fight for the cause of any of the fugitives, it did provide them moral support, opportunities to raise an army of volunteers or mercenaries, and dependable intelligence lines to monitor developments in Chitral. After a few years Mehtar Pehlewan of the Khushwaqte stock also reached the Kabul court after being divested of his territories by Mehtar Aman-ul-Mulk. His and Sher Afzal's presence in the Kabul court was by no means a good omen for the astute Aman-ul-Mulk. Fears about the

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Amir's designs against Chitral instigated by the two fugitives compelled Aman-ul-Mulk to befriend the *maharaja* of Kashmir to counteract the imbalance. Because no Chitrali prince ever went to the Kashmir *darbar* seeking asylum, the *maharaja* held no bellicose designs against the mountainous state of Chitral and its ruler at that stage of history. So, Mehtar Aman-ul-Mulk's leaning towards Kashmir was a natural outcome of events. It was also easier for him to approach the Government of India through the *maharaja*. All these were practical considerations, purely political motives, unconnected with religion, which he by passed at that moment.

During his twenty years' stay at the Kabul court, Gerzinda (Sher Afzal) had opportunities to take part in some campaigns under the *amir*. He fought bravely and received the *amir's* kind attention, accruing him liberal allowances to live in the northern regions of the country as an agent of the Kabul court, most probably with a view to enable him to remain in contact with his agents working in Chitral secretly, who regularly conveyed to him reports of the latest developments in the state. A local report says that two of his most active informants used to cross a certain pass in summer. During their first trip they were surrounded by villagers and held captive in a hamlet in the Wakhan valley. A few days later, a Chitrali woman was called to talk to the prisoners in Khowar. As a result, the purpose of their journey became known and they were allowed to go to Sher Afzal. But the Gerzinda never attempted to re-enter the state; neither did he give up his designs, nor did he try his luck by an appeal to the sword as long as Aman-ul-Mulk was alive. He watched the chain of events patiently, waiting for an opportune hour.

His patience finally presented him with a chance when his powerful brother disappeared from the political scene of Chitral in August 1892, and a scramble for the *mehtarship* began in earnest between the princes. In November 1892, the Gerzinda moved cautiously from Badakhshan via the Dora Pass into Lotkuh valley with a small contingent of not more than 200 men. It was a most carefully planned advance carried out expeditiously. He stormed the prince governor at Droshp, Lotkuh, in the darkness of the night, decapitating him mercilessly. In order to impress the people of the valley he resorted to military tactics, declaring that a large army was following him from Badakhshan and any kind of resistance by the local people would lead to devastation of the valley. The threat worked effectively and mob propaganda magnified it further. The second effective measure by Sher Afzal to make the bid a success was to cut off the communication lines so that no report of his sudden arrival should reach the capital. Thus, travellers going up the valley were allowed access but those travelling down were refused entry. This manoeuvre had the desired result. Prince Afzal-ul-Mulk, who usurped the capital after his father's death, was quite unaware of the storm moving down the Lotkuh valley. At Shoghor, the Gerzinda overwhelmed Prince Amir-ul-Mulk but he was not put to the sword; if he had been killed, like Murid-Dastagir at Droshp, the course of events would have been entirely different, but Amir-ul-Mulk was spared for unknown reasons. The third potent factor fully utilized by the Gerzinda was his offer to the people of Lotkuh valley to join him and share the booty of battle. This was a tempting bait to increase his native support. Mehtar Afzal-ul-Mulk's disregard for any possible invasion by his uncle was based on the *amir* of Kabul's treaty with British India, which was presumed to be sufficient cause for the *amir* not to allow the Gerzinda to invade Chitral.

Prince Sher Afzal's capture of Chitral Fort was carried out rather expeditiously. The *mehtar* and some of his adherents were killed whilst the rest of the men were overpowered by the invaders. The Gerzinda ascended the throne on 8 November 1892 at dawn and kept his word, allowing his supporters from the Lotkuh valley to loot and plunder as much as they could. In order to strengthen his hold over the supporters of Afzal-ul-Mulk and Prince Nizam-ul-Mulk, the Gerzinda resorted to brutality, killing many notables. A few managed to

escape to join Prince Nizam-ul-Mulk in Ghizer and bring him into the arena against the Gerzinda. The unexpected seizure of the principality of Chitral by the Gerzinda, and some features of his policy, estranged a section of the principal tribes, pushing them towards Nizam-ul-Mulk, who was slowly gaining support in the Ghizer valley. Muhammad Isa—a foster brother of the Gerzinda and a champion of his cause, tried to check Nizam's advance through the Ghizer valley but was forced to retreat to Drasun Fort by Nizam himself.

At Drasun, Sher Afzal's son with a good number of headmen held the fort, where Muhammad Isa and Danial Baig—two of the most gallant warriors of the time—hoped to beat back Nizam. In the Mastuj valley, the Gerzinda did not find dependable support or he would not have left Mastuj Fort to face Nizam. In order to avoid bloodshed and find time to entrench himself more firmly, Sher Afzal sent envoys to his nephew to reach a negotiated settlement of the issue by dividing the state into two halves, to which Prince Nizam-ul-Mulk agreed, providing that the Mulikhow and Torkhow valleys were given to him. However, he continued to exert pressure on Drasun Fort. Talks for peaceful settlement were in progress while Sher Afzal himself was in Chitral waiting for the results. Suddenly, however, a rash of Afghan soldiers belonging to Sher Afzal fired their guns recklessly. This firing sparked a battle amid the confusion. Nizam's men besieged the Drasun Fort for two days, but on the third night Sher Afzal's son made a blunder by deciding to escape. He and his followers fought their way out of the fort at midnight and fled via the Owir-Ozhor-Arkari route to Badakhshan without sending any message of their decision to Sher Afzal in Chitral. It was a very short-sighted, inadvisable, and rather ignominious escape. Their blunder led to speculations in the pro-Sher Afzal circles to which the war propaganda cell of Prince Nizam added rumours that Sher Afzal's son had been killed at the fort and his generals had fled the state unable to show their faces. The Gerzinda, having failed to ascertain the veracity behind the rumours decided to vacate the throne as he was disheartened at the so-called death of his beloved son and had been abandoned by his generals. He, therefore, decided to vacate Chitral Fort but it was a precipitous decision and shows the flaws in his war strategy. Sher Afzal's *mehtarship* over Chitral lasted for only 25 days. He left for Kabul once again on 2 December 1892, desolate and frustrated, while his son and generals had already reached Badakhshan. Soon after his return to Kabul, Chitral Fort was occupied by Nizam-ul-Mulk.

The Gerzinda returned to Kabul in utter disarray but disclosure of the real position further aggravated his fiery passions. Prince Amir-ul-Mulk had also left Chitral with the Gerzinda but he went over to Umara Khan of Jandool. After his reunion with his son and the generals, Sher Afzal sent Danial Baig to Jandool to recruit Amir-ul-Mulk against Nizam, who was then ruling the territories left by his father. A conspiracy was hatched against Nizam-ul-Mulk by the Gerzinda, Amir-ul-Mulk and Umara Khan of Jandool. Each of the three expected to outwit each other but Amir-ul-Mulk, was too young and inexperienced to compete with either of the other two. The young prince was tutored to start playing his role soon after his return to Chitral. The part played by him after his arrival in Chitral was a prologue to the bloody play of the subsequent years. The two principal characters remained calm behind the curtains but were prepared to jump into the arena as soon as their stool pigeon accomplished his part in the play. This part was to assassinate the ruling prince, an event which occurred on 1 January 1895. Umara Khan and Sher Afzal's entry into Chitral soon after the tragic event was entirely according to a pre-planned scheme, but the developments did not move to a climax as smoothly as envisaged by them. Umara Khan coveted some parts of the lower Chitral valley and had once besieged the Narisat Fort, where he had compelled the Chitrali contingent to surrender to him a notable of the Bashgal valley, whom he had carried away as prisoner while killing another at Arandu. This interference had exasperated Mehtar Aman-ul-Mulk but the

British authorities had asked the *mehtar* not to take any action against Umara Khan, fearing border complications which they wanted to avoid.

Umara Khan had his own grievances against the British, as he had earlier been indulged by them and then dropped. His claim over Asmar was rejected by the Boundary Commission, which was cause enough for him to take part in a tug-of-war to avenge the wrong he felt had been committed against him. In order to create border complication, he found elements like Sher Afzal and Prince Amir-ul-Mulk but declared a holy war against the pagans of Bashgal. It was an effective slogan to arouse the religious passions of his fellow tribesmen as his secret motive was still unknown to them. Robertson's report on the politics of the borderlands, long before Umara Khan's march to Chitral, stressed that Umara Khan and Sher Afzal should never be allowed to meet each other; otherwise, it was felt, trouble would be sure to follow. However, the contents of his report were not acted upon by the authorities concerned. Secret correspondence and exchange of messengers kept the two in close contact resulting in a conspiracy that drove Chitral to chaos. For Sher Afzal it was another chance to fulfil his long overdue plan.

The Gerzinda's reappearance on the political scene during such a serious juncture of political instability was reassuring for the portion of the Chitral elite who had in the meanwhile failed to extend all-out support to the incumbent *mehtar*, Amir-ul-Mulk. In the eyes of a major bulk of the public, the Gerzinda was the rightful candidate and had all the essential characteristics to resolve the crisis. However, the British agent stubbornly opposed the idea because he thought it against British honour to have any dealing with Sher Afzal. It was quite fair for the Gerzinda to fish in troubled waters, according to the traditions of his family. Indeed, he was playing a game not unknown in the history of the state, but Robertson's tinkering with the crisis added fuel to his fury. Sher Afzal had the right to make his bid but the British agent was acting on the basis of personal likes and dislikes. He was deadly against Sher Afzal's supremacy in the region as he was prejudiced against the man who enjoyed the support of the majority of the state subjects. Robertson had many options for a peaceful settlement of the issue but he chose the one which was more risky and uncalled for. Yapp, in his introduction to *Chitral: Story of a Minor Siege* writes, 'Robertson admits that Sher Afzal was the popular choice as *Mehtar* and it is by no means clear that the breakdown of the negotiations was the fault of Sher Afzal although Robertson endeavors to cast the blame on him.' According to Robertson, Nizam's death went unwept as some acts of cruelty perpetrated by him were detested by his subjects; and their resultant leaning towards Sher Afzal was a great change in local politics with Prince Amir-ul-Mulk acting as place-warmer for Sher Afzal. Umara Khan had obviously come to support those who favoured him and hoped to receive a part of the state for his sacrifices, which then would have placed him in a better position to reoccupy Narisat and some other parts of the valley.

Robertson has left no stone unturned to prove the so-called villainy and treachery in the character of the natives who had gallantly challenged his interference in a tug-of-war between the princes of the ruling family. Sher Afzal's claim to the *mehtarship* was valid and, for the most part, he relied on a negotiated settlement, abstaining from bloodshed as long as he could tolerate Robertson's delaying tactics.

Sher Afzal fought for his cause and the British contingent for British policy. A delegation of Chitrali notables met the Gerzinda soon after his arrival in Drosh to discuss the crisis and resolve the issue of succession. However, Robertson was infuriated to hear of such a move. Robertson's tactic of prolonging negotiations with Sher Afzal was designed to keep him in suspense until the arrival of reinforcements from Gilgit.

By installing a teenage 'puppet' on the *mehtar's* throne, the British attempted to become masters over the sensitive border state of Chitral. The alternative was to have a popular, powerful, independent, experienced, anti-British, Kabul-aligned Sher Afzal over whom they could not expect to exert their hold effectively. Such a ruler would have proved unruly, and not the tool which the British wanted for Chitral.

Sher Afzal's march into Chitral after Umara Khan and the *amir's* silence over his return to Chitral indicated that he had been allowed to try his luck with the secret consent of the Afghan ruler. At the same time, his march into Chitral was not opposed by any section of the Chitralis. Even those who were supporting Amir-ul-Mulk at that moment did not oppose or object to his entry into the most sensitive and vital sector of defence. This is sufficient proof of his popularity among the masses. The Gerzinda did not make the entry stealthily and Prince Amir-ul-Mulk's supporters knew about all of his movements. However, he did not have to face any kind of resistance by them in Lower Chitral, which was then seething with chaos. Additionally, the Gerzinda's generals received equal acclamation in the valleys of Upper Chitral, where Amir-ul-Mulk seems to have had no supporters at all. The mass support for the Gerzinda against British intervention was enough to prove his valid claim to the throne. All the strategic points from Chitral to Mastuj were occupied by followers of Sher Afzal under the popular command of Muhammad Isa. The defeat suffered by the British on 3 March at the hands of the Gerzinda's men should have opened the British agent's eyes to the fact that he enjoyed the popular support of the natives.

The Gerzinda fought not only for his cause but also for an independent state. He was opposed to the presence of British troops in Chitral whereas Aman-ul-Mulk and his successors had welcomed the British into Chitral and even relied on them. Sher Afzal's point of view, on the other hand, was clear from the very beginning. His uncompromising nature was an obstacle in his path for easy access to the throne. The Gerzinda's role and character in this very turbulent period of the history of Chitral has not received the degree of appreciation that it deserves. He was overwhelmingly supported as a leader and a model of native resistance but books of history have not done him justice. Robertson's mistrust of him was based on the fear that he was a nominee of the *amir* of Kabul and Sher Afzal's *mehtarship* meant to him an expansion of the kingdom of Kabul in the high Hindu Kush region and a setback for British designs. The British commander was determined to keep Chitral at all costs, mostly by his own initiatives, as there were no clear directives coming in. It was Robertson who was trying to change, unwittingly, an age-long tradition of succession* to uphold a frontier policy, deposing and installing young princes to block Sher Afzal's path. Umara Khan's advance to Drosh had made things more complicated for Chitralis as they did not know about his real intentions: whether he came to support Amir-ul-Mulk or the Gerzinda. This divided their loyalty, though Sher Afzal had a major portion of it while Amir-ul-Mulk had a negligible one as his dethronement never became a matter of resentment among the people, nor did Shuja-ul-Mulk's installation bring about any noticeable change in the support enjoyed by the ambitious Gerzinda. It is also noteworthy that Sher Afzal made a tangible mistake by not availing of his superior position gained on 3 March over the British troops but it does not compromise his right to the *Mehtarship*. Whatever was the cause of his failure, the general consensus over his legitimate right to the *Mehtarship* with popular backing and an eye for an independent position for Chitral can hardly be challenged. His failure was a tragedy for Chitral as it ended the independent position the state had enjoyed for hundreds of years.

* Robertson's move was exactly according to the age-old tradition of succession prevalent in the region (ed).

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Certain information was also obtained through interviews from different informants who had firsthand knowledge of the events.

ONE HUNDRED YEARS AFTER THE SIEGE OF CHITRAL: AN ANALYSIS OF THE CAMPAIGN

Muhammad Nawaz Khan*

General

After the annexation of the Punjab on 29 March 1849, the British inherited the restless tribal area of the frontier from the Sikhs. The British ruled up to 14 August 1947, but had to fight constantly against the fierce and independence-loving Pathans of the frontier. They had to send many expeditions against the Pathan tribes, who never accepted the British rulers, in accordance with their historical traditions. The Ambeyla Campaign of 1863, the Siege of Chitral and the Battle of Malakand of 1895, and the Pathan revolt of 1897 are some of the famous events of the military history of the frontier. April 1995 marked the one hundred year anniversary of the Siege of Chitral. The British have left and the state of Chitral is now a district of Pakistan, but people still read about the gallant actions of the tribal *ghazis* (infidel-slayers) and the British soldiers who fought against each other. This article is presented in celebration of the centenary of the Siege of Chitral and the Battle of Malakand, which shook the British government.

The Scramble for the *Mehtarship*

Relations between the state of Chitral and the British Government of India were first established in 1877. The aim was to check the advances of the Russians into the area. The then *mehtar* of Chitral, Aman-ul-Mulk, was a strong ruler but when he died in August 1892, a fight for the *mehtarship* started. Besides other kinsmen, Aman-ul-Mulk had left seventeen sons who could claim the *mehtarship*. One of his sons, Afzal-ul-Mulk, seized the treasury and arms and the people recognized him as the *mehtar*. The Government of India also recognized him while the lawful heir and elder son, Nizam-ul-Mulk, fled to Gilgit. One of the earliest claimants to the *mehtarship*, Sher Afzal, who was in Afghanistan, however, appeared on the scene and reached Chitral by force. Afzal-ul-Mulk was killed at Chitral Fort and Sher Afzal seized it along with the treasury and arms. Nizam-ul-Mulk, who was in Gilgit, now became active and advanced on Chitral in force. Sher Afzal could not stop his advance and again fled to Afghanistan in the first week of December 1892. The British sent a mission to Chitral to greet the new *mehtar*, Nizam-ul-Mulk. The new ruler settled down and ruled for about two years (1893–95) but was shot dead on 1 January 1895, on the instigation of his half-brother Amir-ul-Mulk, who then seized the throne to become *mehtar*.

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Umara Khan Invades Chitral

The British had, in those days, become deeply involved in the power game of Chitral State. The claim of Amir-ul-Mulk was supported by Umara Khan, the chief of Jandool State, which bordered Chitral and Afghanistan. Umara Khan marched into Chitral with 3000 men, crossing over the 10,000 feet high Loari Pass, under heavy snow. The Chitralis, taken by surprise, could not withstand his attack and lost Drosh Fort. In the meantime, Sher Afzal also came and joined forces with Umara Khan against the British. The British in the interval deposed Amir-ul-Mulk, took him into custody, and formally recognized Shuja-ul-Mulk, who was about 10 years old, as the *mehtar*.

The Siege of Chitral Fort

The combined forces of Sher Afzal and Umara Khan attacked Chitral on 3 March 1895, causing the British forces to also suffer heavy casualties. Chitral Fort had six British officers and 400 men inside, apart from eleven followers, twenty-seven servants, some clerks, messengers, and fifty-two Chitralis. The total strength, therefore, came to 543. The British Government of India started immediate preparations to relieve Chitral. Mobilization of the 1st Division of the Field Army, under Major General Sir Robert Low, was, therefore, ordered. While the preparations were underway, affairs at Chitral worsened and lieutenants Fowler and Edwards were seized by Sher Afzal and sent to Umara Khan, who shifted them to Munda in Jandool.

The Battle of Malakand

The force under Major General Low advanced on 3 April 1895 towards the Malakand Pass, where a fierce battle was fought on the same day. The pass and the shouldering heights were held by about 12,000 tribesmen. These defending Pathan '*ghazis*' fought gallantly, but were overwhelmed by the British forces. According to British sources, about 500 Pathans were martyred, about 1000 wounded, and about 10,000 dispersed. The British losses were seventy killed and wounded.

The Relief of Chitral

After taking Malakand, the British took Chakdara and advanced into Dir valley. While this force had started for Malakand earlier, Colonel Kelly started with his force from Gilgit for Chitral, which was 220 miles away, via the 12,250 feet high Shandur pass, on 23 March 1895. The force crossed the pass, which was covered with heavy snow, on 30 April 1895 with determination and courage. After various combats against Chitrali *mujahideen*, the force finally reached Chitral on 20 April 1895. The siege had been lifted a day earlier. The men of Kelly's force joined hands with their comrades, who had been besieged for 47 days at Chitral Fort. The famous march was highly appreciated by Her Majesty Queen Victoria and her other military commanders. By the end of April 1895, General Low's force also arrived in Chitral via the Loari Pass. With this successful expedition, the new *mehtar*, Shuja-ul-Mulk, was installed. Many military awards were given for gallantry during the siege and relief of Chitral, including the Victoria cross to Surgeon-Captain Whitchurch.

Analysis of the Campaign

It is said that a people can only live in the present if they learn from the past. It is, therefore, necessary to go into the causes of a conflict and its consequences. The Chitral campaign offers a classic example in this regard.

Causes

1. The British had come to stay and, in order to consolidate their position, they showed a keen interest in the affairs of Chitral, Gilgit, Hunza, Swat, Dir, and Malakand. They did not lose any opportunity to take advantage of internal disturbances in the small states. They were ruthless in this regard. The instructions of one commander, Skobelev, to his officers were:
'Do not forget that in Asia he is the master who seizes the people pitilessly by the throat and imposes upon their imagination.'
2. The Russians had made political incursions into Hunza. They had taken over neighbouring areas in Turkestan and knew of the importance of Chitral. Their interest prompted the British to move into Chitral as quickly as possible and start actively interfering in the affairs of Kashmir, Gilgit, and Hunza.
3. Internal quarrels for the *mehtarship* of Chitral among the successors of Aman-ul-Mulk weakened the state and created an opportunity for British and Afghan intrigues.
4. Umara Khan, after consolidation of his power in Jandool and other areas, naturally looked towards Chitral. The support of the Afghans and internal conflicts within Chitral's ruling class gave him an opportunity to use force against the state.
5. Last but not the least was the interference of the *maharaja* of Kashmir, who did not want a prosperous and strong Chitral as his neighbour, (specially) ruling Ghizer, Yasin and Ishkoman. This brought him closer to the British and he put his forces under the British command for subjugating the Chitralis.

The Consequences

1. The British were the biggest beneficiaries of the Chitral campaign. They were able to consolidate their control over Chitral and now started to actively interfere in its internal affairs.
2. With the control of the strategically important state of Chitral, the British were able to check the further advance of the Russians. The Pamirs, therefore, became the last areas to come under the Russian Empire.
3. Chitral State was broken. Ishkoman, Yasin, and Ghizer were permanently detached from its rule.
4. The British consolidated their power in Kashmir, Hunza, and Gilgit and the *maharaja* had to suffer losses in this respect. His control and rule in these areas, except Kashmir, became nominal.
5. The Afghans were brought under pressure and their interference in Chitral, Bajour, Dir, and other areas was checked. The Afghans were also not permitted to establish close links with the Russian Empire.

6. The British took full advantage of the campaign and took over the affairs of Dir and Malakand also. With Chitral under their control, their rule was sufficiently strengthened in these areas.

Conclusion

The British did not acquire control over Chitral easily. They fought many battles and suffered a lot at the hands of the Pathans at Malakand and Nawagai. The successes of the Chitralis at Koragh over Captain Ross, at Reshun resulting in the capture of lieutenants Edwards and Fowler, and at Chitral, during British reconnaissance on 3 March 1895, are worth mentioning. The Chitralis fought bravely for their land and independence and scored at many places. After the campaign, a new brand of freedom-loving Chitralis emerged.

Chitral is today more important strategically than before. Its closeness to the new Central Asian states has given the area new dimensions and Chitral cannot be ignored, if links between the Central Asian states, Pakistan, and other countries are to be established. Chitral and its people have always maintained the original characteristics of the culture, language, and customs of their area and will do so for years to come. Their glory shall always remain by the grace of God Almighty. Baba Siyar said:

ma sayūrj dawur diti ma hosto-te goya nogoy
ay ma lot nemi khodai ma niyat mat boya no boy

O-God! Shall my falcon come back to me from the skies and will my wishes be fulfilled.

It shall definitely come, because:

bigzarad az now falak ah-e dile máa khastagán
báaš áagah zálímá az šišt-e tiir andáaz-e ma

O-Tyrant, be afraid of our cries that pierce through nine skies

hergiz siar manáaz bitayáat-e khesh
tayt bikun wa takya be litf-e ilah kun

O-Siyar: Do not be proud of your prayers, just go on obeying, and leave the consequences to the mercy of God Almighty

MAULANA NOOR SHAHIDIN (1887–1967): HIS POLITICAL ROLE IN THE HISTORY OF CHITRAL

*Amir Khan Mir**

Maulana Noor Shahidin is known in the written annals and folk history of Chitral as a man of great courage. He masterminded and successfully led a mass movement against the prevailing socio-political system in the princely state of Chitral at a time when the state princes had consolidated their power under His Highness Sir Shuja-ul-Mulk with the help of the moral, financial, and military support of the British rulers.

After the demise of Aman-ul-Mulk in 1892, a period of uncertainty, chaos, and political turmoil was ushered into Chitral. His successors, indulging in the wars of succession, became so weak that the ruling elite invited the British to intervene militarily and annex the state as part of British India. The Siege of Chitral in March April 1895, was the last episode of these events. On the one side were those who fought for the freedom of Chitral, led by Ghazi Sher Afzal, Danial Baig, and Muhammad Isa, who were supported by Umara Khan, the ruler of Jandool. On the other side, there were pro-British elements under Shuja-ul-Mulk who wanted to oust Umara Khan and his allies from Chitral. The fighting and siege resulted in the success of the latter group. Consequently, Sher Afzal and his allies were imprisoned for life and Shuja-ul-Mulk was crowned as state ruler with unprecedented powers. Under an agreement, defence and foreign affairs were given to British India. The *mehtar* no longer needed the people's help in these matters. Moreover, a handsome subsidy from the British exchequer gave him financial support to crush his opponents. Thus, the voice of opposition was suppressed in the state.

In the past the *mehtar-e-Chitral* had depended on the public for security and defence of the state. He had needed the people's mandate for his power and had to give some weight to the aspirations of his subjects. Now, as the head of the British protectorate of Chitral, the *mehtar* developed into a monarch having unlimited powers, and his office became the symbol of a despotic ruler. He could seize the properties of his subjects, and even his courtiers could torment the Chitralis by snatching their belongings and encroaching upon their lands.

A number of taxes were levied on the poor masses who no longer had a say in state affairs. Sanctions were imposed on freedom of thought. Nobody was allowed to raise objections to what was going on. Voices raised against these cruelties were suppressed by force. There were courts and legal forums for disposal of cases, but all such forums including the court for Islamic jurisprudence (Mizan-e-Sharia) were just an eyewash. Their decisions were subject to the approval of the *mehtar*, whose person was like a clock tower in a walled city.

It was during this period that Maulana Noor Shahidin returned from Delhi after completing his religious education at the famous Institution of Aminiya founded by Mufti Kifayatullah. He

* Met. officer, Chitral.

belonged to a middle-class family of Chumurkhon, a village 10 kilometres away from the *mehtar's* palace. His father, Sufi Muhammad-ud-Din, was a simple man and had no interest in political affairs. Maulana Noor Shahidin was a man of a different nature. Just after his arrival in Chitral in July 1917, at the age of 30, he delivered his first sermon from the stage of Shahi Masjid, Chitral, controlled by the *mehtar*, in the very presence of the ruler. In his sermon, the young, energetic, and daring *maulana* demanded the enforcement of Islamic laws under an independent judiciary. He also condemned the un-Islamic taxes imposed on the masses and the prevailing system of forced labour in the state. He demanded the abolition of the existing revenue laws and forced labour. This sort of political speech was unexpected and unprecedented, especially under the very nose of the state ruler. It was an open challenge to the authority of the *mehtar*. When the prayers were over, Sir Shuja-ul-Mulk asked the *maulana* what type of *sharia* law he wanted to introduce.

The *mehtar* was of the view that there was a Mizan-e-Sharia in the state, with qualified *qazis*. But the *maulana* was not satisfied with the prevailing system and wanted a totally free Mizan-e-Sharia true to the spirit of the Islamic judicial system. The *mehtar* did not agree with his demand and threatened restraint to him from direct or indirect interference in the affairs of his administration. The *maulana* continued his mission irrespective of the consequences he had to face in his career as a social reformer. He was then put under strict watch. When the Third Afghan War ended, the *mehtar* of Chitral emerged victorious. He summoned the *maulana* to his court and asked for his cooperation, offering certain incentives, but the *maulana* did not bow before the *mehtar*. Although he was warned of dire consequences the *maulana* continued his struggle for ameliorating the lot of the poor masses in the state. He was subjected to corporal punishment and mental torture but these tactics could not force him to abandon his ideals and beliefs.

In 1924, when His Highness Shuja-ul-Mulk returned from his pilgrimage to the Holy Kaaba in Makkah, he was greeted by his subjects with great pomp and show. Political and religious elites and the masses turned out in great numbers to congratulate him. On this occasion, Maulana Noor Shahidin also called on the *mehtar* and advised him to do away with the rule of oppression and introduce Islamic laws in the state. The *mehtar* did not turn down the proposal to his face, but rather thought of a plan to get rid of him. Noor Shahidin was a person neither to be bought nor to be bowed. Accordingly, a member of the clergy, who was trusted by the *mehtar*, was commissioned to make an attempt on the life of *maulana* Noor Shahidin. The plan was carried out, but the *maulana* survived. In retaliation, his supporters managed to baton-charge the offender. As a result, Maulana Noor Shahidin was imprisoned and tortured severely. After his release he emerged as a popular leader of the masses. He organized like-minded people throughout the state and launched an underground campaign for Islamic laws and a democratic setup in the state. On several occasions he fled to Kabul in self-exile, and contacted prominent figures in Afghanistan and India to support his movement for human rights in Chitral.

The *maulana* once again posed a challenge to the state authorities. This time the *mehtar* commissioned a team of his trusted people to assassinate Maulana Noor Shahidin at any cost. The team planned to ambush the *maulana*. Luck favoured him as he passed by the place at the head of a good contingent of his well-wishers. Although an encounter did take place the second attempt on his life also failed. The ambushed party suffered from severe injuries but nobody was killed. When the *mehtar* heard of the incident he wanted to put the *maulana* behind bars, but some of his courtiers, who by now had developed a soft corner for the *maulana*, advised the *mehtar* to forget the matter. The *maulana* was often told by his supporters

to adopt a flexible policy, but he was a hardliner and hard taskmaster. Retreat was written nowhere in his book.

In 1936, His Highness Shuja-ul-Mulk was succeeded by Crown Prince Mohammad Nasir-ul-Mulk. He was an enlightened and broad-minded prince and his views were identical with those of Maulana Noor Shahidin. He established schools and allowed all classes of people to educate their children. He established the Chitral Scouts as a native force and sent the British garrison back to India.

He also embarked upon a plan to introduce development works in the state: generation of electricity by installing mini-hydel power stations was his priority. The enforcement of Islamic laws and introduction of democratic reforms in the state administration were also very much on his agenda. Therefore, Maulana Noor Shahidin did not press his political struggle so hard during his rule.

The rule of His Highness Mohammad Muzaffar-ul-Mulk (1943–49) was quite different from that of his predecessor. Owing to profound illness, the *mehtar* himself could not keep a vigilant eye on the day-to-day affairs of the administration. Those courtiers holding vested interests took the opportunity to oppress the poor masses. Many schemes launched by Nasir-ul-Mulk became redundant. Nobody's life, honour, and property were safe from the subordinate authorities of the state administration. New taxes were introduced. This state of affairs compelled Maulana Noor Shahidin to accelerate the pace of his mass movement once again. His highness employed the tactics of his father and placed a choice before him: either he accept royal offers and incentives or be subjected to severe punishment. The *maulana* opted for the latter, and underwent torture in prison. On his release, a third attempt was made on his life. The would-be killers opened fire on his house. He was unaware of the conspiracy but survived the attack. The snipers' raid was reported in the press and the state administration had to hang its head in shame.

By this time, the Pakistan movement was in progress in the subcontinent and efforts were being made to popularize the slogans of the All-India Muslim League in Chitral State. There was a ban on political activities in the state, but Maulana Noor Shahidin and his colleagues managed to prepare the masses for a grand agitation in 1946. Their struggle resulted in the accession of Chitral to Pakistan in 1947. The Pakistan Muslim League was introduced in Chitral by Maulana Noor Shahidin in 1949. Owing to legal implications it was called the Chitral Muslim League and the Maulana was elected its president. On 17 September 1949, the Chitral Muslim League held a grand public meeting in Chitral in which the *maulana* floated his well-known demand for the enforcement of *sharia*, the abolishment of cruel taxes and forced labour, and the establishment of a responsible Islamic government in Chitral. His Highness Saif-ur-Rahman attended the public meeting and announced a number of concessions in taxes, the abolition of forced labour, and the enforcement of *sharia* within the existing legal system. This was a great success for Maulana Noor Shahidin, yet he did not accept it because he wanted to bring revolutionary changes in the entire setup. He did not give up his struggle and made representations to the provincial and central governments pressing his demands.

In 1953, the *maulana* succeeded in compelling the Pakistan government to make administrative reforms and enforce an interim constitution providing for a democratic setup to replace the age-old administrative hierarchy in Chitral. The *maulana* was elected unopposed to the state advisory council. Until now he was hopeful regarding the enforcement of *Sharia* in the country especially in Chitral. When he was again disappointed he went to Kabul to see for himself if the Afghan government could help him in this regard. On his return he told his colleagues that things were even worse in that country, so he gave up the idea of seeking its help.

After living a long and eventful life, Maulana Noor Shahidin died on 27 September 1967 at the age of 80. He is highly regarded by his supporters as well as opponents for his bold character and fair game. Enforcement of *sharia* was his cherished goal and sole ambition.

Maulana Noor Shahidin was a true reformer and saviour of the oppressed people of Chitral. He was imprisoned eleven times and left his homeland on several occasions. He could have got benefits for himself and his family, but he did not accept such offers. He sacrificed his time, energy, and resources for the better future of his people. He often said, 'One should neither be afraid of any body except Allah nor expect any sort of help from anyone save Allah.' In fact, he was the founder of modern Chitral. In particular, the political horizon, land tenure system, and administrative setup of the district would have been quite different had he not devoted his intellectual as well as physical capabilities for socio-political reforms in Chitral. It is pertinent here to quote Allama Iqbal in order to pay homage to this great hero of the twentieth century:

مگو شمع آمد از خاک مزارے کہ درون زمین ہم متیوان زیست
نفس دارد و لیکن جان ندارد کے کہ بر مراد دیگران زیست

I heard a voice coming from the soil of a grave, saying, 'There can be life even inside the grave. Those who lived for others' welfare, are, though dead physically living spiritually'

Likewise, Maulana Noor Shahidin is alive in spirit as well as in the hearts and memories of hundreds of thousands of people across the country that he served so devotedly.

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SIEGE OF CHITRAL: SOCIO-POLITICAL IMPACTS OF THE BRITISH INFLUENCE (1895–1995)

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The Siege of Chitral was such a remarkable event that it has been remembered as a milestone and significant point in history. Besieging a party of 543 men including civilians and followers in a small fort of about 2400 square feet, with limited supplies and ammunition hardly sufficient for 37 days, was a great success on the part of the freedom fighters, and withstanding the siege for more than 46 days was a display of courage and planning on the part of the defenders.¹ The siege had commenced at a place where communication with the outer world was very difficult even for those who were outside the besieged fort. In early March 1895, all the passes were packed with soft snow and mobilization of the relief force for the besieged party was almost impossible. Another handicap was that the land and people were biased against the besieged for being strangers either from Britain or from Punjab and other parts of southern India. The event did not happen all of a sudden; it was rather a natural course of the events that followed the signing of an agreement between Aman-ul-Mulk, the *mehtar* of Chitral, and the British Government of India through the good offices of the *nawab* of Dir and the *maharaja* of Kashmir in November 1885.²

The *mehtar* was compelled to lean towards British India for help in case of any aggression from tsarist Russia, whose forces were being deployed on both banks of the Oxus in Badakhshan and Turkestan, on the vulnerable northern borders of Chitral.³ The expansionist *amir* of Afghanistan was another threat to the state from the southwest.

The agreement with the British was likely to serve the common interest of both the parties in checking Russian forces on the northern bank of the Oxus and preventing Amir Abdur Rahman Khan from stretching his influence towards the southern valleys of the Hindu Kush. The move also blocked the way of the Jandool chief, Umara Khan, who was constantly seeking British help to materialize his designs against the *mehtar* of Chitral.⁴ Even after the agreement, Umara Khan remained in contact with British officers in Peshawar asking for arms and ammunition to invade Chitral. In his letters Umara Khan repeatedly reminds the British government of his past services, loyalty, and friendship. He also assures them of his sincere services in future.⁵

As long as Aman-ul-Mulk and Sardar Nizam-ul-Mulk lived, Umara Khan could not attack Chitral. The assassination of Sardar Nizam-ul-Mulk and subsequent coronation of Amir-ul-Mulk in January 1895 gave him the long-awaited opportunity of attacking Chitral, partly because Amir-ul-Mulk was in the bad books of the British Government and partly because the former was weak and depended on Umara Khan for support.

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The invasion of Chitral by Umara Khan, the bloodshed, and the twelve eventful weeks of the presence of the Pathan forces in Chitral changed the face of the country from an independent friend to a protectorate of British India. Prior to January 1895, the British agent, with an escort of only 100 men, was stationed in the state. After the invasion of Umara Khan a British garrison of 1000 men had to be raised and kept for the tiny hill state by the British commander-in-chief in India on a permanent basis. The political mission had to be upgraded and an assistant political agent was permanently posted in Chitral. Thus in letter and spirit it ushered in a new era for the land and people of the mountainous tract of the Hindu Kush.

The area remained a British colony for fifty-three years, and it acceded to the sovereign state of Pakistan at the time of partition to become the country's northern borderland. The experience has been interesting in many respects and its impacts and impressions on society have been of great significance. The following is a classified discussion on the bright and dark sides of the most controversial period of the history of Chitral.

1. Strategic Imperatives

Chitral was an area closely connected and deeply linked with Central Asian *amirates* and *khanates* for many centuries. The people of this area looked towards Kashgar, Bukhara, Tashkent, Samarqand, and Kabul at times of peace and crisis. Historic and cultural links between Turkestan, Afghanistan, and Chitral were deep-rooted in the remote past. Any conflict arising with any neighbouring state to the west or north was liable to be short-lived. The British influence closed all doors opening to the west and the north. It linked Chitral with the east and southeast, providing for its new relations with Kashmir and India. It further strengthened the ties of Chitral with Gilgit and Peshawar. Gradually, the Silk Route caravans of China and Russia were replaced by short-distance travellers from Peshawar to Gilgit and back. Destinations of traders and travellers began to change and in a few decades, the names of Chigha Serai, Kabul, Kashgar, Yarkand, Bukhara, and Samarqand were substituted by Srinagar, Amritsar, Delhi, Agra, Bombay, Calcutta, Lahore, and Karachi. The shifting of direction changed Chitral's strategic imperatives and it gained a pivotal place in the geo-political setup of this subsystem. In the past it was considered a periphery in the 'great game' but now it became a core area which played the role of a strong British outpost during the Third Afghan War in 1919.

Exposure to the Outer World

For 3000 years Chitral had been little known in the outside world. Owing to its position and location in the mountainous terrain, on the alternate passage of the famous Silk Route, it was only known in the neighbouring areas as Kashgar-e-Khurd, that is, Little Kashghar or Kashqar. Earlier itineraries of the British explorers had given it some sort of publicity as a peaceful place on the way to the Pamirs and Oxus. Owing to the siege in 1895, Chitral became widely known across the globe. Stories of the siege were carried by Western print media, which gave Chitral the fame of an important borderland of British India. British officers wrote extensively on the terrain, its people, language, and culture. The Royal Asiatic Society and the Royal Geographical Society of London made it a permanent feature of their exploratory and intellectual pursuits. The pioneers in writing on the history, culture, geography, and literature

of Chitral were British officers serving in Gilgit and Chitral or travelling here on special missions.⁶

Cultural Patterns

The interaction of the people of Chitral with British officers created a social, cultural, and political awareness hitherto unknown in the princely state. Urdu and English became popular at first and then replaced Persian as official languages. Chitral's linkage with British India also affected the cultural norms. Indian dresses, costumes, and etiquettes were gradually adopted first by the rulers and courtiers and then by the elite and finally by the people on the street. Mughal architecture was also introduced in the state during this period, when architects and masons from Agra were employed in the construction of mosques, palaces, and other buildings in Chitral. Western games like football, hockey, tennis, and cards became popular among the people. New dishes and beverages (pudding, tea, juices, wines, etc.) were brought to Chitral as a result of the British influence.

Statecraft

Before the British hegemony, Chitral was a classic model of an eastern princely state, where the ruler was all in all in internal affairs. The law of the land was nothing but the sweet will of the ruler. Lord Curzon gives a valuable account of the system, as he observed it in 1894, 'The *Mehtar* was supreme. He alone had the power of life and death. Theoretically, the whole property of the country belonged to him, and in more than theory, he actually disposed of the persons and possessions of his subjects.'⁷ In his opinion the *mahraka*, in which issues were taken up and decided by the *mehtar* in an open court, was an eyewash like the British House of Commons, where the front two benches participated in the debate and the remainders were spectators to the show. It was instituted to prolong the inevitable while avoiding any adverse reaction.⁸

In the prevailing system of government, there was no constitution and no record of proceedings or events whatsoever. Important fields of statecraft, that is, revenue, defence, and justice, were never organized under a discipline. Public welfare was a strange concept in the state. Social services, schools, and hospitals were not known to the ruler or his subjects. Slave trade was one of the notorious practices of that age. Traders from Kabul, Turkestan, and Badakhshan used to barter their goods for slaves in Chitral, Gilgit, and neighbouring states.⁹

Shuja-ul-Mulk was the first ruler of the state who brought about far-reaching changes in statecraft and set new trends in the civil and military administration, under the surveillance of British agent in Chitral. Prior to 1895, stability of the government had depended on the skill and power to behead those who opposed the ruler. The precedents available provided survival of the fittest person in the true sense of the word. In a short span of twenty-nine months from August 1892 to January 1895, five princes, including two *mehtars*, were assassinated by one another. All the princes were brothers and the cause of dispute was succession by force. The expansion of British colonial rule to Chitral went a long way in giving stability and sense of security to the ruler. Now the state ruler no longer needed murder and plunder for survival. A defence department was set up with the establishment of the Chitral Scouts and State Bodyguard force. Arms and ammunition were provided to enable the defence force to take required action at the hour of need. A law of succession was framed, removing the possibility

of future wars of succession. The revenue department was organized and an annual income/expenditure assessment system was introduced in 1898.¹⁰

A justice department was set up in 1909, which maintained a record of all civil and criminal cases. Similarly, trade and forest departments were established to streamline the government's control over these vital sources of income. A works department was set up to bring barren lands under cultivation and increase farm production of the state. This department also looked after construction of buildings and roads.¹¹

Human rights were given due importance and the slave trade was abandoned in 1895. All these efforts helped Chitral State to enter into the twentieth century with a forward-looking approach and make progress in many walks of life.

Economic Implications

Financial constraints always play a role in the crucial stages of the history of a nation. The poor economic condition of the state of Chitral was one of the major factors to compel the *mehtar* to allow the subjugation of his country to British India. It is evident from letters written to the British authorities by the *mehtars* from time to time in order to request for enhancement in the annual subsidies received by them. The following is an extract from one of many letters written to the Government of India by Shuja-ul-Mulk and Nasir-ul-Mulk. All letters bear more or less the same wording.

Therefore being forced by the dint of sheer necessity I am compelled to appeal to the Govt. of India for pecuniary help and most ardently pray that they may be pleased to earn the ever lasting gratitude of a loyal and faithful dependency by raising the govt. subsidy to rupees one lakh per annum. (Letter of His Highness Mohammad Nasir-ul-Mulk to the secretary, foreign affairs, Government of India, dated 14 January 1937)¹²

The following table shows the gradual increase in the subsidy received by the *mehtar*:

Table 38.1 Subsidy Received by the *Mehtars* of Chitral (1888–1943)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Amount (in Rs)</i>
1888	6000
1895	14,000
1914	24,000
1936	65,000
1938	100,000
1943	180,000

In 1895, economic activity was restricted to a limited trade with Badakhshan and Turkestan. Apart from the government subsidy, income sources of the state were negligible.

With the British influence, new sources of income were generated through supply contracts to the *mehtar* and the state income was gradually raised to Rs 316,000 in 1937. Construction works and transportation of government goods and other activities were casual sources of cash earnings. Such incentives gave some sort of relief to the middle and lower classes in the country. As a result of the state's exposure to the Indian plains, a good number of workers from Chitral migrated to the urban centres of the subcontinent to seek jobs and brought their

incomes to the state. Similarly traders from Bajour, Peshawar, Nowshera, Amritsar, Ambala, Jalandhar, Srinagar, and Delhi set up their business centres in Chitral. This increased Chitral's potential trade with Afghanistan and Turkestan. A special cloth quota was given by the British authorities to Chitral for export to Badakhshan and Turkestan. Before 1919, export of timber via the river course through Afghanistan was a source of state income but after the Third Anglo-Afghan War the Afghan government imposed a ban on the passage of timber and all trade routes were closed. In 1937, a trade delegation led by Shahzada Hussam-ul-Mulk was sent to Kabul to negotiate for the resumption of the trade route and passage of timber through Afghanistan which yielded positive results, and trade routes were reopened.¹³

Imports from India were iron, salt, indigo, raw silk, cloth, groceries, tea, tobacco, cooking pots, books, cowries, sugar, agricultural implements, and pedlars' wares. Imports from Badakhshan and Turkestan consisted of carpets, cotton, cooking vessels, silk, saddle, bridles, *charas* (hashish), opium, *zira*, cloaks, horses, sheep, and leather goods.¹⁴

Apart from the timber, exports of Chitral were woollen products on a very small scale. After the accession of Chitral to Pakistan, the trade of cottage industry products, especially woollen goods such as Chitrali *chogas*, caps, and woollen cloth increased day by day, and now it has become an important source of income. In 1937, Nasir-ul-Mulk gave incentives to the farmers in the upper one-crop zone of Chitral to grow cash crops like *charas* and opium. In a few years, *charas* became one of the major crops of the area and a good source of income for the growers, traders, and the government. In spite of a ban on its growing and trade, it is still being produced in some areas of Mastuj Tehsil. The post-independence era opened new horizons and venues for business and trade in Chitral. The merger of the state in 1969 went a long way in accelerating the pace of development. Manpower is still a major source of income. Skilled and unskilled labour's migrating to the urban areas of the country and abroad has increased the ratio of per capita income to a considerable extent. Lately the Aga Khan Rural Support Programme (AKRSP) has successfully used human resources as a tool for integrated rural development. Apparently the British influence on Chitral helped in opening opportunities for economic development in Chitral at least half a century ahead of its accession to Pakistan.

Physical Infrastructure

The poor economy and internal feuds of the former rulers of Chitral did not allow them to plan rural development of any sort. Even some efficient, capable, and powerful rulers such as Khan Ra'is (1356–1420), Nasir Ra'is (1531–74), Muhtaram Shah Kator II (1788–1838), and Aman-ul-Mulk (1854–92) could not spare time and resources for the development of the infrastructure. The British, no doubt, had little interest in the welfare of their subjects. Yet they needed certain developmental activities for the mobilization and deployment of troops in border areas. Therefore physical infrastructure was developed in the area by the British authorities.

Communications

The mountainous terrain of Chitral had only paths and tracks for movement of people within the state and its link with the neighbouring areas. The maximum width of the best path and trail was about two feet. In 1895, the troops faced a tough time in carrying guns over these paths. In 1902, a plan was chalked out to develop all the paths into 6–8 feet wide tracks, and

build hanging bridges at suitable places. Bengal Sepoys and miners were given the hard task, and they made a 163 mile track on the main route across the country from the Loari Pass in the south to the Shandur Pass in the northeast, during the first three decades of the twentieth century.¹⁵ In 1928, Shuja-ul-Mulk converted 40 miles of tracks into motorable roads.¹⁶

The Loari-Shandur mule track was widened for vehicular traffic in 1976, about a half a century after it was first built. Of the seven hanging bridges built by the British garrison, one at Kuna, near Mastuj, has been washed away by floods. The rest are still used for motor transport. Facilities of telecommunications were also introduced in Chitral by the British government in 1904 and work on a telegraph line was taken in hand which later connected Chitral with Peshawar and Gilgit. Telephone facilities were provided by the *mehtar* for communication with all six governorships in the state. Wireless stations were set up in Chitral and Mastuj.

Social Services

Society in Chitral represented mountain communities of India where the concept of services like health care, education facilities, and legal procedure were unknown in the nineteenth century, and it was likely that these concepts would have taken another century to reach them. The British occupation was a turning point in the history of Chitral because it extended the facilities available in urban areas to the rural community of Chitral. Hospitals were set up in Drosh and Chitral to provide medical facilities primarily to the garrison and political elite, and of course, to the public as well.

Opportunities of education were opened at first stage for the princes and students close to the ruling elite, in Peshawar, Aligarh, and Dehradun, India. The commoners followed them, and many students from Chitral went to Delhi, Deoband, Bombay, Lahore, and Peshawar for education. Most of them received free education at religious schools, and on their return every one of them played a key role in bringing about a change in their society. Some of them, such as Maulana Noor Shahidin, His Highness Mohammad Nasir-ul-Mulk, and Maulana Hazrat-ud Din, became pioneers of socio-political revolution in Chitral during the first half of the twentieth century. Mehtar Shuja-ul-Mulk had to open some non-formal schools in Chitral in 1904. This move was followed by Mohammad Nasir-ul-Mulk, who established the first Anglo vernacular formal school in Chitral in November 1938.

As far as legal procedure is concerned, the state of Chitral was governed by customary laws and there was no written record of any procedure in the dispensation of justice, because it was a verbal exercise. As a result of the British influence, Shuja-ul-Mulk directed that all complaints, appeals, or requests be submitted in writing and an order to this effect was consequently passed in writing. In 1909 a forum for the institutionalized disposal of cases was constituted as the Judicial Council of Chitral, which is still intact. The agreements signed by Shuja-ul-Mulk with British India in 1914, and by Nasir-ul-Mulk in 1938 and 1941 have a clause to the effect that the *mehtar* will not fail in dispensation of justice with impartiality to his subjects and will in particular respect their rights in the matter of land tenure.¹⁷

Though justice dispensed under these agreements was not always quite fair, it was quick and it was not so costly.

Demerits of the British Rule

Each system has, of course its merits and demerits, the British era in Chitral being no exception. The colonial nature of statecraft and subjugation of a free nation for the political and territorial benefit of another was no doubt a dark side of the picture. The following aspects of the British influence bear the mark of disrepute and ignominy.

Stability of One Man Rule

Though the British for themselves follow a democratic system at home and also introduced a semi-democratic system in India, they never attempted the same for Chitral. On the contrary, the British gave more strength and stability, as well as the mandate to rule, to the *mehtar* over his subjects by protecting his crown through the use of strong military firepower. Before 1895, the *mehtar* was totally dependent on the people for defeating his opponents. As a consequence of the British influence, the *mehtar* no longer needed his people's help. So he became more despotic and ruthless in his outlook towards his subjects.

Degradation of Public Morale

Another dark aspect of the British influence was the degradation of the people's morale. The masses in Chitral were warlike in nature. They had defended their boundaries from the neighbouring powers and even extended their borders by encroaching upon others' territories, capturing or seizing them in war. No doubt they were lovers of songs, music, and sports, but they were more than that. The colonial rulers gradually and steadily planned to abase the people's character and began to look down upon them as singers, dancers, and players of sports. By apparently encouraging their cultural pursuits, the British officers in fact degraded their character. Before they were used to carry the flute and polo stick along with their swords and matchlocks but the British officers made them carry only the polo stick and flute. In the past, class division was only nominal and it had no major impact on society but the British gave permanent structure to the division of people into classes, and even carved out a lowest class called *faqir-miskin*. This class, even this name, was not known in Chitral prior to the British influence. The Sunni-Maulai conflict was also whipped up during this period in order to divide the masses in a number of factions under the famous dictum 'divide and rule.'

Breach of Trust

Public service and employment in the court of the ruler was considered a sacred trust by the people of Chitral before the British made their presence felt. After 1876, the British missions and political authorities developed a tendency of bribing certain elements in the state administration for espionage against the *mehtar*. This created a corrupt class in the society and damaged the trust and confidence which the public, the *mehtar*, and the serving class enjoyed. This breach of trust was a major blow to the image of public life and society.

Biased Approach in Scholarship

Generally it is believed that the British officers pioneered in writing on the land and people of Chitral through their itineraries, autobiographies, and reports. The whole truth is that all these efforts gave nothing to the readers but an impression of a demoralized and oppressed nation in the mountainous terrain of the Hindu Kush.

To conclude, the goal that the British government had been pursuing in Chitral was to achieve its own interests. It never meant to serve the interest of the people in the long run. The British managed the affairs of the state smoothly because the prevalent system was not smooth, and the public opinion was ready to accept any sort of change in the inherent way of the rulers. The British period is remembered just because its successors could not give a better administration to the public.

NOTES

1. *Military Report and Gazetteer on Chitral* Government of India Press, (Calcutta: 1929), pp. 1–2.
2. Records: Chitral Agreements, Ch-13 (Peshawar: Tribal Research Cell, Home Department Government of NWFP).
3. Ghufuran, Mirza Muhammad *Tarikh-e-Chitral* (Peshawar, 1962), p. 143.
4. Ibid., 135–36: File No 348, (Peshawar: Tribal Research Cell, Home Department), Notes on Chitral by Ataullah Jan, Secretary SAFRAN, 1956.
5. Records: File No 1/69 S. No 850, Bundle No 9 Peshawar: Archives).
6. Robertson, Younghusband, Biddulph, Thomson, etc., served here. Leitner, O'Brion, Schomberg, Lockhart, Curzon, and others were on visits and special missions.
7. Marquess Lord Curzon, *Leaves from a Viceroy's Notebook* (London: Macmillan, 1926), p. 131.
8. Ibid., p. 133.
9. *Military Report*, p. 30.
10. Ghufuran, *Tarikh*, p. 217.
11. Ibid., pp. 218–20.
12. Records: File No Ch-18, Financial Position of H.H. The Mehtar, p. 21 (Printed p. 004).
13. Ghufuran, *Tarikh*, p. 225.
14. *Military Report and Gazetteer on Chitral* Calcutta: Government of India Press, 1928), p. 50.
15. Tribal Research Cell Peshawar.
16. Ghufuran, *Tarikh*, p. 210.
17. Ch-13, Financial Position of H.H., Chitral Agreements (Peshawar: Tribal Research Cell), p. 5.

A MINORITY PERSPECTIVE ON THE HISTORY OF CHITRAL: KATORE RULE IN KALASHA TRADITION

Peter Parkes*

Introduction

Local historical scholarship in Pakistan, as exemplified in the work of the Anjuman-e-Taraqqi Khwar, has struggled for many years with little recognition or support from national or international foundations. But there are now encouraging signs that local and regional histories are being more seriously treated as crucial archival resources for rethinking the multiple cultural identities that make up contemporary Pakistan.¹ The history of the Katore kingdom of Chitral is an appropriate topic for the constructive dialogue between international and local scholars that the Hindu Kush cultural conference encourages. Apart from well-known British eyewitness accounts surrounding the siege of 1895, there is a vast amount of largely untapped reports and secret correspondence relating to this critical period of Chitrali history in the India Office Library in London, of which we get only tantalizing glimpses in Garry Alder's *British India's Northern Frontier, 1865–95* (1963: 255–57, 287–99). Compared with local compilations of court chroniclers, such as Mirza Mohammad Ghufraan and Ghulam Murtaza (1962), and with family histories (Wazir Ali Shah 1983), an unusually nuanced, multi-perspectival compilation of external and internal sources on this regional history becomes possible.² These reveal complex international machinations of great-power rivalry and tributary allegiance—involving British India, imperial Russia, Kashmir, and Kabul—mediated through the ever-adaptive dynastic politics of local rulers. But all such histories are also rooted in more intimate social ties of fealty, support, rivalry, and opposition, which are still the stuff of local recollection.

It is on this intimate level of socially transmitted memory that I shall concentrate, outlining oral historical accounts of the Kalasha concerning their relationships with successive Katore *mehtars* over the past two or three centuries. Like all histories, Kalasha oral traditions are shaped by partisan social interests, as well as being subject to fallibilities of unwritten memory and selective transmission. Yet they are also privileged testaments: firstly, because of the close association of many Kalasha ancestors as servants and attendants of Katore rulers, often privy to inside chamber knowledge of the *mahraka* court; secondly, because ancestral traditions continue to have a vital significance in Kalasha culture, being perpetually rehearsed in the form of praise oratory or elegies at festivals and feasts, so that this reiterated historical knowledge may have better conditions of survival here than elsewhere. But apart from its evidentiary value, the thematic configuration of such historical knowledge among minority populations also vitally informs us about their own peculiar past and present experience: as

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both subjects and agents of regional history, however powerless or insignificant they may appear from the perspective of international—or even local dynastic—historiography.

Oral Transmission and Kalasha Historical Knowledge

Before attending to details, one needs to comprehend the social and performative conditions that structure and reproduce Kalasha collective memory. Historical knowledge is here primarily embodied in fragmentary evocations of praise songs and oratory rather than in formal narratives (Parkes 1994, 1996b). Yet a few gifted experts on ancestral tradition, such as Quasi Khrosh Nawaz of Ramboor, are capable of reformulating such fragments into more coherent historical ‘testaments’ (*wasiāt*) that are sometimes used to brief orators and praise singers before important festivals, as well as being relayed to outsiders—with explicatory embellishments—as ‘Kalasha history’ (Parkes 1975). But even these narrative accounts tend to be organized as genealogical pedigrees of particular clans or patrilineal lines (*kam*), recounting the famous activities of successive generations of male ancestors down to living elders. Like tribal genealogical traditions elsewhere (Davis 1989), knowledge of the past is thus thematically organized according to a generic scheme of moral continuities in lineal succession, linking the achievements or misfortunes of ancestors with their successive patrilineal descendants. Instead of any singular ‘corpus’ of traditions relating to the Katore *mehtars*, there are therefore almost as many separate narrative fragments and episodic accounts of this era as there are Kalasha patrilineal lines. In sifting through these lineage histories in order to compile a synopsis on this topic, I am therefore aware of tearing apart and patching together odd narrative details of lineal testaments into a coherent ‘chronicle’ that is alien to the oral medium of Kalasha knowledge. I have also necessarily paraphrased some of these oral testaments as extracts, denying the vibrant performative quality of their normal recitative context as oratorical narrations. Yet I trust there is still much to be learned from the informational and ethical content of these recollections of Chitrali sovereignty from the perspective of a peculiar minority enclave.

Reconstructing Feudal Morality

To appreciate these traditions sympathetically, one should recognize that popular conceptions of personal relations to the *mehtar* or ruler were always ambivalent. The Katore *mehtar* was at once a source of protection and blessing, a dispenser of materially and symbolically valuable favours and grants, as well as a capricious devourer of property, especially when misled by cunning courtiers conspiring with local enemies. He was thus a chimaeric creature: part divinity, and part monster.³ Ancestral associations with the Katore are still a subject of family pride. Successful petitioning at the ruler’s court (*khanē dhukāu*, *arzdōyu*) and the receipt of royal favours and gifts (*khanē baṣeṣ*, *sariphā*, *iṣpēn*) are treasured epithets of distinction in oratorical praise of ancestral achievements, while recognition as a ruler’s companion or ‘favoured flower’ (*khanēas khoṣ gamb’ri*) was considered a meritable rank worthy of acclamation through public feasting. Yet respect and admiration for royalty has always been tempered by counterpoints of subaltern derision and discomfort, especially so nowadays for a younger generation of educated Kalasha born after feudal enfranchisement in the early 1950s. Local *asakāl* headmen were also sometimes disparaged for their treacherous compliance with Katore rulers in loading additional taxes onto their people, as well as their collaboration in

selling off young women and children into slavery.⁴ Many ancestors are furthermore related to have been unfairly dispossessed by fickle *mehtars*, often driven into exile to the neighbouring Bashgal valley of Afghanistan (Kafiristan), sometimes for several generations. Close allegiance to a prince or ruler was also evidently a risky gambit, since family fortunes could be reversed overnight on the succession of a rival pretender, often supported by local opponents eager for revenge. With such uncertainties of welfare stemming from dynastic machinations at court, a large part of Kalasha oracular divination and shamanic revelation was significantly directed at second-guessing the personal fortunes of Katore princes.⁵

Behind such occasional intrigues, however, Kalasha oral histories indicate a more reliable code of consensual moral commitments underlying allegiances to their overlords and rulers. In several traditions we find *begār* (Khowar *barbārā*, Kalasha *brīṣṭāu*) labour dues and *qalāṇ* or *thaṇḡī* tributary taxes comprehended as obligations of an ancient reciprocal 'contract' with the Katore, whereby Kalasha undoubtedly benefited from royal protection against local Islamic proselytization, as well as from molestations of neighbouring aggressors such as the Afghan Kafirs of Bashgal. Part of this 'special relationship' may also have entailed a former superstitious respect for the non-Islamic Kalasha as autochthonous aborigines of Chitral, retaining ritual associations with its localized powers—that is, *sūci* or *pariān* mountain spirits—with whom early Katore rulers were also associated in popular imagination. Kalasha *dehār* shamans thus seem to have been frequently employed as court soothsayers, seemingly in preference to equivalent Kho *biṭān* diviners, before such divinatory practices were suppressed by Sunni 'ulamā. On the other hand, Kalasha conversely regarded the Katore family as having spiritual or quasi-'divine' attributes, confirmed by traditions of the secret spiritual marriages of Shah Kator and his descendants with 'fairy queens' of the mountains.⁶

Yet the feudal loyalty of Kalasha subjects to Katore rulers was also underpinned by a sense of indigenous justice or 'moral economy' (Scott 1976) concerning reciprocal duties of subaltern tribute and princely protection. Dutiful monarchism might therefore always turn to subversive intrigue or protest against particular rulers if this customary justice was felt to be infringed. Such moral contracts primarily concerned conditions of enforced tax and corvée labour, supposedly instituted by the Ra'is dynasty after the legendary conquest of the Kalasha kingdoms of Rajawai and Bulasing (Wazir Ali Shah 1974b: 70, 78–79). But this ancient contract was seen to be perpetually eroded by greedy and unjust officials at court, sometimes aided by treacherous or self-interested Kalasha *asakāl* officers, thus requiring endless petitions to the *mehtar* to restore reasonable justice.⁷ When such justice was not forthcoming, as under Aman-ul-Mulk's tyrannous 'slave rule' in Kalasha memory, then intrigue and subversion was morally in order. This fundamental moral theme of contractual justice is an underlying template or 'transcript' (Scott 1990) of all Kalasha narrative traditions related in the following pages.

Early Rulers: Sirang, Sumalik, and Sangali

A local political context of tributary overlordship is already recognized in Kalasha traditions of their earliest lineal ancestors, twelve or thirteen generations removed from living elders. This is the semi-mythical era of the legendary Kalasha kings Rajawai and Bulasing, of the great shaman-prophet Nanga *dehār*, and of many miraculous clan ancestors supposedly 'mixed' with gods and *sūci* spirits. Notable overlords of this era were Sirang of Wirishikgum or Yasin, a supposedly 'Kalasha' (i.e., Kafir or non-Muslim) ruler, and Sangal or Sangali, identifiable with the Katore forefather Sangin Ali.⁸ Another early 'Kalasha' ruler, Sumulk or Sumalik, also based in Wirishikgum, is referred to mainly in fables rather than lineal traditions

as a successor of Sirang.⁹ Historically identifiable overlords of Yasin and Mastuj are Shah Khushwaqt and Shah Faramat (Faramurd), for whom Birir ancestors of Gurul village, Dhondi and Babura, worked as officers or sublords.¹⁰ A more localized early ruler, mentioned in several traditions from all three valleys, is Bamburus Khan, *mehtar* of Drosh.¹¹ There are also occasional references to a monstrous 'Tajik Shah' warlord of Badakhshan, who invaded and devastated both Bumboret and Birir valleys in this era.¹² But all such named early kings (including 'Mir Katur') tend to be quite freely interchanged in different renditions of lineage histories, while the majority simply refer to an anonymous 'king' (*ṣa*, *bačhā*) or 'ruler' (*khanē*).

The traditions reproduced below relate that Kalasha *asakāl* 'headmen' or local deputies of foreign overlords were already appointed in this early era. Yet the first story of Lataruk of Birir suggests some regional autonomy, also indicating potential resistance or subversive challenges to tyrannous masters. The story of Barik of Ramboor relates common banishment or refuge in Bashgal, as well as the appropriation and restoration of property by capricious *mehtars*; while that of the brothers Dremes and Begal, apical ancestors of two other Ramboor lineages, indicates a common theme of ancestral rivalries associated with tributary dues, which may be perpetuated as corporate grudges wryly invoked in the lineal memories of their descendants.

Lataruk¹³

Shurasi's son was Suashai, and from Suashai was born Dhondi and Babura [in Gurul, Birir]. From Dhondi Lataruk was born. While his mother was still pregnant, the king [Khushwaqt] had Dhondi killed, throwing him into the water at Shasha. Fleeing from Birir, Gaumir, Dula and Bangulai accompanied Lataruk's mother, crossing over Drigawisht Pass to Kushtaydesh [Bashgal] Kam[desh] in the middle of winter. There Lataruk was born. Before he suckled at his mother's breast, the Kam elders threw lots to decide his name and it came out Lathari Lataruk, meaning 'Troublesome Lataruk' in the Kam [Kati] language, for he came with so much trouble. There in Kamdesh he grew into youth; but here [in Birir] the elders could not control the people, for they had no leader [of the Lataruk-dari clan]. The king asked: 'Are there no sons of that *asakāl* Dhondi that I had killed?' The people told him that his son was a youth in Kamdesh. So the king sent messengers thrice to him; but Lataruk would not come, fearing he would be killed. At last the king sent a horse with fine silver and gold trappings for him, and then Lataruk came back by way of Urtun and Drosh. There the king came to greet Lataruk, but he would not dismount from his horse. Asking him why he would not dismount, Lataruk told the ruler: 'Why should it please me to dismount for you? You killed my father, now what can you give me in compensation?' The king replied: 'I don't want to make you upset; I want to make you a big man!' And so with promises he sat Lataruk down at Gahiret. The king gave Lataruk authority over all Chitral. But at that time there was much selling of people into slavery, and so Lataruk made another test for the king. Whenever they brought a bound orphan woman from Shishi Kuh or Ghos, he would say, 'But she is my mother!' or 'She is my sister!' And so he would free them. When the officers of the king reported this, he said: 'If you are asking for orphans, what better orphan is there than I? Sell me myself!' So the king was perplexed. He stopped selling slaves, and he gave Lataruk Shishi Kuh valley, and Gahiret, and Maskor: that was his realm, and Lataruk took control of this country up to Wirishikgum [Yasin]. This control [of the Lataruk-dari lineage in Birir] has lasted nine generations.

Barik¹⁴

Barik was the son of Dramui and the grandson of Adabok. Barik's sons were Nhongi and Juar Beg: they were a strong family, living in a tower above Balanguru village. The great ruler in those days was Sirang, living in Wirishikgum [Yasin], who was also Kalasha. Barik was Sirang's *asakāl*, and Juar Beg was appointed to succeed him. His father told him to take *salaam* greetings to Sirang. Crossing Shandur Pass, Juar Beg came down to Wirishikgum, but he did not make a *salaam* to the ruler there. 'My father told me there was a great "*mehtar*" here,' he said to Sirang. 'But you are merely a human, with just two eyes, two feet, and two hands; so why should I *salaam* to you?' Well the *mehtar* kept him one night, awarding him a gown as *sariphā*, before sending him back with a written message for King Bulasing in Chitral. When he returned, there was a dowry-giving assembly (*sariēk*) for the wife of Preshuma in Bumboret. So Juar Beg and Nhongi went there, playing the drums at the *jeSTakhan* temple of Rajawai in Barik. Bulasing had been told in the letter of Sirang to capture Juar Beg's family and send them bound as slaves to him; so an army of soldiers came from Chitral and surrounded the temple. Juar Beg and Nhongi managed to escape through the smoke-hole of the temple by night, fleeing to Ramboor. There they gathered their families, crossing Gangalwat Pass into Bashgal. The soldiers came and seized all their property in Ramboor, also taking their father's sister captive for Sirang. The two brothers returned to free their aunt: ambushing two guards at the bridge at Shasha, they took the old woman with them to Bashgal. They stayed in Bashgal over twenty years, and their sons Chiker and Gabaroti were born there. Later these sons came back to Ramboor, and they built a water channel at Damik, cultivating new land there. Mehtar Sangal [Sangin Ali] pardoned them, awarding them gowns, and they pointed out their fathers' property at Pindawat and Palarok and Puristewa. When this property was restored, Gabaroti brought his father and family back from Bashgal, and they returned to their tower at Balanguru.

Dremes and Begal¹⁵

Dremes and Begal were brothers, sons of Preshuma, and grandsons of Madri. Begal was the *asakāl* headman of Ramboor under Bamburus Khan, the ruler at Drosh. In those days they paid a yearly tax of a plough-shear and yoke as part of the 'iron tribute' (*čCimbēr thaṅgi*). Bamburus Khan's soldiers came to take this tax, telling Begal to find a man to carry the plough. People said it was the turn of his elder brother, Dremes. But Dremes was ill and lame and could not walk; so they gave the plough to his wife Makhtum. She carried the plough up over Khondawisht Pass. But when Dremes heard of this shameful insult, he came painfully limping up to Khondawisht, telling his wife there to tie the plough with rope to his body. Tied like this, he came down to Drosh with the plough.

Now Begal had three sons and Dremes had four sons, the eldest Mahadin. In springtime, Begal became ill one day, and by night he was dead. Begal's eldest son Tikar went to the house of Dremes, and said to Mahadin: 'Our father has died, and we have no wheat for feasting.' Mahadin replied: 'How can I give you wheat, when my father is also old and ill' [i.e. they needed to save for his own funeral feast]. But when Dremes heard this, he said: 'My brother has died, and we must now take out wheat and give it to his son.' So Dremes brought many *maunds* of wheat and ground it, giving two bulls and twelve he-goats, and making a further feast of mature cheese (*kuhīṇḍajirē*) for the funeral of his brother Begal.

Shah Kator and Khairullah (Ca. 1760–90)

Traditions of a pre-Katore Ra'is dynasty of Chitral are laconic in Kalasha tradition (cf. Holzwarth 1996: 123–25), apart from references to a singular 'Rahis Mir,' who supposedly drove the Kalasha king Bulasing from Chitral to ayun. Early Katore rulers also tend to be conflated as a single 'Shah Katur' or 'Mir Katur' in many traditions, although a few

genealogical experts distinguish a more precise line of succession from 'Great Katur' through 'Shawazal' (Shah Afzal) to 'Little Katur' and 'Sardar Katur.'¹⁶ Several traditions concern the fraternal rivalry of 'Katur and Khairullah', identifiable with the usurpation of the *mehtarship* of Shah Nawaz Khan (Kator) by the Khushwaqte ruler of Mastuj, Khairullah, in the mid-eighteenth century (Ghulam Murtaza 1962: Chap. 5). In a composite narration from Ramboor, reproduced in summary form below, we witness the primordial contract established by Kalasha ancestors assisting Katur against Khairullah in exchange for a promised reduction of taxes and labour dues introduced under earlier Ra'is or Sangalie rulers.¹⁷ Accounts of Khairullah's disastrous winter campaign in lower Bashgal, and his defeat in Urtsun, correspond closely with the account of the *Nai Tarikh-e-Chitral* (Ghulam Murtaza 1962: Chap. 5.4; cf. Holzwarth 1999). But more significant is the claim of Kalasha assistance to the Katore against their Khushwaqte dynastic rivals, establishing a bond of mutual obligation reneged by subsequent tyrants such as Aman-ul-Mulk. A second linking motif with this later era is that of shamanic revelation (*dehār umbulēk*) or dream divination (*isprāp pašēk*) concerning Katore fortunes. The heroic ancestors assisting Katur, Kanek and Karuzhi, belong to a famous patriline (the Karuzhi-dari lineage of Anish village in Bumboret) of spiritually 'mixed' ancestors, stemming from their semi-divine great-grandfather Kurumba, and terminating with the last great *dehār* shamans of Bumboret, Rabadan and Budok *dehār*, seven generations later. It is notably a dream-prediction of Amir or 'Amir Kalash' (Kalashamir, an early ancestor of the *Balōhe-nawau* lineage in Ramboor) that emboldened Katur to ambush and defeat Khairullah, after which Amir was awarded tributary 'governorship' of Bashgal (i.e., the right to collect annual tribute for the *mehtar*; cf. Wazir Ali Shah 1974a: 24).

Katur and Khairullah¹⁸

After Rajawai and Bulasing, Ra'is took control and put taxes on the people. Then the Katur family came to power, and they demanded the same taxes of *thangī* and *briṣṭāu* labour. Shah Katur and Khairullah were rival brothers of the Katore, always fighting one another. Katur promised he would abolish all taxes imposed on Kalasha if they would help him fight his brother. Kanek and Karuzhi hid Katur in a cave in Acholgah valley and helped him escape to Bashgal. When Khairullah heard about this, he had Kanek and Karuzhi killed, while their younger brother Gabor was taken captive. Khairullah further increased taxes: in the time of Ra'is, only five Kalasha were sent to work in Chitral; but Khairullah now ordered thirty men to be sent from Bumboret, and twenty-five from Birir, and five men from Ramboor for labouring. It was a time of great oppression. But when Gabor was freed, he helped to bring Katur back from Bashgal. Helped by a Kalasha servant of Khairullah, they entered his fort at night, killing his daughter's husband there. After Khairullah regained the fort, driving Katur to Dir, he became even angrier with Kalasha, demanding now sixty men for labour. But at this time the Chatruma [Kati] people of Bashgal revolted against Khairullah, and so he went to fight them at Kamdesh. There the army of Khairullah was trapped in a snowstorm, and forty soldiers died before he retreated to Urtsun. Two Ramboor Kalasha soldiers in Khairullah's army, Amir and Adraman, secretly favoured Katur: they sent a Sheikh [Kati Kafir convert] Ishtaluk to Katur to prepare an ambush, asking Katur to send a piece of his clothing. Placing Katur's cloth under his pillow, Amir had a propitious dream: two eagles, old [Khairullah] and young [Katur], were fighting in the air, and the elder bird fell dead to the ground. So Amir sent Ishtaluk to set the ambush at Urtsun, where Khairullah was killed. Katur became *mehtar*, and he made Amir Kalash his governor in Bashgal, collecting *thangī* of 180 calves from the Chatruma and 180 blankets from the people of Wetdesh [Prasun].

‘Great Mehtar’ Aman-ul-Mulk (1857–92)

The previous Ramboor tradition, conflating Mehtar Shah Nawaz Khan with his younger brother Muhtaram Shah Kator (1788–1838), was followed by a slight leap in narration to the reign of ‘Great Mehtar’ Aman-ul-Mulk in the second half of the nineteenth century. Thematic linkage is also made with the same Karuzhi-dari lineage of Bumboret, whose members appear to have conspired with Sher Afzal Khan against Aman-ul-Mulk. As is evident here, Kalasha traditions of the Great Mehtar are not favourable. He is remembered as an oppressor, reinstituting the enslavement of unprotected widows and orphaned children, and appropriating the estates of the heirless (*hiṇḍāl-bas*), which justified his cursed death in Kalasha tradition. This is furthermore linked to the mistreatment of the pregnant daughter of Amir Kalash, the loyal ally of Shah Katur, instigating Aman-ul-Mulk’s downfall through the invoked curse of her husband. Similar mistreatment of a Birir concubine, another descendant of Shah Katur’s erstwhile allies, added to Kalasha resentments and righteous curses. But Aman-ul-Mulk’s death is actually accredited to his legendary poisoning with British connivance, a contemporary rumour already noted by Robertson (1899: 23). At the time of the Great Mehtar’s funeral, despite a curfew of mourning imposed by Aqsaqal Fateh Ali Shah, Kalasha are said to have gleefully rejoiced at the return of so many enslaved brothers and sisters, celebrating his demise with jubilant festival drumming and dancing.

Amani Mulk¹⁹

When Amani Mulk [Aman-ul-Mulk] came to power, he was warned that Amir Kalash favoured his younger brother Sher Afzal Khan as *mehtar*. He was also told about the earlier work of Kanek and Karuzhi in helping Katur against Khairullah. So he called their descendants Sherdil and Purdil, and he divided the governorship of Bashgal into three parts, awarding two parts to them and one to his *asakāl* Mahamurat [of the Dremese-nawau lineage, Ramboor]. Then he recalled Amir Kalash from Bashgal and sold him into slavery in Kabul together with his son Janjamir [see note 4 above] and many of his lineage brothers [of the Sumbara-nawau clan in Ramboor], including their elder Sharuta. Now the elders of Rumbur gathered together and came to the officers of Amani Mulk, offering tins of honey: ‘Take the sister of Sharuta as a slave instead of our elder!’ they insisted. So his sister Zazima was taken off weeping to be sold, and since then there have been few women born to the Balōhe-nawau lineage, only male children. Then the elders of Ramboor made a plan to get other slaves redeemed: they brought five tins of honey and sixty goats with kids to Aqsaqal Fatali [Fateh Ali] Shah as *bunyāt*, and so they repurchased Derum and Gulading [ancestors of the Mutimire-nawau lineage of the Sumbara-nawau clan]. But when Amani Mulk heard rumours that the Kalasha of Ramboor were so rich that they were buying people, he called his *asakāl* Mahamurat, telling him to sell all Kalasha widows with their orphaned children. Mahamurat was cunning: whenever there was a widow in Ramboor, he would say, ‘She is my wife!’ In this way he had more than seven wives.

Amani Mulk also took all the most beautiful women as his concubines, whether they were married or not. From Ramboor he took the daughter of Amir Kalash, Niad Bigim, who was eight months’ pregnant. Her husband Matoni pursued the soldiers taking his wife, passing over Khondawisht Pass to Urghuch. There he screamed loudly at the grave of his father Adraman [the former companion of Amir Kalash and assistant of Katur, a Muslim convert of the Begalye-nawau lineage], demanding a curse on Amani Mulk. Another beautiful woman from Birir was taken from her infant son, her breasts so heavy with milk that she had to milk herself in the garden of the *mehtar*’s fort. Seeing this cruelty, Prince Afzal became incensed with his inhuman father. He obtained poison from Gaden Mulki [Capt. B.E.M. Gurdon, later political agent] and had this mixed in the *mehtar*’s rice. Just before taking supper, Amani Mulk saw a corner of his fort on fire: ‘Maybe this is the curse of that

Kalasha husband!' he said, ordering all Kalasha women to be freed. But then he took two mouthfuls of rice, and he fell down screaming. Prince Afzal then became *mehtar*.

Aman-ul-Mulk's *asakāl* Mahamurat is mentioned in many other Ramboor traditions, and he was no doubt the most prominent Kalasha communal leader of the nineteenth century. A great-grandson of Dremes, Mahamurat had also inherited the supernatural powers of his grandfather Mahadin (supposedly born from a *bhut* demon who had violated the wife of Dremes), giving rise to exceptional wealth and ability. Mahamurat was therefore honoured in old age with an exceptional double sharuga feast, sponsored by his sons Surchai and Mahatomar, entitling his commemoration with a magnificent ancestor effigy astride a double-headed horse (Plate 39.4).²⁰ The *asakāl* office was subsequently retained by many of Mahamurat's descendants in the Dremese-nawau lineage, devolving through his son Mahatomar to such contemporary Kalasha leaders as Abdul Salam (*asakāl* of Ramboor in the early 1950s) and Sherjuan (great-grandson of Surchai and Basic Democracy member for Kalasha under Ayub Khan; see plates 39.639.7).

The Events of 1892–95

After the death of Aman-ul-Mulk, Kalasha traditions allude to the internecine succession struggles of Afzal-ul-Mulk, Sher Afzal Khan, and Sardar Nizam-ul-Mulk in autumn 1892.²¹ On the accession of Nizam-ul-Mulk, many Kalasha women and children were again seized and sold as slaves, with additional burdens of tax and corvée labour imposed. Retribution for this injustice is now directly attributed to Kalasha agency, through the brave action of Sherjang of Lawi in Shishi Kuh, who alone of Amir-ul-Mulk's servants proved fearless enough to assassinate Nizam. The *Nai Tarikh-e-Chitral* (Ghulam Murtaza 1962: Chap. 10.3) confirms that the assassin was 'a Kalash servant of Prince Amir-ul-Mulk named Ahmad Jan of Lawi.' This is again foreshadowed by Kalasha prophecy, albeit a deceptively ambivalent prediction (of Shuja-ul-Mulk's ultimate success) attributed here to the famous Birir shaman, Wirishik *dehār*.²²

Assassination of Nizam-ul-Mulk²³

After Amani Mulk, the Katore were again fighting with one another. Amiri Mulk [Amir-ul-Mulk] had a trusted Kalasha servant, Sherjang of Lawi, and he asked him to find a *biṭān* [*dehār*] soothsayer to predict which side of the Katore family would be successful. Sherjang brought Wirishik *dehār* from Birir, and the shaman prophesied in a trance: 'I see drums beaten in the sky for the son of the queen of Asmar.' Then Amiri Mulk was content, for his own mother was the queen of Asmar [although the prophecy evidently referred to his younger full-brother Shuja-ul-Mulk]. He then called his servants to choose an assassin, placing his hand on their chests: the hearts of all six Kho servants beat rapidly with trepidation; only the heart of his Kalasha servant was still. So the next day, Sardar Amiri Mulk took Sherjang with him when he joined Mehtar Nizam hawking at Broze. He had another Kho servant with him, but this man fainted with fear. Sherjang boldly aimed his gun and fired at the *mehtar*, killing him. Amiri Mulk then fired his own gun in the air, shouting: 'It was I who shot my brother, not this poor Kalasha!' And so he became *mehtar* for three months, with Sherjang his trusted companion. But when the British came and caught Amiri Mulk, Mir Hamza came with a sword to torture Sherjang. As he was cut down, he cried out fearlessly: 'Do what you will, I am content that my wish was granted to see my master rule!'

Mehtar Shuja-ul-Mulk (1895–1936)

We thus arrive at the fateful spring of 1895, entailing the siege, the relief, and the British installation of Shuja-ul-Mulk. Kalasha traditions about these tumultuous events are meagre: no doubt the rapidly shifting opportunities and reversals of alliance, as detailed by Robertson (1899) and Ghulam Murtaza (1962: Chap. 10), were too fluid to be easily registered in Kalasha historical consciousness. But again, one encounters traditions encompassing Katore fortunes within an indigenous narrative scheme of moral theodicy as well as shamanic prophecy. I reproduce below an apocalyptic prophecy about this so-called ‘black-toothed king’ (*ṣāḍoni sa*), ascribed to a prescient shaman of Birir seven or eight generations earlier, as well as part of a lineal-praise song commemorating the greeting of Shuja-ul-Mulk by the *asakāl* Fauch of Ramboor (see Plate 39.3).

Sujao Mulk²⁴

When Sujao Mulk [Shuja-ul-Mulk] came to power, he was very young and so the British government looked after him. At this time Kalasha were doing the same *briṣṭāu* labouring work as imposed under Khairullah, sending thirty men from each community. The elders of Birir then made a petition to the ruler: ‘In the time of Ra’is only six men were sent from Birir and Bumboret, and just two men from Ramboor; but now you ask for thirty men to work for you. Yet our grandfathers helped your own grandfather Katur against Khairullah.’ Hearing this, the ruler became ashamed and ordered that only six men be sent from Birir. Then the elders of Ramboor—Mahatomar with Sherbek, Fauch, and Lamtson [elders of the Dremese-, Mutimire- and Balōhe-nawau lineages]—petitioned the ruler: ‘We also favoured Katur! So why should you make this hardship for us?’ But the ruler replied: ‘You Kalasha have also been a dangerous people for the Katore family!’ Then he ordered that the same number of workers should be sent as under Ra’is: just fourteen people from all three Kalasha valleys.

Sindi *Dehār*’s Prophecy²⁵

Sindi *dehār* was the father of Rashmuk [the apical ancestor of the Rashmuk-dari lineage of Gasguru/Grom, Birir]. In trance the shaman gave this revelation: ‘When this [king’s] tooth becomes black, the “black-toothed king” will emerge! The Kafir king will also emerge from the east, coloured red. And Dajal [the Islamic Antichrist] will appear: from mountain peak to mountain peak he will build houses, and he will walk from forest to forest, putting iron beams over the rivers. The kingdom will be finished. Then will come the time of free anarchy (*mahmur dāur*), and the world will become soft. Water mills will be many, but nothing will be ready at home. Mosques will be many, but nobody will come to them.’ He gave this talk. The ‘blacktoothed king’ was Alahazrat [H Shuja-ul-Mulk] and the king from the east was *you*, the English *sarkār*, coming over Loari Pass and putting down iron bridges. After Alahazrat this kingdom was truly finished.

Praise Song for Fauch²⁶

Oh father Fauch Khan, you alone petitioned the ruler!
 Crossing Loari Pass, Alahazrat announced to the great valley of Kohistan:
 ‘I have become king of Chitral! So give me two words of advice, my Kalash servant and *wazirs*!’

'From Shandur to Loari my master's [kingdom] is one livestock pen...'

Thus he honoured [the king]: '...Do not separate my life and service!'

A waterfall of tears he pressed from the ruler, your grandfather Fauch Khan

That became a record indeed, when tears came to the ruler!

Even Gaden Mulki [Capt. B.E.M. Gurdon] became surprised, saying 'What has happened to our *raja* of Chitral?'

It was your great fortune, grandson of Mutimir, to have done such a deed...

Recollections of Feudal Service

The reign of Shuja-ul-Mulk marks the intersection of lineal traditions with living memories, still in process of narrative crystallization through oratory and praise songs. Many of the elders of Ramboor mentioned as delegates to the court of Shuja-ul-Mulk at his accession were still alive in mid-century, and thus encountered and photographed by such colonial travellers as Reginald Schomberg (1938; see plates 39.–39.3). In this period there appear to have been further impositions of tax and labour on Kalasha, just when slavery had been abolished, and when *qalāṇ* or *thaṇḡī* taxes were elsewhere reduced or replaced by conventional Islamic tithes of *ushur* and *zakāt* (Ghulam Murtaza 1962: Chap. 13). Autobiographical memories of this period give vivid details of such 'uncustomary demands' (*bedasturī*), when 'the rulers were eating the very skin off our backs,' particularly in Ramboor under their tributary overlord 'Komander' (Asfandiar Khan of Denin, son of Aman-ul-Mulk and commander of the *mehtar*'s bodyguard).

Komander²⁷

As a boy I used to do *brīṣṭāu* labour service at Komander's land in Denin. Climbing a tree, I would shake down walnuts. Becoming thirsty, I would call down: 'I need to get down to drink!' But Komander would never allow that: 'Stay working in that tree!' he would shout, 'We'll pass up water to you there!' He would have us beaten for complaining, shooting rocks at us with a stonebow. Or he would take goats as a fine if we were sick and unable to work properly. Komander put great oppression on us. Only for eating bread were we allowed to sit down; and even when stars appeared in the sky, he would continue to make us work, ploughing and clearing his land.

Such *corvée* labour on a lord's estate required five Ramboor males working continuously throughout the year, typically organized in shifts of eight or nine days per month.²⁸ Other tributary dues and services were recalled by one of the last *asakāl* officers of Ramboor:

*asakālī*²⁹

For organizing labour the *asakāl* didn't have much to do; everyone understood this work. Five people had to be working for the lord all the time, and this work was simply divided by lineage (*kam*) and household (*kuṣūn*) by turn. But the *asakāl* had to organize load-carrying: each family had to carry 15 *maunds* of loads each year, including *ushur* tithe from the Bashgalis. Then there was poll tax (*iṣmarōnu*): whenever a prince came to the valley, he had to be provided with cheese and meat and fresh bedding, and these duties were appointed to families in turn. As for tribute tax (*thaṇḡī*): the *ṣarwēlu* officer came and told the *asakāl*, who knew how much property the people had. The profit of the *asakāl* was his own release from labour and tribute tax; so when his turn came round, only four out of five people went off to labour. The *asakāl* had to agree with his community, so he would

inform the *mehtar* and make a petition if anything was being imposed against custom. Tribute tax used to be 20 *batī* of honey each year, and thirty female goats with kids, and 16 *maunds* of walnuts. All this was weighed, and if it came out less, then extra was taken from the *asakāl* himself. Tax was divided by lineage from old times, and a man had to pay whatever was demanded, even if he had to sell his land to do so.

Other elder Kalasha recalled annual taxes in Ramboor of forty kid goats, 40 *batī* of honey, and 40 *maunds* of walnuts, collected 20 days before the Chaomos festival in December. But there was a further miscellany of odd customary payments due to the Katore *mehtars* or to their appointed overlords (cf. Biddulph 1880: 66; Baig 1994: 113):

Taxes

‘provisioning’ (Khowar *utaghī*): a goat slaughtered daily for visiting court officials, regularized as a livestock tax on all Kalasha households, collected annually by the lord’s *çarwēlu* bailiff.

‘salutation’ (Khowar *salamī*): a contribution, collected from herd owning households, for a formal presentation by the *asakāl* to the *mehtar*’s court of four goat-hair rugs, four goats, 8 *batī* honey, 1 *maund* cheese.

‘skin-puttees’ (Khowar *taçīṅgār*): a household tax to provision royal hunting expeditions, consisting of a skin bag, a pair of goatskin puttees, and a rope.

‘spring-blossom cheeses’ (Khowar *ispruwo pīnak*, Kalasha *puş çāşa*): 3 *batī* cheeses from each goat stable at the blossoming of fruit trees in early May.

‘load-carrying’ (Khowar *kuşūn boī*, Kalasha *phar drāžik*): each house to provide one male porter to convey grain tithes from Bashgali refugees, and to return from Chitral portering state-owned rock salt for compulsory purchase in exchange for grain.

Customary fines (*Ĵirmanā*) included the seizure of a goat from every household if local gunfire was heard during a royal hunt, and the payment of a bull if any firearm was discovered in a goat stable during the closed season on hunting in winter. At compensation payments for elopement marriages, a ‘commissionary bull’ (*bunyāt don*) was due to the overlord, together with a goat or cauldron for his *çarwēlu* bailiff, and an iron tripod for the Kalasha *asakāl*. At all marriages a ‘goat of salutation on behalf of the lineage woman’ (*jamīli salamī*) had to be given as a marital prestation (*pandār*) by the bride’s father and lineage elders to the overlord (cf. Saifullah Jan 1996: 239).

Although these seemingly oppressive taxes and fines are often recalled with bitter resentment nowadays, Kalasha oral traditions indicate that they were perforce accepted as part of the natural order of Chitrali sovereignty, with which lineage elders and *asakāl* officers were sometimes tempted to collaborate for their own family interests. Thus even Mahamurat, proudly remembered for defending Kalasha against slavery through cunning petitions to Aman-ul-Mulk, is related to have somewhat unjustly favoured his own Dremese-nawau lineage brothers, off-loading part of their labour services to minor descent groups in Ramboor, who were less able to protect themselves. After the death of Mahamurat, around the turn of the century, the succession of the *asakāl* office appears to have been contested between his son Mahatomar and a rival elder, Fauch, of the small but wealthy and prestigious Mutimire-

nawau lineage of Ramboor (see note 26). This inaugurated interlineage and factional competition for paramount leadership in this community continues among their descendants to this day. In competing for the official favours of successive *mehtars*, these rival elders even reportedly counterbid each other's bribes and promises of increased taxes for their overlords. Mahatmar thus supposedly innovated the customary payment of honey in Ramboor tribute (hitherto an ad hoc gift to rulers), while Fauch inaugurated additional labour services, including the deeply resented portage of tithe grain from Bashgali refugee settlements in upper Ramboor and Bumboret. Only at the end of the feudal era, on the eve of enfranchisement in the early 1950s, do we witness concerted struggles against such impositions.

From Fealty to Protest

I conclude with a brief epilogue, concerning the troubled years of social agitation against Katore rule in mid-century, instigated by Muslim League activists (and Katore dynastic rivals) under the *mehtarships* of Muzaffar-ul-Mulk (1943–49) and Saif-ur-Rahman (1949–54).³⁰ The ancient moral contract of Kalasha and Katore had tenuously survived earlier oppressions, usually blamed on the tyranny of feudatory overlords such as Komander, while the Mehtar's Council was still regarded as a potentially accessible court of redress for such inequities. Under Mehtar Nasir-ul-Mulk, the Ramboor leader Mashar (son and successor of the *asakāl* Fauch) thus famously outwitted Komander at a council tribunal with a cryptic allegorical speech (*nākul*): 'Given two watermelons to hold in one hand, the lord beats me if one falls down,' alluding to additional levies of walnuts imposed by Komander on Ramboor. Pleased with such wittily indirect requests for justice, Nasir-ul-Mulk repealed these uncustomary demands by royal favour. But such benign intervention, traditionally legitimating the royal court as a popular tribunal of prompt justice, was otherwise all too rare, as Kalasha encountered increasing inaccessibility to a tiresomely bureaucratized state administration under late colonial and early Pakistani stewardship.

Fauch's son Mashar was himself briefly an *asakāl* headman. But he was also one of the first Kalasha leaders to actively embrace the Muslim League as a local party organizer in Ramboor. Inspired by its progressive social rhetoric, he is even renowned for a daringly suicidal gesture of protest. Unable to get justice from the British political agent advising Nasir-ul-Mulk, Mashar boldly threw himself off the Chiv Bridge above Chitral in protest against Komander's tyranny, narrowly escaping with his life, but again successfully publicizing his indignant petition to the *mehtar*. This heroic act of self-sacrificial leadership is now integrated as a famous episode within the lineage traditions of the Mutimire-nawau in Ramboor, recalled in oratory and praise songs as a just fulfilment of the earlier intercessionary efforts of his father Fauch.

In the early 1970s, when Mashar's autobiographical memories were still acute, I was able to record his extensive reminiscences of this period, including mass protests to Chitral, and even threatened Kalasha emigration to Bashgal if additional load-carrying dues were not repealed.³¹ This was also a time of bitter polarization between loyal supporters of the Katore rulers and the populist Muslim League party, established in Chitral in 1949. For Kalasha, especially vexed factional disputes concerned the divisive issue of whether to continue to pay feudal tribute and labour or to render regular government tithes and taxes like other peoples in Chitral. As Mashar himself recalled: 'It was a time of great party politics (*patī-bazī*), of Muslim League and Pakhti League (Ittehadī Muslim League). Those in the Muslim League refused to give *begār* labour or to carry loads, offering only *ushur* and *zakāt* tithes. It was a

time of great disagreement among us.' Another contemporary elder, also an active Muslim Leaguer in his youth, explained:

Muslim League and Pakhti League³²

When Pakistan started, they replaced *thanḡī* tax with *ushur* and *zakāt*. Then Sarfaraz Shah atalique [Muslim League president] came and announced: 'Either you can continue labouring, or else you can take up rifles and join the bodyguard [militia].' Well, there were ten of us then, all from Bakar-nawau lineages [of Balanguru and Malidesh villages], and we said: 'We are not going to labour for Komander any more! We will take up the rifle!' So we became the Muslim League here. But others said: 'We will carry loads and do labour, for we are in the *mehtar*'s Pakhti League!' Those were all Sumbara-nawau lineages, apart from Mahmat Isa.³³ So we went to Chitral and they dressed us in uniforms, with guns and bandoliers. Our wages then were just 7 rupees a month. They sent us to guard the pastures against thieves, six months on and six months off. But there remained a great division between those two parties. They even divided the daily grinding of grain at water mills according to party allegiance, and they separated the jeSTakhan temple [of the Sumbara-nawau clan of Grom] into two parts, dividing it down the middle. When Surchai [a son of the *asakāl* Mahamurat] died, the Sumbara-nawau [clan] would not even come to our funeral feast, since we were Muslim League. Later they brought a bull as peace offering; but they still would not allow our sisters and daughters [as their wives] to attend the funeral feast. They even had a separate Chaomos festival, sacrificing goats on separate days, celebrating it apart.

This dispute raged for two or three years, splitting each valley into violently opposed parties, whose political fallout is still evident in factional divisions to this day. But these internal disruptions signify the end of our chronicle, marking an irrevocable rupture in Kalasha relations with their Katore rulers, whose political authority was now in eclipse. Without princely protection, Kalasha arguably suffered more devastating setbacks in the 1950s and 1960s than under the cruel oppressions of local lords like Komander. For these were decades of forcible mass conversions to Islam in lower Bumboret and Birir, rallied by local *pīrs* like the infamous 'Owirai Maulai' of Uyun. These were also decades of massive appropriations of Kalasha property by Uyuni settlers and traders, hitherto prohibited by royal decree (Saifullah Jan 1996: 240–41). Such contemporary—and continuing—oppressions conceivably vindicated the ancestral faith of earlier generations of Kalasha elders in their ancient moral contract with the Katore, for all its gross inequities.³⁴

Conclusion

In this brief essay, I have only begun to explore Kalasha historical consciousness of feudal subordination within the Katore kingdom of Chitral. In common with other studies of subaltern morality under similarly abject conditions (Genovese 1974; Scott 1985, 1990; Haynes & Prakash 1992), Kalasha traditions reveal complex accommodations of obligatory assent, covert resistance, and occasional protest against perceived injustices, which were sometimes committed by their own elders and leaders in connivance with overlords and outside authorities. In selecting and detailing narrative traditions that help to elucidate Kalasha moral evaluations of this ancestral history, I am aware that contemporary Kalash leaders of a post-feudal generation may consider these as distasteful and unwanted reminders of an era of

dishonourable servitude that is better forgotten. Such determined amnesia of ancestral history is nowadays characteristic of other formerly subordinate and marginalized enclaves of the Hindu Kush and Karakoram (Schmid 1997; Flowerday 1998: 61). Yet I have suggested that a sympathetic comprehension of the experienced social conditions of indigenous ancestors, as evinced in these traditions, might encourage a more appreciative moral understanding of their many tortuous struggles for negotiated survival under exceptionally adverse circumstances, which were also experienced in different respects by their Katore rulers (Staley 1982: Chap. 12). Recollection of such traditions may therefore offer an informed historical consciousness of intergenerational continuities with contemporary struggles for regional and local self-determination in modern Pakistan, deriving from a common historical legacy, properly cherished by the Anjuman-e-Taraqqi Khovar, to which ancestors from all fractions of Chitrali citizenry have contributed.

Photographic Plates: Ancestors and Elders of Ramboor Valley Kalasha

Four photographic plates accompanying this article serve as an additional visual archive complementing Kalasha narrative traditions, selected for their historically illustrative rather than aesthetic value. Taken by Colonel R.C.F. Schomberg in spring 1935, they were not included in his *Kafirs and Glaciers* (1938) and are therefore printed here for the first time from his photographic negative collection in the Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford (see Jones 1996), by kind permission of its director and trustees, and photographic curator, Dr Elizabeth Edwards. I also include three of my own photographs: showing the equestrian ancestor effigy of Aman-ul-Mulk's famous *asakāl* Mahamurat, still standing in Ramboor graveyard in summer 1972; a portrait of his great-great-great-grandson Sherjuan, former Basic Democracy member for Kalasha; and a portrait of Abdul Salam, also of the Dremese-nawau lineage, the last major *asakāl* headman of Ramboor before Kalasha enfranchisement from feudal service in 1954.

Plate 39.1 Kalasha begār. A group of Kalasha labourers assembled for portering duties in Uyun. Individuals remain to be identified. The accompaniment of a drum (Kalasha *dahū*, Khovar *damāma*) was mentioned in recollections of *brīṣṭāu* labouring duties. The tall youth standing on the left may be a Kho supervisor (*sarkār*) of this group, perhaps assembled as coolies for Colonel Schomberg's visit (1938: 36–37). Two seated figures are dressed in homespun goa-hair herding jackets (*saṅgāči*) and puttees (*kuṭawāti*), while others are dressed in Chitrali woollen gowns (*ṣuqa*), used as blankets for sleeping when labouring. Photograph Copyright: Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford, Neg. SH.1.19.

Plate 39.2 Joshi Spring Festival at Grom, 19/20 May 1935. A view of line-dancing (*dražailak naṭ*) taken several minutes before that depicted in *Kafirs and Glaciers* (Schomberg 1938: opp. p. 64), which more photogenically captured the rear view of female dancers (left) as these circulated counterclockwise. This plate is of alternative value in illustrating now obsolete features of male dress, such as the fringed and embroidered homespun trousers (*dāṣak bhut*), which all but one young boy is wearing here. Such trousers are now only rarely woven for boys undertaking their 'trouser-dressing' (*bhut sambiēk*) rite of adult initiation at 7 or 8 years. At least three males here also have necklaces with small bells around their necks, connoting *biramūr* feasts of merit, while several wear red festal dancing-moccasins (*kalūn*) obtained from neighbouring Kati *bāri* artisans. The Joshi festival is a time for conspicuous

displays of both new and traditional clothing: including here several freshly tailored white cotton shirts, and at least one metal-braided ceremonial gown (*čapān*, left) of gaudy 'kinkab' (*khimkhāp*) brocade, typically awarded as inferior *khelāt* (*sariphā*) gifts by Katore rulers. Within the inner circle of elders clustered for song recitation, the praise singer seems to be Lamtson (cf. Schomberg 1938: 55, plate opp. p. 80) holding a stick or dancing-axe for classic 'name-naming' recitation (Parkes 1996b: 326). This photograph may show a majority of the adult Kalasha population of Ramboor in the mid-1930s, then amounting to barely forty households. A similar view of Joshi dancing at Grom in May 1929 was photographed by Georg Morgenstierne (1973: plate 5; also cine film at the Indo-Iranian Institute, Oslo; cf. Morgenstierne 1947). Photograph Copyright: Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford, Neg. SH.1.96.

Plate 38.3 Senior Elders of Ramboor. Sakdar, Kan, and Fauch (left to right): three brothers and senior elders (*gāḍa baṣāra*) of the Mutimire-nawau lineage in Ramboor, 1935. Some fifteen years earlier, these three brothers had sponsored a prestigious double Sharuga feast at the funeral of their father Achayak, who had given in his lifetime a 'great he-goat sacrifice after showing a "thousand" (twenty-score) goats' (*gona biramūr, hazār pai paṣāi biramāūr*), commemorated with a fine double-horse-headed equestrian ancestor effigy, now in the Peshawar Museum. Achayak's *biramūr* feast was to be repeated by Sakdar's currently distinguished grandson, Katarsing, in November 1977 (Darling 1979: Chap. 5). The old *asakāl* Fauch, wearing an officer's greatcoat here, was also photographed by Georg Morgenstierne in 1929 (1973: final plate). His son Mashar, briefly *asakāl* headman and original Muslim League leader (before floor-crossing to 'Pakhti League' party leadership in 1950), recently died in equally active and distinguished old age. The three brothers stand proudly by ancestral 'wealth stones' (*mal bat*), placed to commemorate the homicidal feasts (*šūra uphōr*) of their grandfather Brumburak, and other early ancestors of the Mutimire-nawau lineage, at the community assembly place (*phaṛāṛī*, now police station) below Batthet village. The growth of beards by Kalasha elders was common before this became an emblem of Muslim conversions from the 1950s. Photograph Copyright: Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford, Neg. SH.1.31.

Plate 39.4 Ancestor Effigy of Mahamurat. The double-headed equestrian effigy (*dū-šīs istōri gaṇḍāo*) of Aman-ul-Mulk's renowned *asakāl* Mahamurat, commemorating his double *Sharuga* mortuary feast, sponsored by his son Mahatomar and grandson Kanek (son of Surchai), whose pedestrian effigies (*pōi gaṇḍāo*) stand dutifully behind (Schomberg 1938: 50, plate opp.). By 1972 these effigies were badly mutilated, reputedly defaced by Kati *sheikhs*. In spring 1973, Mahamurat's effigy was awarded by his lineal descendant Sherjuan (Plate 39.6) to President Z.A. Bhutto for official presentation to the Italian embassy in Islamabad. The subsequent commercial history of antiquarian dealing for this statue in Europe and America, prior to its purchase for several hundred thousand dollars by the State Museum for Ethnography in Munich, is related by Jürgen Frembgen (1998: 336–38). Mahamurat's miniature enthroned effigy (*gaṇḍurik*), standing in fields between the hamlets of Malidesh and Batthet (Schomberg 1938: 50; photograph in Haserodt 1989: 92, plate 28), was earlier removed with Sherjuan's approval for conservation in the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford. While these effigies are preserved, the destiny of many other Ramboor ancestor statues—mainly acquired by a Zurich antiquity dealer in the 1970s—is largely unknown. Their sale and occasional theft then caused bitter factional accusations among lineal descendants, for whom these monuments were vital

mnemonic markers—albeit rarely visited—of collectively inherited ancestral renown. Photograph: P. Parkes, August 1972.

Plate 39.5 Ancestor Effigy of Safar in 1935. Equestrian statue (*istori gaṇḍāo*) of Safar, also of the Dremese-nawau lineage, commemorating the *Sharuga* feast sponsored by his elder brother Durum Shah, father of Abdul Salam (see Plate 39.7). Like the double-horse headed effigy of Achayak, this statue was said to have been removed for conservation in the Peshawar Museum by a British officer around 1935 (together with other ancestor statues of the converted Kati *sheikhs* of upper Ramboor; see Schomberg 1938: plate opp. p. 182), who might well have been Colonel Schomberg himself. Safar's miniature equestrian *gaṇḍurik* effigy in Balanguru village (still fragmentarily extant) was also depicted by Schomberg (1938: photo opp. p. 58). Another plate in his *Kafirs and Glaciers* (1938: opp. p. 52) shows a similar equestrian effigy of Kalashamir (Balōhe-nawau lineage), the famous 'Amir Kalash' appointed governor of Bashgal under Shah Kator, together with a smaller equestrian effigy of his 'son' (actually FFFBSSS) 'Khush Beg' or Khoshalbeg (Schomberg 1938: 49–50). Both statues (also in the Peshawar Museum) were sponsored through *Sharuga* funerary feasts given by Kalashamir's son Sherbek around 1900 (Parkes 1983: 495), carved by Kati *bāri* artisans from Bumboret. Photograph Copyright: Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford, Neg. SH.1.29, detail.

Plate 39.6 Sherjuan. Sherjuan or Shah Juwan, lineal successor of Mahamurat (see Plate 39.3) after four generations, was an able and renowned Kalasha leader overseeing the transitional period in the 1960s following Kalasha enfranchisement from Katore feudal service in 1954. As a young man in his twenties, he was appointed Basic Democracy member for all three valleys under President Ayub Khan (on 30.11.1964 according to his notebook), when he pioneered government development initiatives for Kalasha with the generous support of Wazir Ali Shah. Sherjuan is the narrator of several traditions cited in this essay (see note 18), related in his home village of Malidesh (since destroyed by floods) in the summer of 1972. Photograph: P. Parkes, August 1989.

Plate 39.7 Abdul Salam. Abdul Salam ('Jangalwal') was the last major *asakāl* headman of Ramboor valley in the late 1940s. The son of Durum Shah, his family had also given the *ghōna biramūr* feast in his childhood, and further sponsored a *Sharuga* mortuary feast for his father's brother Safar (see Plate 39.5). Abdul Salam himself sponsored a great *han-sarik* feast for rebuilding the jeSTakhan temple of the Bakar-nawau clan in Balanguru in 1968. Despite early conversion to Islam, Abdul Salam has continued to play an active and vital role as a progressive community leader and respected senior elder of Ramboor valley for over half a century. Photograph: P. Parkes, August 1989, when Abdul Salam was 80 years old.

A commemorative song Abdul Salam composed in the early 1970s may serve as an epitaph to three centuries of Katore rule, also conveying Kalasha aspirations of a more just moral order within modern Chitral, which his political successors—like his grandson Saifullah Jan (this volume)—continue to pursue:

wēnao dai sīra dyāi-o, ṣoṣkī hāirao katūra bačai

From above the winds blew, sweeping away the kingdom of the Katore

mīmi-o nekām āle, mai satir bhutō že rājā wazir

Your own success came about, my president Bhutto and Raja [Tridiv Roy] your *wazir*

išlamabād žōši dahū banjāle, mai ne asālak hīu

They played the Joshi drums at Islamabad, where
I felt homesick

šasē khabār bilān-jāo, brešāis se ghōra paḥōřik bau

When this news was spread around, it
confounded the white-butterfly army [of Kho]

lot mōndr-o kia dēme? jarāluri, mai šāma pakistān

What great speech shall I give? It should be
digested: my [vision of] this Pakistan.

PLATE 39.1



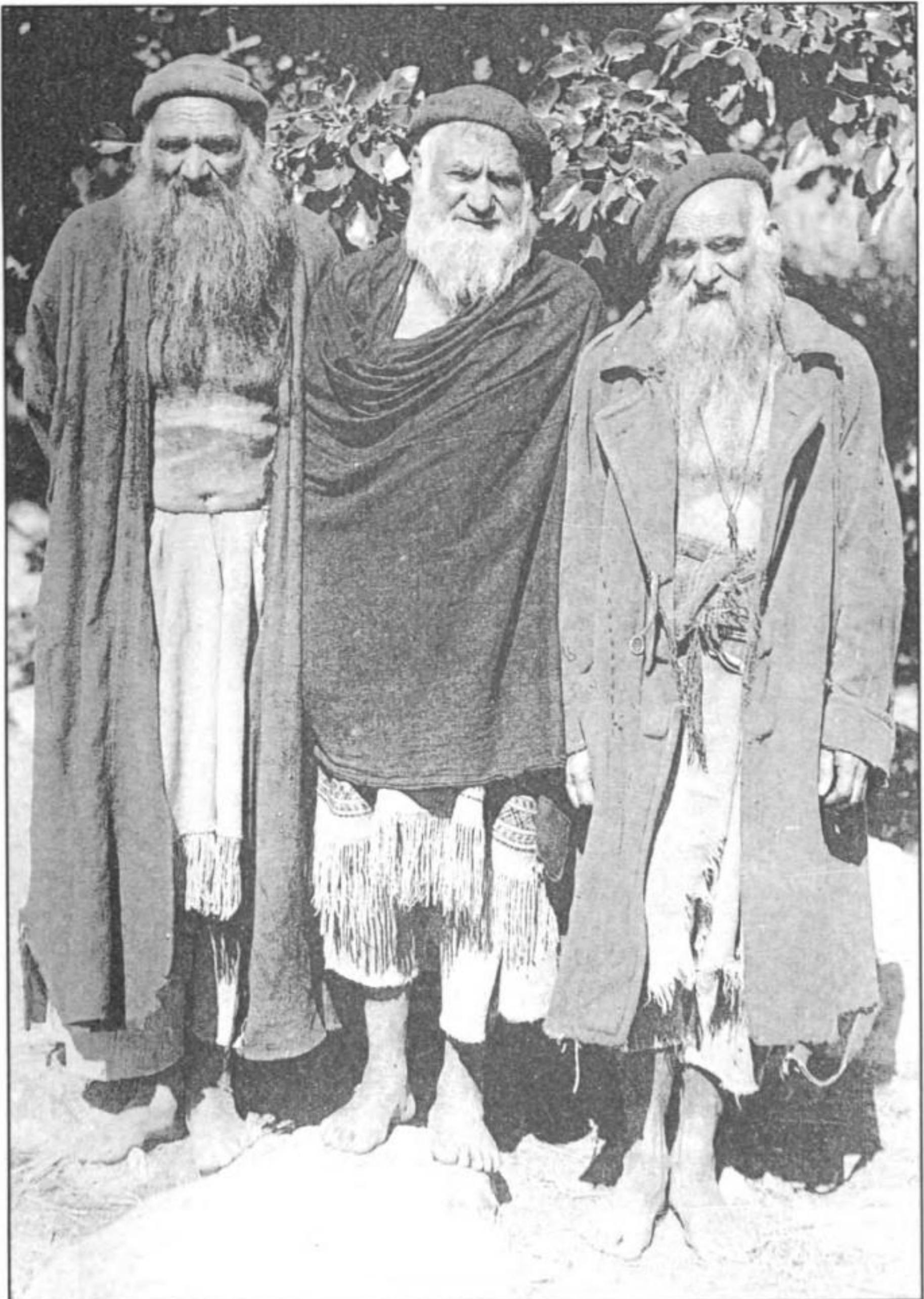
Kalash begār

PLATE 39.2



Joshi Spring Festival at Grom, 19/20 May 1935

PLATE 39.3



Senior elders of Ramboor

PLATE 39.4



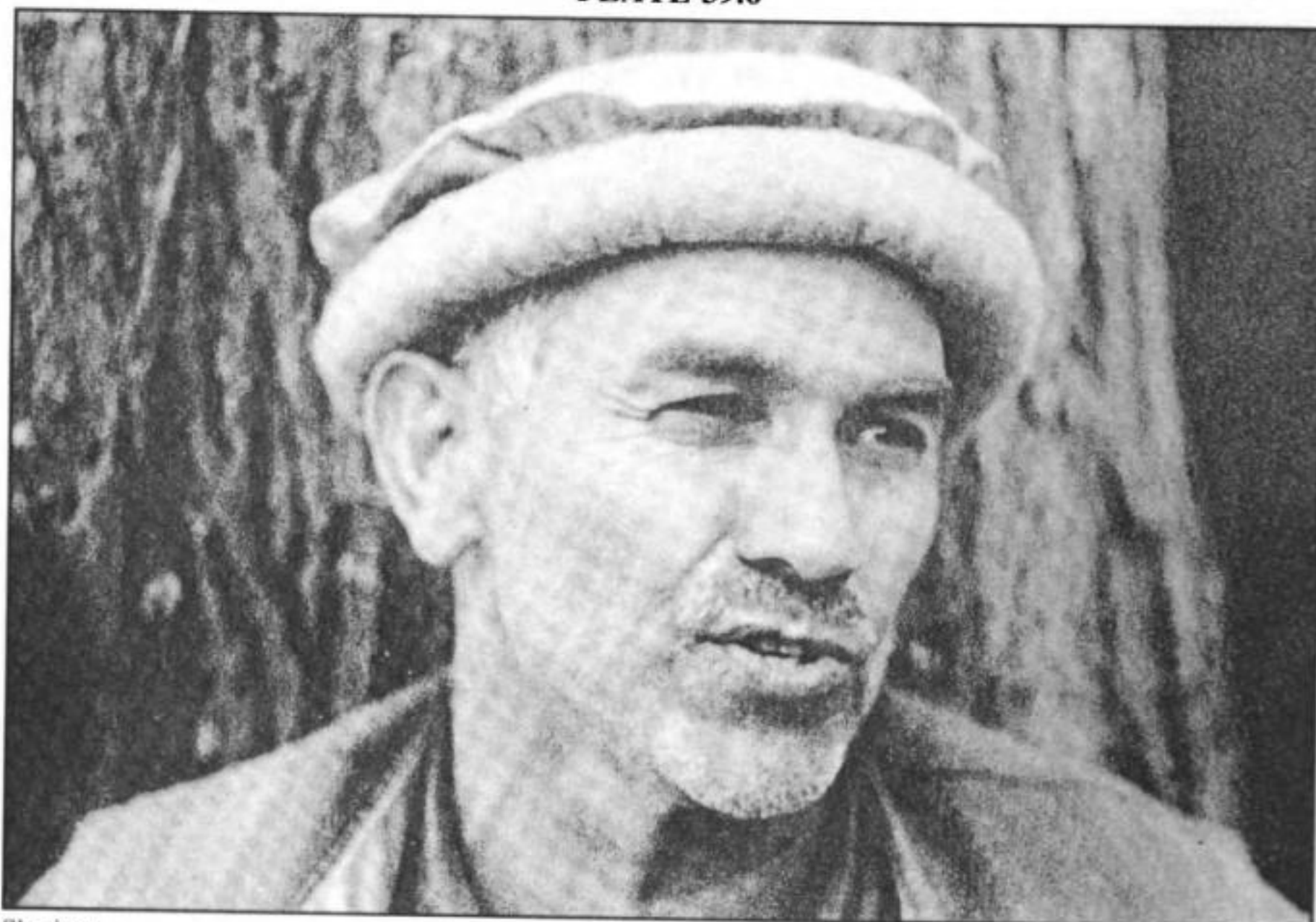
Ancestor effigy of Mahamurat

PLATE 39.5



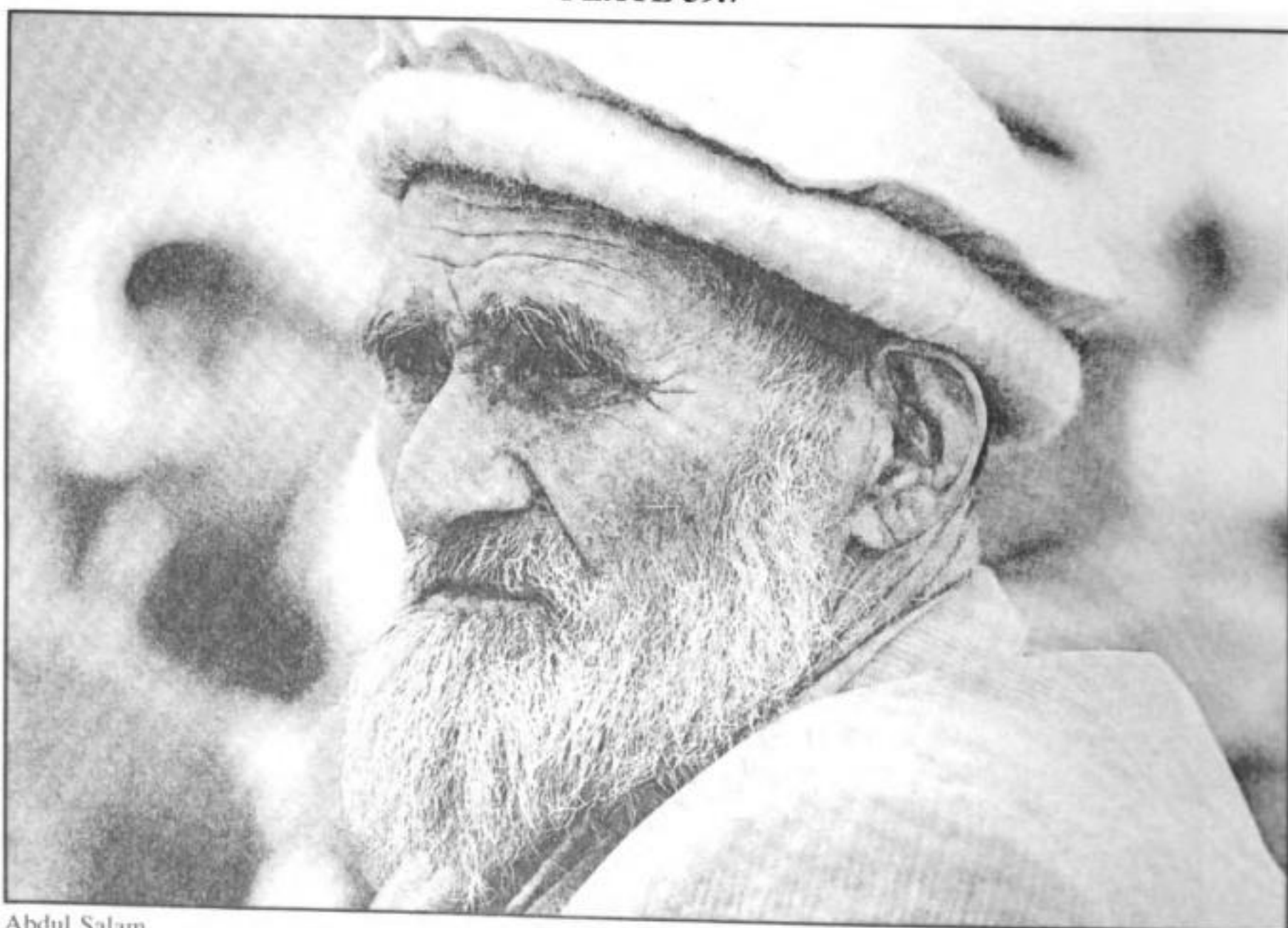
Ancestor Efiggy of Safar 1935

PLATE 39.6



Sherjuan

PLATE 39.7



Abdul Salam

NOTES

1. In the NWFP these include a pathbreaking historical ethnography (Bannerjee 1994) and a meticulous archival history (Wiqar Ali Shah 1997) of the Khudai Khidmatgar movement. Ethnographically informed histories of the Northern Areas include Müller-Stellrecht 1978; Tahir Ali 1983; Jettmar 1983 1989; Söhnen 1983; Frembgen 1985, 1986, 1999; Dani 1989; Kreutzmann 1996: Chap. 4; Schmid 1997: Chap. 2; Sökefeld 1997; Flowerday 1998; and contributions in Stellrecht 1997, 1999. Indigenous histories include Zarin 1984; Mankiralay 1987; Shah Rais Khan 1987; and translations undertaken by Adam Nayyar at the Lok Virsa Institute (e.g., Hashmatullah Khan 1987); while local histories in Urdu are noted by Frembgen (1996).
2. For example, Eggert 1990; Holzwarth 1996; Cacòpardo & Cacòpardo 1995, 1996; Baig 1997; Stellrecht 1998; Hussam-ul-Mulk & Jettmar no date; and Parkes 1996a, no date.
3. Cf. Tahir Ali 1983: 90–108 on such ambivalence regarding the *tham* or *mir* of Hunza, who 'evoked simultaneously obeisance mixed with fear, respect with anxiety, and loyalty with resentment' (p. 94).
4. On Katore slave trading, see Müller-Stellrecht 1981: 415–17 (also Raverty 1864: 127, 133; Biddulph 1880: 67–68; Durand 1899: 51f.). The sale of 'Kalash slaves' is mentioned in an early trade report (Davies 1862: 362; cf. Leitner 1880: 7). The destiny of such slaves is, of course, rarely narrated. But in 1974, I witnessed the remarkable reappearance of the son of a slave, Janjamir (of the Balöhe-nawau lineage, Ramboor), specifically remembered as having being cruelly seized and sold to Kabul by Aman-ul-Mulk. His son, Abdul Gani, from Ramgal valley in western Nuristan, was visiting Chitral in the hope of curing a footache at the hot springs of Garam Chashma; but he was also curious to meet his 'Kafir cousins' in Ramboor, and to regale them with his family history. His enslaved father (youngest son of Amir Kalash or Kalashamir) had been successful as an 'officer' or spy in the army of Amanullah of Afghanistan, and he had been richly rewarded with servants of his own, as well as a small estate in Ramgal, where he had married a local woman and lived with her maternal uncle, establishing a prosperous family there.
5. Kalasha scapulamancy, scrutinizing the shoulder-blade of a sacrificed animal (*as jiëk*), includes a prominent area at the base of the bone-ridge dedicated to omens concerning the Katore royal family, where white spots indicate an impending death. A star of Katore (*katurëan tãri*, the planet Mars) was also periodically observed to predict royal fortunes.
6. See Nizam-ul-Mulk & Leitner 1891: 153; Schomberg 1938: 235–36; Lorimer 1980: 192; and Hussam-ul-Mulk 1974: 98. Such traditions conceivably derived from former Katore ritual pretensions to 'divine kingship' or control of local spiritual powers comparable to those of the *tham* or *mir* of Hunza (Müller-Stellrecht 1973: 161–71).
7. Compare Guha 1991: 65–67 on the similar 'motif of the wicked official' in the Garwhal Himalaya: The state, or the monarch, appears as an abstract entity far removed from the scene of exploitation...surrogate officials are perceived as the true exploiters. The notion of a 'just' government...is another factor which influences popular perceptions; thus tyrannical officials are seen as breaching the ethical code of justice governing relations between ruler and ruled. (p. 65–66).
8. On Sangin Ali or Sangali, see Biddulph 1880: 151 and Ghulam Murtaza 1962: 37. Kalasha traditions of Mir Sangali probably refer to Sangali II, reportedly ruling in the late 17th century (Ghulam Murtaza 1962: Chap. 4.5). Ghulam Murtaza (1962: 28, 30, 37, 40) refers to the defeat of the Kalasha king of Chitral 'Bula Singh' by 'Shah Nadir Rais' in the 14th century, while 'Raja Wai' was supposedly defeated by 'Shah Tahir Rais' some two centuries later. But these accounts do not conform with Bumboret oral traditions, where Rajawai (son of Raja Krishnuk) and Bulasing—eponymous clan ancestors of lineages in Batrik and Brun—are treated as contemporary and rival local chiefs, associated with the era of Mir Sangal or Sangali's overlordship in Wirishikgum. The Bulasinge *qaum* of Uyun claim that Bulasing was a 'Kho Kafir' formerly ruling from Chitral, whose pagan followers became Kalasha when driven to Bumboret. Traditions of the Bulasing-nawau lineage of Brun relate that their ancestor retreated there after being mistakenly attacked by his brother Kavijok in Uyun. Cf. Wazir Ali Shah 1974b: 79.
9. On Sumalik, son of Trakhan and successor of Shiri Badat in Gilgit tradition, see Biddulph 1880: 135–36 and Lorimer 1980: 119–22; also Dani 1989: 166–67, citing Hashmatullah Khan 1938 and Shah Rais Khan 1987. Early Ra'is wars against Sumalik of Gilgit, and his capture by Taj Mughal (see note 12 below), are mentioned by Ghulam Murtaza (1962: 37; cf. Ghulam Muhammad 1907: 126–27; Shah Rais Khan 1987: 56–66). The lineal pedigree of the Sherä-nawau ('Zondre') lineage in Darasguru claims royal descent from Sumalik through his son Siahgush, the father of their apical ancestor Pahlawan (the wrestler), who is supposed to have been a brother of Zandro or Zon, founder of the noble Kho Zondre *qaum* in Uyun and elsewhere. Sumalik is here related to be the son of Sirang, with a younger brother Bukara or Bokhara. Kalasha legends of Sirang, Sumalik, and Siahgush—born 'black eared' (*siāhguš*) perhaps by Persian folk etymology for Siyavosh—

correspond with Zondre traditions elsewhere in Chitral (Schomberg 1938: 160–61; Jettmar 1975: 448–49; cf. Eggert 1990: 39, *passim*, indicating 'Sirenge', 'Siah Gushe' and 'Shere' descent sections of the Zondre *qaum*). A whimsical tale tells of a Kalasha woman's rude concealment of meat in her skirts on attending a premortuary feast of Sumalik, justifying the ritual prohibition of sacrificial male goat's meat for Kalasha women.

10. Dhondi was famous for his manly beauty and shining golden teeth, which gained the infatuation of Khushwaqt's queen. The king therefore had him thrown from Shasha Bridge, where his head was cut off and thrown into the Chitral River. Floating down towards Nagar, to the whirlpool near Kalkatak named Dhondigal (Kalasha *būarsār*), his revolving head and golden teeth famously lit up the valley like the sun. His brother Babura was equally famous for building the great *rikhīni-han* clan-house at Gurul, using Birir bond-labourers loaned by Khushwaqt, who supplied treasure and gowns for its celebratory feasting. Shah Khushwaqt of Yasin and Mastuj (grandson of Sangin Ali I and brother of Muhtaram Shah Kator I) is indeed related to have owned extensive *jagīr* estates around Uyun, conceivably including the Kalasha valleys, whose tribute and labour services would thus have been inherited by his son and successor in Yasin, Shah Faramurd, who supposedly ruled Chitral briefly in the early 18th century (Ghulam Muhammad 1962: Chaps. 4.4, 4.9). Ancient funeral praise songs of Dhondi and Babura's services to these rulers in 'Balōs Wirishikgum' mention their forts in Mastuj, Shoghor, and Sonoghor, also referring to an unidentifiable rival 'Shah Madrush' of Nari in Kunar.
11. Mehtar Bamburus or Bambaras Khan of Drosh recurs in Birir as well as Ramboor traditions. He is said to have made war against Kasata, a lineal descendant of Dhondi and Babura, of the Lataruk-dari lineage. He is sometimes confused with a later ruler of Drosh, Sherbalang Khan, associated with 'Shah Katur,' who received as *nazrana* (Khowar *ūsel*) magical treasure brought from the 'temple of Mahandeu' in Wetdesh (Prasun) by ancestors of the Rashmuk-dari and Mārā-dari lineages of Gasguru (Parkes 1991: 84). Sherbalang Khan is evidently Sar Buland Khan, the Reza-khel prince appointed governor of Drosh by his elder brother Mehtar Shah Nawaz Khan at the end of the 18th century (Ghulam Murtaza 1962: Chap. 5.5), and subsequently under his younger brother Muhtaram Shah (Little Kator). He is also the 'Mir Shah Rizā, Badshah or Chief of Drūsh' who provided extensive information on late 18th century Chitral to the anonymous surveyor cited in Raverty's notes on 'Kāshkār and its Darāhs' (Raverty 1888; cf. Holzwarth 1996: 129–30, note 7h).
12. This early conquering warlord is perhaps comparable with the 'Taj Mughal' of Badakhshan or Yarkand mentioned in other regional histories (Hashmatullah Khan 1939: 672; Ghulam Murtaza 1962: 28–29, 34, 36; cf. Holzwarth 1994: 19, 1996: 120; Jettmar 1996: 90). But he appears to be a composite figure, also plausibly identifiable with the Badakhshani invader, Mir Sultan Shah Azdaha (the Dragon), supporting Shah Abdul Qadir Ra'is and besieging Khushamad II at Mastuj in the mid-18th century (Ghulam Murtaza 1962: Chaps. 4.8, 5.1). In Birir, Ghor Dimiu, a forefather of the Rashmuk-dari lineage and grandfather of the prophetic shaman Sindi *dehār* (see below), also 'mixed with the gods' (*dēwa mišāri*), single-handedly made war against such a 'Tajik Shah' before he was treacherously tricked by a Kalasha slave woman revealing the markhor-horn pipeline bringing water to his fortified castle above Gasguru in Birir (as with Bulasing at Chitral); but he later outwitted and killed the king with a series of similar folkloric counter-tricks, including a rolling log of mill stones. Another 'Tajik Shah' is said to have been killed by Juruwek, a forefather of the Bazike-nawau lineage in Brun (Bumboret), resulting in another Tajik invasion from Badakhshan before a large blood-price was settled in compensation, notably after Juruwek's daughter had offered herself as a slave to raise proceeds.
13. Ancestral tradition of the Lataruk-dari of Gurul, Birir valley. Narrator: Shar Khan (Gilasur-dari), aged ca 70 years in 1976. Lataruk is placed ca eight to nine generations prior to living elders of this descent line. Literal translation from Kalasha verbal transcription.
14. Ancestral tradition of the Barik-dari or Dramui-nawau lineage of Balanguru village, Ramboor. Narrator: Khrosh Nawaz (Balōhe-nawau lineage), aged ca 43 years in 1974. Barik is placed eight generations back from a single living elder of this descent line.
15. Ancestral tradition of the Dremese-nawau and Begalye-nawau lineages of Balanguru village, Ramboor. Narrator: Khrosh Nawaz in 1974 (as above). The eponymous ancestors Dremes and Begal are placed five to six generations from living elders.
16. Cf. Schomberg 1938: 264–68; Ghulam Murtaza 1962: Chap. 4; and Lorimer 1980: 213. Conversion to Islam of former Kalasha communities in Broze and Urghuch are related in some detail to have occurred under 'Great Kator' (Muhtaram Shah I), i.e., within the 17th century. The last Kalasha pagan of Urghuch, Suki, was memorably feasted and entombed at Nosbiu in Birir.
17. Khairullah also features as a rapacious king in Ramboor traditions about the early lineage ancestor 'Little Sumbara' (son of Balōh, apical ancestor of the Balōhe-nawau lineage, six to seven generations removed from its living elders). After sponsoring the first great Sharuga feast (see note 20 below) at the funeral of his

father's brother Chakhun, Khairullah is said to have sent soldiers from Wirishikgum to seize Sumbara's renowned herds of goats. But the shaman Nanga *dehār* had earlier ordered his making of a shrine to the fertility goddess Jach, and with her divine protection Sumbara managed to escape with sixty milking goats to Bashgal, together with his infant son Kasum, whom he suckled with goat's milk. The goddess further protected his herds in Ramboor by causing hallucinatory mists, confusing the soldiers of Khairullah, who found only rocks in the mountains, returning empty-handed to Wirishikgum (Parkes 1975: 25–26; cf. Loude 1980: 55–56). A similar motif of family loyalty and martyrdom for Shah Kator (here Muhtaram Shah II) against Khairullah, during related civil and sectarian interdynastic strife in Upper Chitral at the end of the 18th century, occurs in the legendary history of the Roshte *qaum* related by Wazir Ali Shah (1983: 640).

18. Composite Ramboor tradition, mainly derived from ancestral traditions of the Karuzhi-dari lineage of Anish, Bumboret. Narrator: Sherjuan (Dremese-nawau lineage), aged ca. 35 years in 1972. Kanek and Karuzhi, sons of Mahadust and grandsons of Kurumba (a foundling discovered by Dangariks), were placed six to seven generations back from living elders of the Aspāhi-nawau and Karuzhi-dari lineages of Anish. The Ramboor ancestors Amir (or Kalashamir) and Adraman are placed three to four generations back from living elders (of the Balōhe-nawau and Begalye-nawau lineages), suggesting an anachronistic conflation of separate lineage traditions. This text, continuing below, is summarized from a unique communal 'epic history' of Kalasha (the topic of Parkes 1975) related by Sherjuan (see Plate 39.6) in August 1972, assisted by the Ramboor elder Baraman (Balōhe-nawau lineage). As in the case of traditions related by Quasi Khrosh Nawaz (note 14), these narratives appear to be influenced by indirect (oral) knowledge of the *Nai Tarikhi-e-Chitral* (Ghulam Murtaza 1962). Fuller translations (through Khovar renditions) are reproduced in Parkes (1975: 164–75).
19. Narrative continuation of the Ramboor 'epic history'. See note 18 above.
20. Schomberg (1938: 50) describes the 'extra large' equestrian effigy of 'Mahomuret...on his two-headed steed' (*istōri ganḍāo*) as well as a miniature enthroned effigy (*gunḍurik*), commemorating 'the distribution of two hundred cattle on his death' (i.e., the Sharuga feast series, which Mahamurat performed twice; see Darling 1979 105–15 Parkes 1983: 490–95). Schomberg's photograph of Mahamurat's effigy (1938: opp. p. 50) is miscaptioned 'Achayak', actually the father of Fauch (see note 26 below) of the Mutimire-nawau lineage, one of just five Ramboor families around the turn of the century who had sponsored the *Sharuga* feast series (see Klimburg this volume), commemorated with the only other known two-headed Kalasha equestrian effigy, now in the Peshawar Museum. The subsequent odyssey of Mahamurat's effigy, from its removal from Ramboor graveyard in 1973 to its acquisition by the State Museum for Ethnography in Munich, is recounted by Frembgen (1998).
21. See Ghulam Murtaza 1962: Chap. 10. Primary eyewitness accounts of these events are Robertson (1899), Thomson (1895), and Gurdon (1933, 1934). Cf. Alder 1963: 287–99.
22. This shamanic prophecy was also ascribed to the Bumboret shaman Rabadan, father of Budok *dehār* (cf. Siiger 1963). As related by Budok to Adolf Friedrich in 1956, Rabadan *dehār* had a similar revelation of 'fairies in heaven playing drums' in honour of Shuja-ul-Mulk, whose mother (Asmari Khonza) is said to have delightedly awarded the *dehār* robes as well as securing his village's release from tributary taxes (Friedl 1965: 16). Rabadan was indeed appointed *asakāl* headman of Bumboret under Shuja-ul-Mulk.
23. Narrative continuation of the Ramboor 'epic history'. See note 18.
24. Narrative conclusion of the Ramboor 'epic history'. See note 18.
25. Narrator: Shar Khan (Gilasur-dari, Gurul), aged ca 70 years in 1976.
26. Extract of praise song for the Mutimire-nawau of Ramboor recorded in 1974 and fully reproduced in Parkes 1975: 63–64. The greeting here possibly refers to Shuja-ul-Mulk's return to Chitral from touring India in 1910. A photograph of the *asakāl* Fauch as a senior elder in 1929 is shown in the final plate of Morgenstierne's *The Kalasha Language* (1973): the bearded 'headman' on the left, accompanied by the 'soothsayer' Dangarik *dehār* (Wakoke-nawau lineage) and by Mahmat Isa (Balōhe-nawau; see note 33 below) on the far right. Schomberg's 1935 photograph of Fauch and his brothers, previously unpublished, is printed as Plate 39.3 here.
27. Bakhdur, elder of the Dremese-nawau lineage, aged ca 60 years in 1989.
28. Labour services and taxes demanded of Kalasha communities were traditionally divided up among *kam* lineages, whose elders would further subdivide specific tasks and payments by rota among their constituent households. This resulted in sometimes disproportionately greater dues demanded of small lineages. Many potentially wealthy households with inadequate labour were thus obliged to sell or mortgage their inherited property to lineage members who could provide the required services and taxes. Equivalently remembered overlords (*mulāwa*) to Asfandiar or 'Komander' in Ramboor were: Lalzaman Khan of Mastuj (son of Bakhdur Khan, a brother of Aman-ul-Mulk), commanding labour in Bumboret; and 'Chir-Brar' (a royal foster-brother) of Muldeh, commanding labour in Birir. The corvée labour and taxes of the Kalasha valleys were thus

frequently granted as *jagir* estates to Katore nobility in return for administrative services. Cf. Butz (this volume) and Macdonald 1998 on similar *corvées* in Hunza and Baltistan.

29. Recollection of Abdul Salam (Dremese-nawau lineage), aged ca 80 years in 1989. See Plate 39.7.
30. See Ghulam Murtaza 1962: Chap. 15; also Hussam-ul-Mulk 1947 (cf. Eggert 1990: 6).
31. This would have been around the time of Halfdan Siiger's visit to Ramboor (summer 1948). He was perhaps shielded by Wazir Ali Shah from awareness of impending Kalasha insurrections (cf. Siiger 1956: 15), yet his transcribed autobiography of Kwad Shah (Dremese-nawau *asakāl* preceding Abdul Salam) alludes to earlier public protests:

When prince Ghulam [Dastgir] imposed uncustomary taxes on us, then all of us, women and men together, emigrated en masse to Chitral. We made a petition to the king and Gaden Mulki [Capt. B.E.M. Gurdon, political agent]. Then the king severed us from Ghulam and gave us two month's labour-release, before he gave [us] to Asfandiar [i.e. Komander]. From then until now this [community] has been with Asfandiar. (Morgenstierne 1973: 45 lines 33–38 retranslated);

32. Recollection of Bakhdur in 1989 (see note 27 above), a long serving *hawaldar* of the Border Police in Ramboor. He ended this account with the wry comment: 'In those days they beseeched us to join the bodyguard; but nowadays it takes a bribe of over a thousand rupees to sign up in the Border Police!' The 'Pakhti League' (properly the Ittehadī or 'Unionist' Muslim League of local royalists contesting national Muslim League agitation in Chitral from 1950) was colloquially named after the lavish cooked rice (Khowar *paxtī*) feasts offered to supporters at their rallies. Their paternalist promise of reduced *thanḡi* tribute and labour was an arguably better option than regular *ushur* and *zakāt* harvest taxes for most poor Kalasha households, who paid these government tithes until 1973.
33. Mahmat Isa (Balōhe-nawau lineage) was in several respects the most pioneering Kalasha of this century, serving as a *shikari* (hunting) guide and interpreter to British officers throughout northwest India, fluent in Persian, Urdu, and Pashto. He was the guide and informant to Reginald Schomberg in Ramboor, whose travel book *Kafirs and Glaciers* displays a portrait, taken at the Joshi festival in May 1935, showing Mahmat Isa in the background, with his brother Saidaman and young son Zulum Khan in the foreground (1938: plate opp. p. 170; cf. p. 60). Mahmat Isa also served as an interpreter for the Norwegian linguist Georg Morgenstierne in 1929 (see Morgenstierne 1973: 184–85). He was murdered after a land dispute with Bashgali *Sheikhs* in Ramboor ca 1956. I intend to describe his narrative history in a companion piece to this article, concerning traditions of Kalasha relations with British colonial officers and Pakistani presidents ('Kafir Kings: Colonial and Postcolonial Rule in Kalasha Tradition' ms.).
34. On current predicaments of Kalasha development, see Saifullah Jan this volume; Babar Jamal (this volume); and Parkes (1999).

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EVALUATION OF THE LEGAL SYSTEM IN CHITRAL

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Till the beginning of the present century the ex-state of Chitral followed unwritten traditional customary law prevalent in the region since ancient times. As a princely state ruled by different dynasties of rulers for more than a thousand years, the rulers enjoyed the supreme authority to enforce any law according to their sweet will. With the coming of Islam into the region in medieval times, certain disputes concerning marriages, divorces, murders, and so forth were referred to *qazis*, who proceeded judgement according to the *Islamic sharia*. Disputes, especially marital ones, were also sometimes referred by the ruling prince to the *qazi* and were settled according to *sharia*.

It was in 1909, when the then ruler, His Highness Shuja-ul-Mulk, for the first time passed a legal document called *Dasturulajmal* to deal with murder cases on adultery. This written enactment was enforced in consultation with the British authorities and remained in effect till the merger of the state with other districts of Pakistan in 1969.

During the state regime, till 1953, the following procedure was followed regarding the settlement of different disputes, as mentioned in *Military Report and Gazetteer on Chitral* (1928).

In every big village his highness appointed a committee consisting four to ten leading members. This committee met once a week under the chairmanship of the *çarwêlu* or *hakim*, to dispose of petty cases, civil and criminal. These were only reported to the (Judicial) Council if a fine was levied.

In important cases, land, thefts, or murder, the complainant first reports to the local official, and then proceeds to Chitral and petitions His Highness. The petition is forwarded to the (Judicial) Council for investigation and report. The council, on receipt of the plaint, may hear the parties and if no immediate settlement is possible the petition is forwarded to the head of the District. From here after investigation, the petition with both parties and the recommendations of the head of the District, comes back to the Council who again hears the parties and submits recommendations to His Highness, His Highness then passes orders.

The penalties were:

- a. death by shooting,
- b. imprisonment in the jail in Chitral Fort,
- c. fines, and
- d. confiscation of property.

Till 1953, some unconstitutional, non-humanitarian and ultra-Islamic provisions were also embodied in customary laws such as *Hindal BaSu*, that is, escheating of the property of a man

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having no male issue to the state and on the discretion of the ruler to dispose it off to the non-concerned, depriving other classes of heirs altogether. Moreover, some classes of Islamic provisions were enforced besides the customary laws, such as the Shariat Application (Amendment Act) 1952, Interim Constitution Act 1953, and the Inheritance Act 1953, passed by the Advisory Council (a sort of legislature), finally concurred with by his highness the *mehtar* of Chitral on 19 April 1954, and termed as Personal Law (Shariat Application Act) 1954. This Personal Law of 1954 gave the region a multiple legal system with a tiny institutional setup, renovated under the Interim Constitution Act 1953.

The Setup under the Personal Law of Chitral of 1954

The law provides as under:

Union Councils

The whole region was divided into six union councils. The union council had to decide petty cases on reference from *tehsildars*, on conciliatory basis. In case reconciliation failed, the council had to submit its recommendation to the *tehsildar* for decision.

Village Qazi

The village *qazis* were included in the judicial staff of the state, drawing their pay from the state treasury. Their function was to decide the cases according to the norms of the *sharia*, on reference from the *tehsildar*, deputy commissioner, or Judicial Council. There were *muftis* as a part of the judicial staff of the state to give opinion according to the *sharia* on matters when required.

Decisions of *qazis* could only be based on the Sunni school of thought, the majority sect. Therefore, the Ismailis, despite being Shias and comprising at least 40 per cent of the population, had to follow, in legal practices, the majority school of thought.

Tehsildar's Court

The *tehsildars* were vested with the judicial powers besides other powers on administrative and criminal side. *Tehsildars* could decide all cases except murder, dacoity, adultery, abduction, and could impose a fine to the tune of Rs 100 while on the civil side they could hear all civil cases to the value of Rs 2000. Appeals against their decision lay with the deputy commissioner.

DC's Court

The deputy commissioner (DC) was competent to hear all criminal cases except those reserved for the Judicial Council to dispose of. On the civil side the DC was empowered to decide a case up to the value of Rs 5000. Appeals against the order of the DC had to be lodged with the Judicial Council.

Judicial Council

It was the highest court of the state as far as judicial decisions were concerned. The members of the Judicial Council were appointed by the chief advisor/the *wazir-e-azam* for one year. All heinous criminal cases and all civil cases beyond the value of Rs 5000 were heard in the Judicial Council, the superior court, in its original criminal/civil jurisdiction. Though the Judicial Council of the state is deemed to be the Supreme Court of the time, it is important to note that, in the annals of the legal system, except in contempt cases, none of its decisions were final and executable unless approved by the chief advisor. The chief advisor, on the recommendation of the Judicial Council, could either approve the same or reject it, or give his own decision by setting aside the recommendation of the Judicial Council or refer it back to the Judicial Council for fresh trial. The Jirga Regulation Criminal/Civil Act 1975 was a bit of a prototype of the Judicial Council because, like those of the Judicial Council of that time, its recommendations had no value without the final verdict, which was to be given by the assistant commissioner with the powers of the DC.

Mizan-e-Sharia

This court of *sharia* consisted of three religious scholars appointed by the chief advisor for a tenure of six months. They drew their allowances from the state treasury. Important cases of *sharia* matters were referred to them by the chief advisor, with the consent of the parties. The verdict of the Mizan-e-Sharia was to be submitted before the chief advisor for approval, who could accept it or reject it or return it for retrial.

Chief Advisor's Court

Under this setup the powers of the ruler of the state as the final authority in judicial cases were vested in the chief advisor, whose order was appealable before the regent.

Regent's Court

The political agent of Malakand was vested with the power as the regent for Chitral. The political agent of Malakand had appellate jurisdiction in matters of the judiciary as regards Chitral, and could hear appeals against the decisions of the chief advisor, Chitral.

Shariat Order 1959

This order was promulgated by the chief advisor, Chitral. It provided that when a party to a case wanted the case to be decided in the light of *sharia* while the other party wanted it to be adjudicated under '*rewaj*,' the case was to be decided under *sharia*, on the condition that the party asking for *sharia* adjudication proves that it has been observing *sharia* in all its cases before *sharia* courts. The process of written enactments gave birth to the Procedural Rules, 1962. These rules were enforced by the chief advisor of Chitral on 25 August 1962. It was the first procedural codification. Till the promulgation of Regulation 1 of 1969, these Procedural Rules of 1962 were in practice.

Post-merger Legal Practices of Chitral (1969)

Legal practices in Chitral took a new turn in 1969. By Regulation 1 of 1969, the administration of Chitral State along with other ceded states, was taken away from the respective rulers and assumed by the Government of West Pakistan. In consequence of the dissolution of the province of West Pakistan, by President's Order No 1 of 1970, the territories of the ceded states including Chitral were annexed to the territorial/administrative jurisdiction of the province of the NWFP. By promulgation of Regulation 1 of 1971, by the governor of NWFP, a number of statutes were extended to Chitral District, including the Evidence Act, Civil Procedure Code (CPC), Criminal Procedure Code (Cr.P.C.), Pakistan Penal Code (PPC), and all other enactments of regular law. In 1973 a new constitution came into force in Pakistan. By Article 246 of the constitution of Pakistan 1973, the territories of the ceded states, including Chitral, were declared as Provincially Administered Tribal Areas (PATA).

Under Article 247 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan 1973 the administration of the PATA, including Chitral, became the exclusive concern of the governor of NWFP and the president, unlike other territories of the NWFP, an evidently discriminatory provision of law created to deal with a people of a particular area differently from those of other areas of the same province governed by the same constitution.

Promulgation of PATA Regulation Criminal-Cum-Civil 1975

On 26 July 1975 with the approval of the president of Pakistan, the governor of NWFP under Article 247 of the constitution of Pakistan 1973 promulgated Regulation No 1 of 1975 termed as PATA Criminal Law 'Special Provision' Regulation of 1975, in respect of criminal justice in the PATA area and Chitral. The offences provided/embodyed in the PPC were divided into two parts. The offences falling in Part One of the Schedule of Regulation 1 of 1975 became triable by the tribunal constituted by the DC while Part Two of the schedule could also be tried by the tribunal but with the consent of the parties.

The tribunal consisted of five persons, one of whom was to be a government official not below the rank of a *tehsildar*. The tribunal was just a recommending authority and could never award punishment. On the other hand, the DC was not bound to accept the verdict of the tribunal except where it unanimously or on a majority of four found an accused not guilty. But in this case too the DC was not bound to accept the recommendation if material irregularity and miscarriage of justice were apparent. The order of the DC or the assistant commissioner or extra assistant commissioner exercising the power of the DC was appealable before the commissioner and that of the commissioner could be revised by the provincial government/home secretary as a revisional forum. As far the PATA Civil Procedure (Special Provision) Regulation No 2 of 1975 is concerned, the civil disputes were again divided into two categories. Part One of the said regulation related to the disputes, the value thereof not exceeding Rs 5000 were to be tried by a tribunal consisting of three members, one of them being a government official not below the rank of a *tehsildar*, while the two other members were to be chosen among the notables of the locality, keeping in view their social status. Cases under Part Two of Regulation 2 of 1975 were also referable to the tribunal by the DC with the consent of the parties to the case. The tribunal was just a recommending body. The DC was required to pass a decree in case of his agreement with a verdict of that tribunal and the reverse in the case of material irregularity or an occasion of miscarriage of justice. Appeals against the decree/order of the DC lay with the commissioner, and orders of the

commissioner could be revised by the provincial government/home secretary or revisional jurisdiction.

On 29 December 1976 the governor of NWFP with the approval of the president of Pakistan, promulgated Regulation 4 of 1976. This regulation further amended the provisions of regulation no 1 & 2 of 1975 by enlarging the jurisdiction of the tribunals, now called the *jirga*. The *jirga* was given exclusive jurisdiction in respect of all offences under the PPC except offenses against the state, armed forces, elections, coins, and stamps. Likewise the *jirga* could try all the cases of civil nature except those exempted under Part Two of the proceeding Regulation No 2 of 1975. Now even a *naib tehsildar* could preside over the *jirga*. Regulation No 1 of 1975 was further amended on 11 January 1978 to curtail the jurisdiction/competency of the *jirga* in respect of offences of public tranquillity relating to contempt of lawful authority of public servants, false evidence, and public justice. The PATA regulations of 1975 criminal/civil with all amendments thereto, remained alive with their inherent ambiguities and unjustness till 13 February 1993. It is strange to note that for Chitral, the period from 1969 to 13 February 1993 has been an era of a multitude of laws, as there were customary laws, regular laws, *sharia* laws, and *jirga* laws, coupled with the functions of the Judicial Council established under the Interim Constitution Act of Chitral 1953. During such a short span of time no other land perhaps has seen such multifarious and numerous laws.

According to the legal history of Chitral from 1969 to 26 July 1975, the Malakand Division including Chitral District like all other areas under the same constitution enjoyed only one simple regular law for civil and criminal matters. But the Government of NWFP, under Article 247 of the constitution 1973, for reasons unknown, decided to amend this unified system of law and promulgated PATA regulation nos 1 and 2 of 1975, locally known as 'Black Law,' for the people of Malakand Division. The law remained in practice till 24 February 1990, when on a few constitutional petitions, the Peshawar High Court declared the PATA regulation nos 1 and 2 of 1975, with all the amended regulations embodied thereto, as unconstitutional and discriminatory in nature. On appeal against the judgement of the Peshawar High Court and the Human Rights Case No 50 of 1992, the Supreme Court of Pakistan, upholding the judgement of the lower court, declared the PATA regulations as invalid and discriminatory and hence against the constitution of Pakistan 1973. Thus dawned a new era of social justice in the region. The Pakistan Supreme Court judgement dated 13 February 1993 opened a new chapter in the annals of the legal history of Chitral (Malakand Division), resulting in the promulgation of the PATA (Nifaz-e-Nizam-e-Sharia) regulation 1994. The Nifaz-e-Nizam-e-Sharia Regulation No 2 of 1994 aims to provide an administration of justice in the division. This regulation is again a product of Article 247 of the constitution of 1973, because no law of the land is enforceable in the categorized region unless it is extended through a special notification by the governor of the province through the force of Article 247 of the constitution. By Regulation 2 of 1994, those laws which are in consonance with the injunctions of Islam or which are necessary for the proper enforcement of Nizam-e-Sharia but which have not so far been applied, are declared to be applicable to Malakand Division including Chitral. Besides, all other laws provided in the said regulation vide Schedule No 1 annexed thereto, in force in other areas of the province immediately before the promulgation of the said regulation are declared applicable to PATA. These enactments are twenty-three in number, with the CPC, Cr.P.C., and PPC coupled with the Qisas and Diat Ordinance inclusive with other Islamic provisions. Schedule No 2 of Regulation 2 of 1994 provides the designations of the judicial officers as *zilla qazis*, *a'la ilaqa qazis*, and *ilaqa qazis* for district and session judges, senior civil judges, civil judges/magistrates, respectively. Regulation No 2 of 1994 has declared void customs, usages and instruments corresponding to any law in force in this

area. For specified classes of cases the services of '*muavin qazi*' to assist the court of the *qazi* have been introduced. But the real function of the *muavin qazi* and sanction behind it under the regular law is shrouded in mystery.

Initially every case under this regulation is supposed to be referred to mediators for settlement. If the case is reconciled, the *qazi* is to approve of the agreement, or otherwise to proceed with the case. Another salient feature of Regulation 2 of 1994 is that all the proceedings are to be conducted in the national language, that is, Urdu.

Although all the provisions of the law consistent with Islamic injunctions and already in force in other parts of the province have been made applicable to the PATA, they are much more ambiguous in their present shape, having no procedural law of their own. The legislative assembly has nothing to do directly with the people of Malakand Division, as far as legislation is concerned, unless Article 247 of the constitution of 1973 is invoked. This is a big question mark and a discrimination against a certain class of citizens. Here equality in the eyes of law is denied and this contradicts Article 25 of the constitution of Pakistan 1973, which reads, 'All citizens are equal before law and are entitled to equal protection of Law.'

Yet Nifaz-e-Nizam-e-Sharia Regulation No 2 of 1994 seems subservient to procedural law laid down for the regular legal practice in effect since the colonial era, instead of having its own procedural law. Hence it does not meet all the requirements of a full-fledged law.

Now the question arises whether Regulation 2 of 1994 will suffice for all the times to come. Will it meet the ends of justice in the present multifarious society, which will in five years embrace the twenty-first century? The answer—naturally—is no.

Suggestions and Proposals

The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan 1973 should be implemented for all purposes and for all the citizens alike. This proposal requires an amendment in the constitution of 1973 to bring the citizens residing in Malakand Division at par with those living in other parts of the province. An independent judiciary is the need of the time. Oppression by the bureaucracy cannot be effaced or pacified unless the services of an independent judiciary is availed for the citizens and the functionaries. It would be only then be possible for all the people of Chitral to enjoy the benefits of a real judiciary. Unified laws for all the citizens of Pakistan under one and the same constitution should be introduced in the letter and spirit of the constitution, so as to provide justice, easy and accessible, quick in nature and procedure, because justice delayed is justice denied. During the whole span of time of the PATA regulation 1975 and subsequent amended regulations thereof, justice was and has been always denied due to the Machiavellian framework of the regulation of 1975. According to natural Justice, it is not sufficient to hold that justice is being done—it should be seen being done.

It is only unified laws for all, whether Islamic laws or regular laws, which can guarantee that justice is neither denied nor delayed, and, moreover, not simply being done but actually seen being done.

It is hoped that the above-mentioned proposals will be helpful for all citizens of Pakistan in general and for the citizens of Malakand Division (under Article 247 of the constitution of 1973) in particular to enjoy the blessings of a just and efficient judiciary in the years to come.

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ADMINISTRATIVE EVOLUTION OF CHITRAL DISTRICT

*By Mohammad Yousaf**

General

Chitral, also known as Chetrar and KASHQAR, is the northernmost district of the North-West Frontier Province of Pakistan. It enjoys a unique position in the region because of its location and potentials. The district is located in such a way that it either adjoins or is proximate to Afghanistan, the Central Asian Muslim states, the Northern Areas of Gilgit/Baltistan, and China. No links can be established with these important neighbours without developing Chitral or without giving it due importance. Even though Chitral is inhabited by the Kho people, it also has a number of other linguistic groups including the Kalash and Pathans in different valleys of the district. These people have, generally, maintained the special characteristics of their culture and traditions.

Location

Chitral District is situated between 71 degrees, 22 minutes, and 74 degrees, 60 minutes, east longitudes, and between 35 degrees, 15 minutes, and 36 degrees, 50 minutes, north latitudes.

Boundaries

The boundaries of the district are as follows:

- North: Afghanistan
- West : Badakhshan and Nuristan provinces of Afghanistan
- South: Dir District of Pakistan and Kunar province of Afghanistan
- East : Ghizer District of the Northern Areas and Swat District of Pakistan

Physical Features

The approximate area of the district is 14,850 square kilometres with population of around 300,000.¹ Chitral District is a mountainous tract. The mountains are bare except for the lower part of the district and it is only in small patches at the bottom of the deep and narrow valleys that any cultivation is to be found. Altitude of the area ranges from 3500 feet in the extreme

* Deputy Commissioner, Chitral.

south in Arandu to 25,526 feet at Tirich Mir, the highest peak of the Hindu Kush Range. There are about 100 other peaks above 20,000 feet. The district is made up of several valleys, the most important and the largest of which is the main Chitral-Mastuj valley. It is 200 miles long stretching from Boroghil in the Pamirs to Arandu on the southern tip on Afghan border. The width is between one and ten miles. Other valleys of the same size are the Laspur, Mulikhow, Torkhow, Tirich, Owir, Golen, Lotkuh, Shishi, Urtsun, Ashret, and Damel valleys.

History

No authentic account of the history of Chitral State prior to the second century AD is available. From a Sanskrit rock inscription near Baranis it is believed that about the year 900 AD the inhabitants of the country were probably Buddhists. It is said that the area changed hands several times between the Kushan of Peshawar, Chinese, and the Iranians. It was initially inhabited by the Kalash, who were Buddhist or followed a religion similar to Buddhism. Alexander also passed through its southern tip while crossing into Northern India via east Afghanistan. Known as Little Kashgar, Chitral in the old days was on the trade route between China and western Asia. In the fourteenth century it was conquered by a Turkoman prince called Ra'is, who established the Ra'ise dynasty, which flourished for about 275 years. The Ra'isae subdued the remaining Kalash Kafir strongholds in southern Chitral and conquered the whole country stretching from Gilgit to Asmar. Then the Taimuris, descendants of Mirza Hussain of Hirat, overthrew the Ra'is ruler and established their rule. A branch called Khushwaqte ruled Gilgit while another called Katora ruled Chitral. From 1590 to 1969 Chitral was ruled by the Katore dynasty. Baba Ayub, a saint and Taimuri prince, came from Hirat during the reign of Shah Akbar Ra'is (1491–1520). It is said that Baba Ayub accompanied his *pir*, Shah Shams-ud-Din Tabreezi, a reputed Muslim scholar and saint, and settled in Upper Chitral as directed by his *murshid*. He eventually married the daughter of Shah Akbar Ra'is, got 'jagirs' and landed properties at Kosht, Gohkir and Lone and died there. The great-grandson of Baba Ayub, namely Muhtaram Shah, called as Shah Kator, was the first Katore ruler who became a *mehtar* by defeating the last Ra'is ruler, Shah Mahmood. The state was annexed to Pakistan in 1947 and merged with the NWFP in 1969 and became a district.

State Administration

The state had a ruler called a *mehtar*, who was the final authority in all matters. Before 1953 the state was divided into six *ilaqas* (areas) under governors appointed by ruler. These were Drosh, Shoghor, Lotkuh, Mulikhow, Torkhow, and Mastuj. The other state officials were the *dewan begi*, *hakim*, *çarwēlu*, *atalique*, *chharbu*, *baramush*, and *asakāl*. There were also ministers, who tended to revenue matters.

Dewan begi: The official in charge of treasury and trade.

'*Hakim*,' '*çarwēlu*,' and *atalique* were equivalent titles. With the exception of three or four, the holders used to be from the Adamzada class. These officials held offices under the governors of the *ilaqas*. The *hakim* was the assistant of the governor and the *çarwēlu* performed the functions of the *hakim* in the villages, while the *atalique* was a high official with vast

powers. The *Chharbu* (the livestock-tax collector) and *baramush* were the subordinates of the *çarwēlu*.

The *asakāl* were the men in charge of the *mehtari* (royal) estates.

The offices were mostly hereditary. Some *dewan begi*, *çarwēlu*, *ataliques*, and *asakāl* were given lands, in addition to the grains which all received for their services. The office of the *wazir-e-azam* was introduced in 1936.

Reorganization

In the year 1953, His Highness Saif-ur-Rahman, in consultation with the central government of Pakistan, abolished the old system and introduced new setup of administration. The state became federated part of Pakistan and was included in Peshawar Division. Under the new system, the state was divided into two districts, that is, Chitral District and Mastuj District. Chitral District was subdivided into three *tehsils*, namely, Drosh, Chitral, and Lotkuh. Mastuj District was subdivided into Mastuj Tehsil, Torkhow Tehsil, and Mulikhow Tehsil. Deputy commissioners (DCs) were appointed for the districts and *tehsildars* for the *tehsils*.

In the centre there were eight secretaries of equal status in charge of different departments directly under the political agent in his capacity as *wazir-e-azam* (or chief advisor) of the state. The different secretaries were chief secretary or secretary to *wazir-e-azam* (incharge establishment), secretary education, planning, and development and forests, secretary *tamirat*, secretary trade, and secretary Judicial Council. There was one Assistant Secretary in the office of the chief secretary.

The political agent as *wazir-e-azam* of the state was chief executive authority.

There was a state police force, under a superintendent of police to assist the administration in the execution of its functions. There was a police station in each of the six *tehsils*.

Civil and Criminal Justice

For procedural purposes there were five sets of courts in the state invested with judicial powers:

- a. The lowest court was that of the *naib tehsildar*. It could hear and decide a civil suit up to the value of Rs 100 and impose a fine up to Rs 20 in criminal cases. Appeals against any order lay with the *tehsildar*.
- b. The second court in the state was that of the *tehsildar*. *Tehsildars* were invested with judicial powers in addition to their other duties. According to the Dasturul Amal, *tehsildars* could hear all criminal cases except those of murder, dacoity, and so on, which were reserved for the Judicial Council. In criminal cases, they could impose a fine up to the limit of Rs 100. They could hear and decide all civil suits up to the value of Rs 2000.
- c. The third court in the state was the DC's court. DCs could hear original civil suits up to the value of Rs 5000. In criminal cases except those which were reserved for the Judicial Council they could impose a fine up to Rs 200 and could imprison offenders up to one month. In other cases which were reserved for the Judicial Council they could make a

preliminary inquiry and submit it to the Judicial Council for further disposal. All appeals against the decisions of *tehsildars* were heard and disposed of by the DCs.

- d. The highest court in the state was the Judicial Council with the *wazir-e-azam* at its head. The order of the Judicial Council was not final and could not be implemented until it was submitted to and approved by the *wazir-e-azam*. *Wazir-e-azams* could approve or reject the verdict and give their own decision or send it back to the council for a fresh trial, if it seemed to them that there had been some lacking in the proceedings or in the verdict. The Judicial Council decided criminal cases of important nature, that is, murder, dacoity, adultery, abduction, and so forth in its original jurisdiction and recommended punishment. The council could hear civil suits above the value of Rs 5000. It heard appeals against the decisions and orders of the DC. The members of the Judicial Council were nominated by the *wazir-e-azam* on the approval of the regent, for a period of one year, from among the elders of different tribes, one each from each *tehsil*.

Besides these courts, there was one *Mizan-e-Sharia* in Chitral and *qazis'* courts in the villages. These courts only heard and determined cases and issues which were referred to them by the above-mentioned courts. Their decisions were subject to the approval of the referring authority. The union councils also assisted the *tehsildar* in the preliminary inquiries and investigation.

- e. The highest court of appeal in the case of Chitral State was the Court of the Commissioner, who was also the regent of Chitral State. This court only heard appeals against the decisions of the political agent and *wazir-e-azam*, Chitral.

Cases in the state were decided according to the unwritten customs of the state and according to the general principles of justice. However, there were some standing orders, procedural rules, and precedents which were followed by the courts. There was no court-fee system in the state.

Land Revenue

There were no records of ownership rights, and no settlement has been done. The land revenue was recovered in kind and was one-tenth of the produce called '*ushur*.' The *ushur* was charged from all the lands without exception. It was collected through contractors.

Present Administrative Setup

Chitral State was merged as district in 1969 and since then the administrative setup in force in other parts of the country has been introduced in the area. Presently Chitral District is part of Malakand Division of the NWFP of Pakistan. It consists of two subdivisions, viz., Chitral and Mastuj. The DC is assisted by an assistant commissioner in each subdivision. Two extra assistant commissioners have been authorized in each subdivision. Each subdivision is further divided into *tehsils*, and each *tehsil* is headed by a *naib tehsildar*. Chitral subdivision has Arandu, Drosh, Chitral, and Lotkuh *tehsils*, whereas Mastuj contains Torkhow, Mulikhow, and Mastuj *tehsils*. The *tehsildars* and *naib tehsildars* look after revenue matters and perform other miscellaneous administrative functions.

In order to maintain law and order in the district, a police force headed by the superintendent of police is maintained in various police stations.

The Border Police under the DC is basically meant for guarding important passes leading to Afghanistan and imposing anti-smuggling duties. It is a unique feature of this district. Besides this, the Chitral Scouts are also stationed at important places. Whereas they guard the international borders, they can also be called to the aid of civil power by the administration.

PATA Regulation

The Provincially Administered Tribal Areas (PATA) regulation 1975 vested all powers, both criminal and civil in the DC, who could delegate these powers to assistant commissioners and extra assistant commissioners. *Tehsildars* and *naib tehsildars* were appointed as *jirga* presidents with two members nominated by the parties subject to approval of referring authority. This regulation was declared null and void in February 1994 under an order of the Supreme Court of Pakistan.

Judiciary

A Sharia Ordinance has recently been promulgated in Malakand Division including Chitral. In pursuance of this ordinance, district *qazis* and *ilaga Qazis* have been appointed, who adjudicate upon both civil and criminal matters. The prominent '*ulamā*' and scholars assist *qazi* courts in the capacity of '*muavineen*'.

A Look into the Future

Chitral is a developing district and development efforts are underway by various departments of the government and non-government agencies. The important projects include an all-weather passage across Loari, supply of electricity to Chitral from the National Grid System, widening and black topping of the Chitral-Buni Road under the Chitral Area Development Project (CADP), Kalash Valley Development Project, construction of bridges at Ashret Nallah and over Yarkhun River near Mastuj, and construction of the Chitral Town Bypass and Reshun Hydel Power Station. The Aga Khan Rural Development Network is also undertaking development activities through community participation. The government is making all-out efforts to bring this district at par with the developed areas of the NWFP.

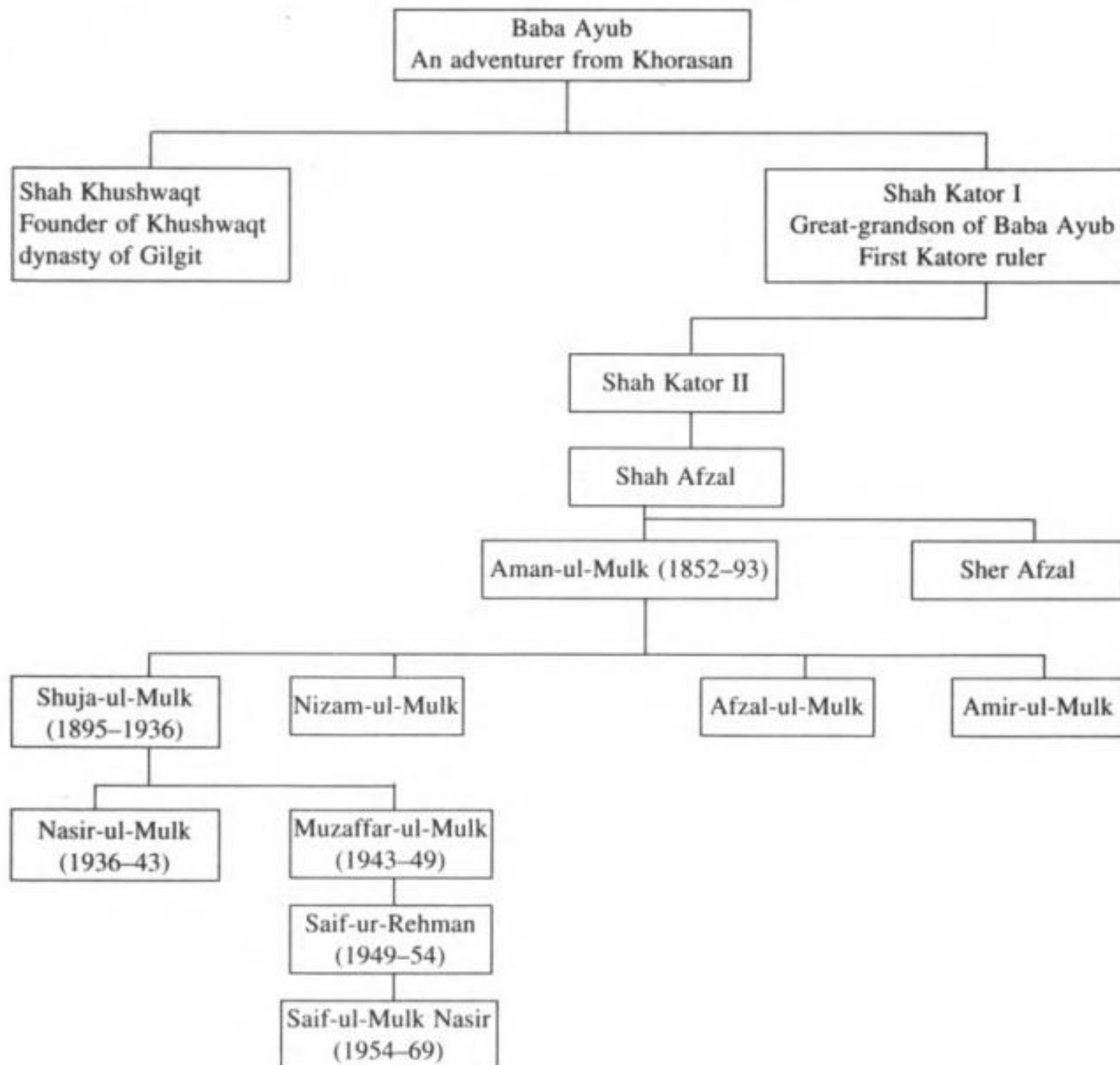
Appendix I

Chitral through History at a Glance

i.	First Phase	:	The cave age
ii.	Second Phase	:	Persian rule, 5th century BC (Dara Khushtana of Iran)
iii.	Third Phase	:	Chinese period 1st century BC
iv.	Fourth Phase	:	The Buddhist era, 2nd century AD (Kanishka)
v.	Fifth Phase	:	Chinese period, 7th century.
vi.	Sixth Phase	:	Bahman-e-Kohistani, Chinese ruler, 7th century
vii.	Seventh Phase	:	Under Islamic influence (185 Hijra)
viii.	Eighth Phase	:	The rule of Sumalik (Kalash era).
ix.	Ra'ise Rule		
	Shah Nadir Ra'is:		1320–41, Founder of the Ra'is dynasty
	Jan Ra'is,	:	1341 to 1356
	Khan Rs'is	:	1356 to 1420
	Shah Karam Rs'is	:	1420 to 1458
	Shah Nizam Rs'is	:	1458 to 1491
	Shah Akbar Rs'is	:	1491 to 1520
	Shah Tahir Rs'is	:	1520 to 1531
	Shah Nasir Rs'is	:	1531 to 1574
	Shah Mahmood Rs'is	:	1574 to 1595
x.	The Rule of the Taimuris in Chitral		
	Muhtaram Shah I (Kator)	:	1590 to 1630
	Sangin Ali II, son of Muhtaram Shah I		
	Muhammad Ghulam, son of Muhtaram Shah I		
	Shah Mohammad Shafi, son of Sangin Ali II	:	1660 to 1717
	Shah Faramurd son of Shah Khushwaqt	:	1717 to 1724
	Shah Afzal I	:	1724 to 1754
	Shah Fazil, Son of Muhtaram Shah I	:	1754 to 1760
	Shah Nawaz Khan	:	1760 to 1761
	Shah Khairullah, son of Asmatullah son of Khushwaqt	:	1761 to 1782
	Shah Nawaz Khan	:	1782 to 1788
	Shah Muhtaram Shah II (The Junior Kator)	:	1788 to 1838
	Shah Afzal II	:	1838 to 1854
	Muhtaram Shah III	:	1854 to 1856
	Aman-ul-Mulk, son of Shah Fazal II	:	1856 to 1892
	Sher Afzal Khan, son of Shah Afzal II	:	8 Nov. to 2 Dec. 1892
	Sardar Nizam-ul-Mulk, son of Shah Aman-ul-Mulk	:	2 Jun 1895 to 23 Dec. 1895
	Sir Mohammad Shuja-ul-Mulk	:	2 Sep. 1895 to 14 Aug. 1936
	Sir Mohammad Nasir-ul-Mulk	:	14 Aug. 1936 to 29 July 1943
	Mohammad Muzaffar-ul-Mulk	:	29 Jul. 1943 to Jan. 1949
	Saifa-ur-Rehman	:	7 Jan. 1949 to 12 Oct. 1954
	Saif-ul-Mulk Nasir	:	14 Oct. 1954 to 28 Aug. 1969.
			State was merged as district on 29 Aug. 1969

Appendix II

Genealogy of the Katore of Chitral



Appendix III

Government Functionaries Assistant Political Agents Chitral Sub-agency

S No	Name	From	To
1.	Lt B.E.M. Gurdon (DSO), IA	1895	1902
2.	Capt. R.L. Kennion, IA	1902	1904
3.	Capt. E. Knollys, IA	1904	1906
4.	Capt. Smith, IA	1907	1909
5.	Capt. R.L. Lyall, IA	1909	1911
6.	Capt. M.E. Rae, IA	1912	1913
7.	Capt. D.G. Wilson, PA	1913	1914
8.	Maj. D.L.R. Lorimer, IA	1914	1916
9.	Capt. N.E. Reilly, IA	1916	1980
10.	Capt. A.E.B. Persons (OBE)	1980	1921
11.	Capt. W.R. May, IA	1921	1922
12.	Capt. I.T. Bowers, IA	1922	1924
13.	Capt. C.E.U. Bremner (MC), IA	1924	1925
14.	A.J. Mopkinson, ICS	1925	1926
15.	Capt. J.R.L. Bransman, IA	1926	1927
16.	Capt. E.M. Cobb, IA	1927	1929
17.	Capt. B. Wods Ballard, IA	1929	1930
18.	Capt W.V. Grapp, IA	1930	1931
19.	Capt. M.D. Rusmton, IA	1931	1932
20.	Lt J.O.S. Donald, IA	1932	1933
21.	Capt. A. Napier, IA	1933	1936
22.	I.D. Scott	1936	1937
23.	R.S.T. John	1937	1938
24.	Capt. A.C.K. Mannsell, IA	1938	1939
25.	Capt. J.M.R. Edleman, IA	19/4/1939	27/5/1939
26.	Lt Allamdad Khan,	27/5/1939	19/12/1939
27.	R.A.D. Lowis (MBE), IA	19/12/1939	4/10/1941
28.	Capt. D.G. Thornburgm, IA	4/10/1941	3/10/1944
29.	Maj. M.W.H. White (MBE)	4/10/1944	18/9/1946
30.	F.J.M. Dent, ICE	19/9/1946	3/7/1947
31.	K.S. Arbab Mohammad Abbas	4/7/1947	15/9/1947
32.	Maj. R.R. Bambur, IA	16/9/1947	8/11/1947
33.	A.L. Ebanronif	9/11/1947	23/11/1947
34.	K.B. Faqir Faizullah	24/11/1947	4/11/1948
35.	Maj. Fosket, IA	5/11/1948	16/1/1949
36.	Maj. Oldrini, IA	17/1/1949	16/5/1949
37.	Pir Ahsanuddin	17/5/1949	19/10/1949
38.	Rahimdad Khan	20/10/1949	15/5/1950
Additional Political Agents Chitral Sub-agency			
39.	Mir Ajam Khan, PCS	16/5/1950	4/11/1952
40.	Izzat Bakhsh Awan, PCS	5/11/1952	6/12/1953
41.	Rana Farzand Ali, PCS	7/12/1953	10/10/1954
42.	Sardar Behram Khan, PCS	11/10/1954	12/1/1957
43.	Nawabzada Ayub Khan, PCS	23/1/1957	28/12/1958
44.	Syed Imran Shah, CSP	29/12/1958	12/5/1960
45.	Nasru Minallah, CSP	13/5/1960	28/3/1961
46.	Capt. Ashraf Hussain, PCS	29/3/1961	31/8/1962
47.	Kanwar Idris, CSP	1/9/1962	31/8/1963
48.	Sardar Hizbullah Khan, PCS	18/8/1963	17/8/1965
49.	Mohammad Tariq Khan, CSP	14/2/1965	3/9/1965
50.	Saadat Hussain, CSP	5/9/1965	20/3/1966

Political Agents Chitral Agency

51.	Saadat Hussain, CSP	21/3/1966	16/8/1966
52.	Capt. Arshad Farid, CSP	20/8/1966	5/2/1967
53.	Capt. Abdul Qayum, CSP	6/2/1967	11/9/1968
54.	Capt. Sibgahtullah, PCS	16/9/1968	19/3/1969
55.	Jahanzeb Khan, PCS	20/3/1969	2/6/1969
56.	Iftikharuddin, CSP	3/6/1969	28/8/1969

Deputy Commissioner's District Chitral

57.	Iftikharuddin, CSP	29/8/1969	4/10/1969
58.	Capt. A.R. Siddiqi, CSP	5/10/1969	8/7/1970
59.	Mohammad Gul Khan, PCS	15/7/1970	21/10/1971
60.	Hamid Ahmad Qureshi, CSP	25/10/1971	18/1/1973
61.	Gul Khan	2/1/1973	31/2/1974
62.	Rustan Shah Mohmand	1/2/1974	2/10/1975
63.	Qadar Bakhsh Javed	3/10/1975	18/8/1977
64.	Mohammad Nawab Khan Orakzai	19/8/1977	20/11/1980
65.	M. Shakil Durrani	21/11/1980	3/8/1982
66.	Taj Mohammad Khan	4/8/1982	7/7/1983
67.	Ghulam Nabi Khan	8/7/1983	24/3/1984
68.	Mohammad Ihtesham Khan	25/3/1984	25/8/1985
69.	Sharif Ahmad	26/8/1985	13/2/1988
70.	Qazi Mohammad Yousuf	14/2/1988	8/7/1988
71.	Javed Majid	9/7/1988	19/9/1989
72.	Ishtiak Ahmad Khan	20/9/1989	31/1/1992
73.	Mohammad Shehzad Arbab	1/2/1992	27/2/1993
74.	Sahibzada Mohammad Anis (dual charge)	28/2/1993	14/6/1993
75.	Teepu Muhabat Khan	15/6/1993	12/8/1993
76.	Mohammad Yousaf	13/8/1993	

NOTE

1. According to the population census of Pakistan, the population of Chitral District is 319,000 (ed.).

Section VIII
Cultural Anthropology and
Cultural History

THE DAMELI OF SOUTHERN CHITRAL: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC INQUIRY

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Research History and Generalities

The Dameli inhabit the valley of Damel (Daman), which flows into the left bank of the Chitral River only a few kilometres north of the Afghan border (Fig. 42.1). Its altitude goes from about 1800 metres in its upper reaches to 1100 at its mouth. Immediately to the south, we find the Gawar people of the Arandu area, and to the north the Palulo of Ashret.

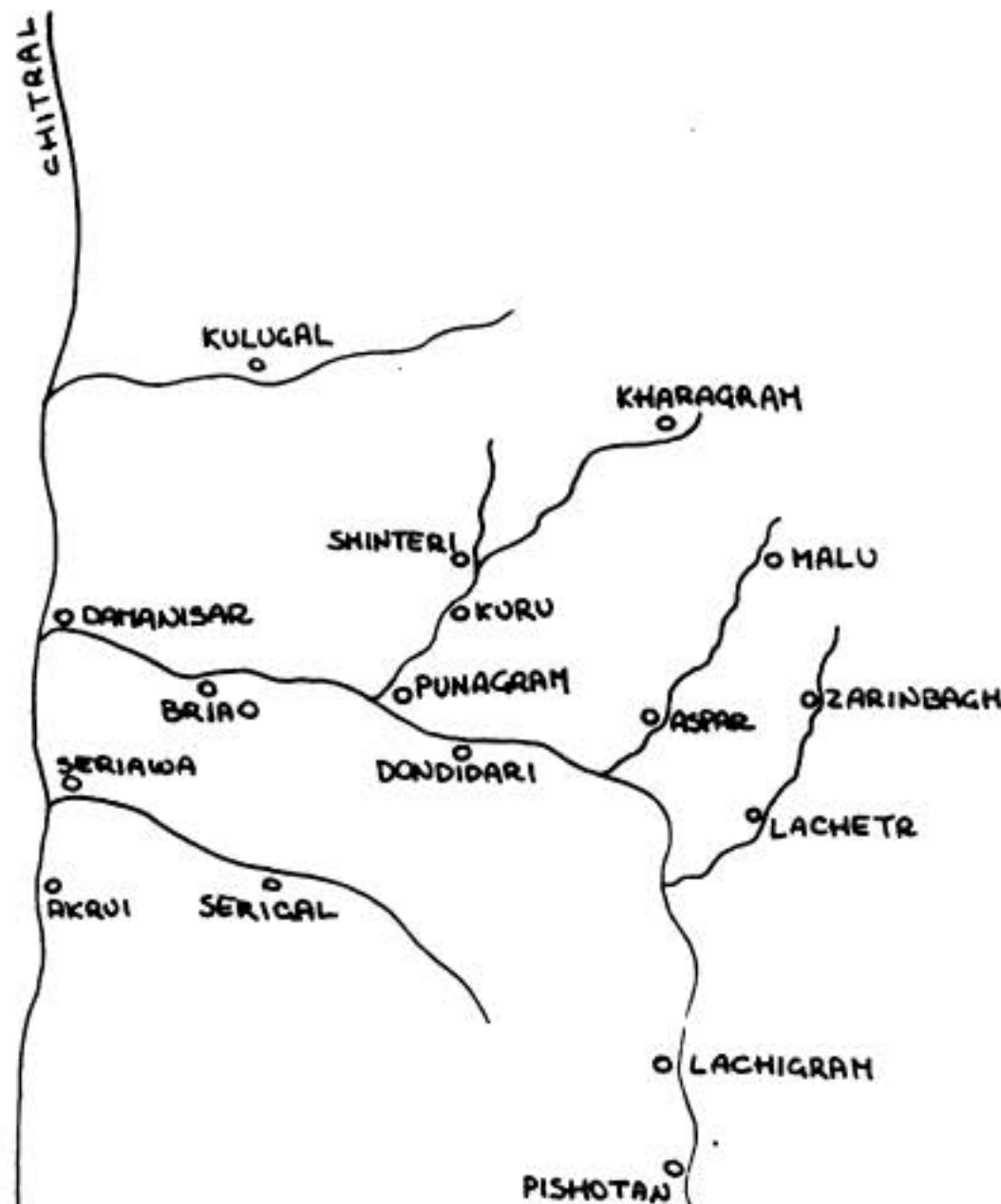
The existence of the Dameli as a separate people was apparently first revealed by Captain Gurdon's *Military Report on Chitral* (Morgenstierne 1942: 115). Subsequently their language was studied by Morgenstierne through informants he contacted during his stay in Chitral in 1929, since he could not visit the valley (Morgenstierne 1932). In the decades that followed, no ethnographic research was ever carried out there, and Morgenstierne's linguistic work remained for a long time the only firsthand source on Damel (Morgenstierne 1932, 1942, 1974: 6).¹ Only very recently has Damel reappeared in the literature, once again thanks to the linguists. The new source is a sociolinguistic study conducted in 1989-90 by Kendall Decker (1992: 115-28), of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, as part of a general survey of the languages of Chitral. Ethnographers, on the contrary, continued to ignore the valley.²

Left aside by the main road to the Loari Pass and far away from the administrative centres, Damel has always been quite isolated. A jeep road built between 1986 and 1992 now branches off the main valley road at Damanisar and follows the Damel valley up to the Khanietan Pass leading to Kamsei in upper Arandu Gol. For security reasons no road has been built along this latter valley.

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The Dameli community lives in four main villages: Dondidari, Sawati (Punagram),³ Shinteri and Aspar. According to informants' estimates, Punagram is the smallest, counting about 100 homes, while the other three host between 120 and 200 families. Two other large villages numbering over 100 houses—Damanisar and Lachigram—are inhabited mostly by Pathans, while a number of Gujur families live in the uppermost settlement of Pishotan (see sketch map in Fig. 42.2). The four main centres are called *gram*, 'village,' while a number of smaller settlements considered to be their dependencies are called *lam*, which means 'branch.' We have therefore four territorial units each including a *gram* and several *lam* with their adjoining fields, canals, and tracts of forest. Each *gram* has a mosque, and an additional one has recently been built in Kharagram. In Shinteri and Dondidari houses are quite dispersed, while in Aspar they are grouped closer. But the only real cluster village is Punagram or Sawati, which is reported to be the oldest settlement, and the site of the first mosque. It resembles in fact the Kalasha villages with their terraced roofs and superimposed homes.

Fig. 42.2 Sketch Map of Damel Valley



The bulk of the population of Punagram has genealogical connections with the people of Aspar, while the inhabitants of Shinteri and Dondidari form two different groups. We have thus three unrelated macrolineages, each tracing descent from a different forefather. According to oral tradition, the ancestors of Shinteri came from Dir Kohistan, those of Punagram and Aspar from Swat Kohistan, and those of Dondidari from Mandugal in Nuristan. Each group claims to be the first to have arrived. All three, however, agree that an autochthonous population already inhabited the valley and that the language of Damel is actually their

language, later adopted and modified by the newcomers. Descendants of these early inhabitants still exist today, all grouped in just one separate lineage, the Charashdari, who live in Shinteri. The epics we will soon relate mention also an ancient Kalasha population which was reportedly completely wiped out, leaving no descendants.

On the basis of the statements of our informants, the number of Dameli houses (that is, excluding Pathan and Gujar immigrants) can be roughly estimated at about 700. Households appear to be large in size, counting on average about ten to twelve members. If the figures given by our informants are approximately correct, an estimate of about 5000 Dameli speakers in 1993 would be quite conservative. The same estimate has independently been made by Decker, who also reports that the 1987 Chitral District Council population figure for the entire Damel valley is 5534 (Decker 1992: 118).

However heterogeneous in origin, the population we have roughly sketched now thinks of itself as a single Dameli community. Since there is no common descent and on the contrary memory is kept of different origins, language comes to be the main element of Dameli identity. The people that speak it term themselves Damia (Dami'a) and the valley they inhabit Daman (Dam'an), which means 'plain' according to our informants. Damel is the Khowar name for the valley.

The language of Damel is called Damiabasha (Damiab'asa) by its speakers.⁴ Damiabasha seems to have a good degree of vitality, because both Gujar and Pathan immigrants have learned it. Unlike the converted Kalasha, who are gradually discarding their mother tongue for Khowar, the Dameli have kept their own well alive. They are however quite polyglot. Palula, Khowar, and Pukhtu—which is often used rather than Khowar in communicating with people from other groups—are currently spoken by many males.

Morgenstierne's (1942) remarks about the linguistic position of Damiabasha are as follows: a) the contact with Gawar-bati, in the south, has not been very close, b) relations with Palula, to the north, are recent, c) Damiabasha in the past was probably directly in contact with Kalashamon, and d) a mixed Nuristani component is present, made of words from different Nuristani languages including one no longer spoken today.

These remarks, we can anticipate, agree pretty much with our ethno-historical data. The Gawar are actually hardly mentioned in the oral tradition, while there are tales of ancient Kalasha settlements in Damel itself.⁵ Contact with Palulo speakers is perforce relatively recent since they are Shina immigrants who have reached Chitral possibly only a few centuries ago (cf. Alb. Cacopardo, this volume). Close and long-standing relations with the Nuristani world, finally, are shown by the tales of origins and by the genealogies.

Morgenstierne concludes that Damiabasha is a mixture of an Indo-Aryan Dardic dialect and a Nuristani language, but he specifies that it is not possible to determine which one of the two constitutes the original substratum. The most interesting point, however, is that the Nuristani element in Damiabasha seems to belong, at least in part, to an independent Nuristani language, different from the others existing today, which—he suggests—may be the one originally spoken by the Jashi of Gawardesh, who have now adopted Komviri. At any rate, according to Morgenstierne, the morphological structure of Damiabasha 'shows that it must have existed as a separate language for a considerable period' (1942: 147–48).

Economy and Society in Present-Day Damel

From the point of view of productive activities, technologies employed, forms of land ownership and use, and sources of income in general, Damel has of course much in common

with the surrounding areas. As happens with other fields of its culture, it has some elements in common with the Pathan, some with the Nuristani, some with the Kalasha or the Kho, and many with all of these people.⁶ For reasons of space we shall not expand here on this point (see Cacopardo & Cacopardo 1995); we shall only make a few remarks that can help us to define the position of Dameli culture in relation to that of surrounding peoples.

Traditional division of labour in agriculture seems more similar to the Kalasha than the Nuristani one. Male duties include the seasonal clearing of the canals, the ploughing and sowing, the thrashing and winnowing, while the irrigation, weeding and manuring of the fields, and often the harvesting of crops, are left to the women. The plough is not the Nuristani plough described by Robertson (1896: 549–50), but the normal two oxen plough used in the rest of Chitral. Landed property, like throughout Nuristan and Dardistan, is held at the family level.

The herding system of the Dameli is centred on goats, while cattle and sheep play only a minor role, approaching in that the Waigali and the Kalasha rather than the Kom and the Kafirs of the Bashgal valley. All the work of herding, including milking and dairy production, is traditionally reserved for the men, a trait common to Kalasha and Nuristani and in sharp contrast, for example, with Pathan or Gujar customs. The system of dairy production used in Damel seems to be practically identical to that prevailing in Nuristan, thus differing from both the Kalasha and the Pathan systems. We found in fact two series of dairy products—based respectively on *ghee* (*g'iau*) and cheese made with rennet (*kil'ari*)—that seem to correspond perfectly to the ones described by Edelberg and Jones (1979: 86) for Nuristan (Cacopardo & Cacopardo 1995: 249–50).

As for the distribution of rights to pastures, it seems very similar to that of the Kalasha. Summer pastures are not reserved to specific lineages (as in many parts of Nuristan) or villages, but are considered common property of the whole community of Damelis. The winter pastures are mostly the holly oak forest, which is privately owned at the family level, but with free access for firewood and grazing—without cutting the branches of the trees—in its higher belt.

The highest and most inclusive level of social organization and collective identity in Damel is the valley community itself. This community has a well-defined territory, can act as a single body in external affairs and conflicts, has a distinct linguistic identity, is highly endogamous, has its own internal socio-political order, owns corporate rights as such over summer pastures, coniferous forests and other real estate, but does not claim descent from a single common ancestor.

The nature of such a community and its internal organization will be the subject of the following remarks.

As we have seen, Damel is divided into four territorial units called *gram*, the villages. Though our data on the subject is not sufficient to determine exactly to what extent the *gram* function as a corporate body in socio-political relations, we do know that they used to have a formalized representative in the past, in the person of the *mal'ik*, a village headman nominated by the administration of the *mehtar*, who was normally chosen by the people themselves (with a veto power of the *mehtar's hakim*, for which see Scott 1937: 7). A single spokesman for the whole village (*gram j'esta*, or *z'esta*) is still chosen today in relation to specific issues, but this does not seem to be a stable and formalized role, since today's administrative structure is not based on this 'level of government.'

Each village, however, does function as a community in the sense that it has a main mosque where people congregate to discuss common matters and where religious leadership is formed and exerted.

From the point of view of kinship, each of the four main territorial units comprises a number of minimal lineages (called *kam*), which are a total of eighteen in the whole valley.

These minimal lineages (which may number from a few dozen to a few hundred persons) are further grouped, as we know, into four macrolineages, claiming descent from four different and unrelated ancestors: Charash, Rahzan, Khoramer, and Ota.

The population of the village of Shinteri comprises all the descendants of Charash (forming just one lineage, the Charashdari, with only twenty-three members in 1993) and those of Rahzan, grouped into three minimal lineages called Tutushdari, Phagul Khan-dari, and Jafardari, the names being formed by adding the suffix *d'ari* to the name of the eponymous ancestor (see Fig. 42.3). The inhabitants of Punagram and Aspar are said to descend from a common ancestor called Khoramer,⁷ and are grouped into ten minimal lineages, named after his sons and grandsons (Fig. 42.4), while those of Dondidari are all considered descendants of Ota and grouped into five minimal lineages descending from his sons (Fig. 42.5). Thus there is only a partial coincidence between villages and macrolineages, though the former (territorial) unit is clearly based largely on the latter (kinship) group.

Though macrolineages certainly have a sharp identity and are likely to have a role in dealing with conflicts, their smaller segments, the minimal lineages, are also relevant in the socio-political organization of the community.

As can be seen from the genealogical tables, these segments are usually some five generations deep above the living elders, and therefore extend over a total of some eight generations down to the children. Since their head ancestors, for reasons that we shall see, seem to have lived more or less around the time of conversion, we can safely state that these kinship groups must have little to do with pre-Islamic kinship organization.

The genealogies we have collected show that these lineages are likely to segment into smaller groups whenever they become too numerous, the children of the previous eponymous ancestor becoming the heads of the newborn lineages.

Fig. 42.3 (a) Lineage: Tutushadari

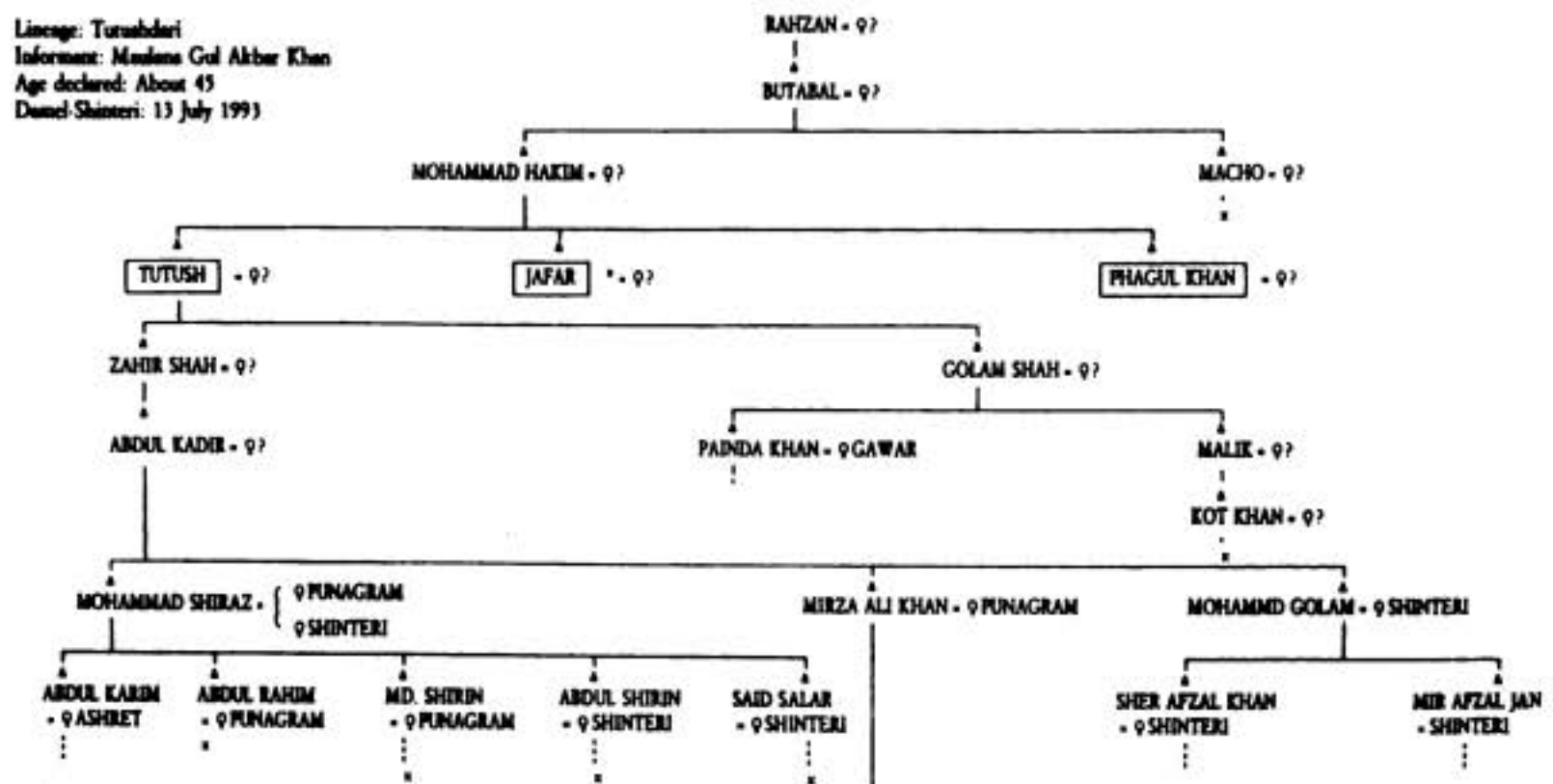
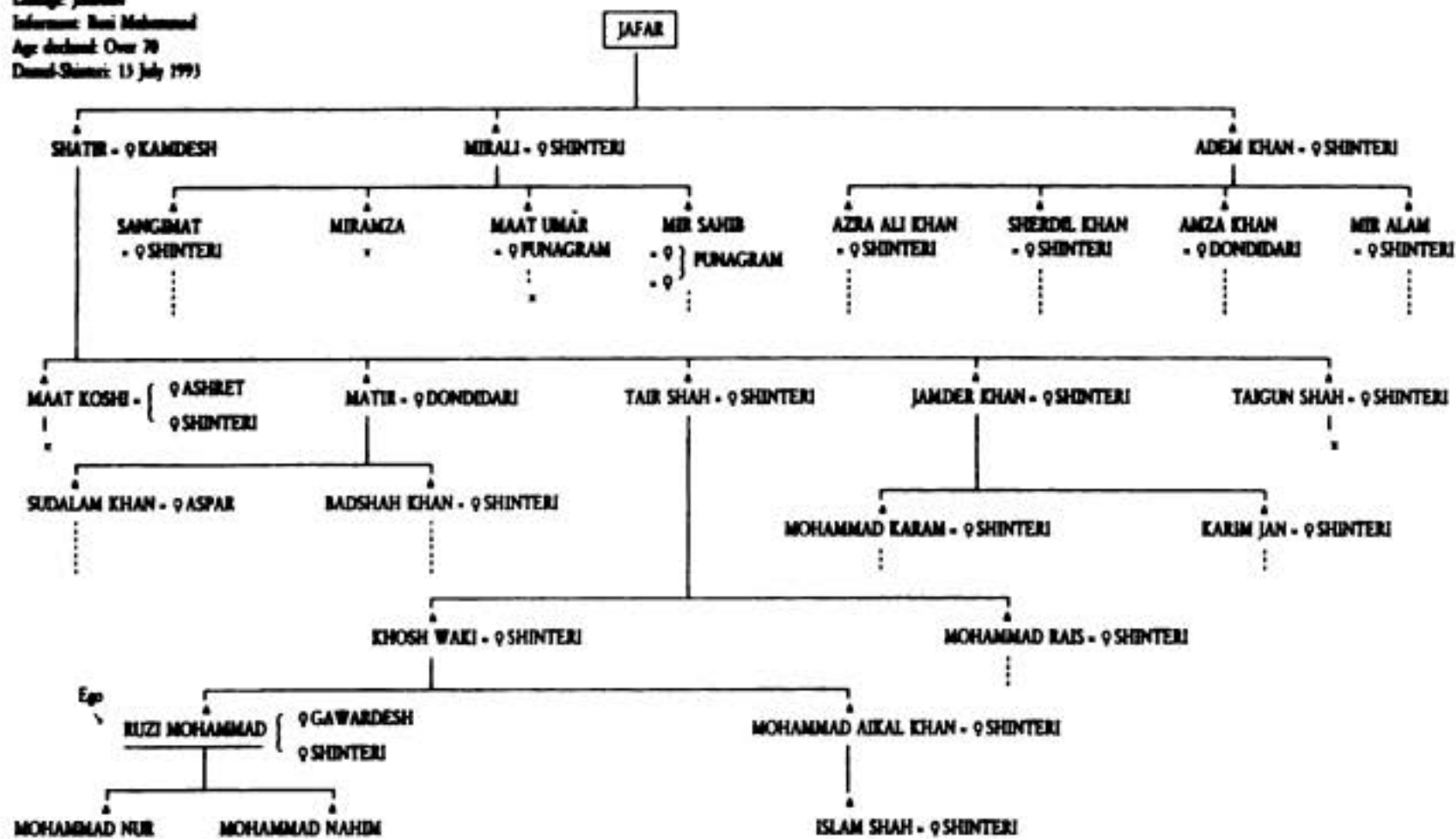


Fig. 42.3 (b) Lineage: Jafardari

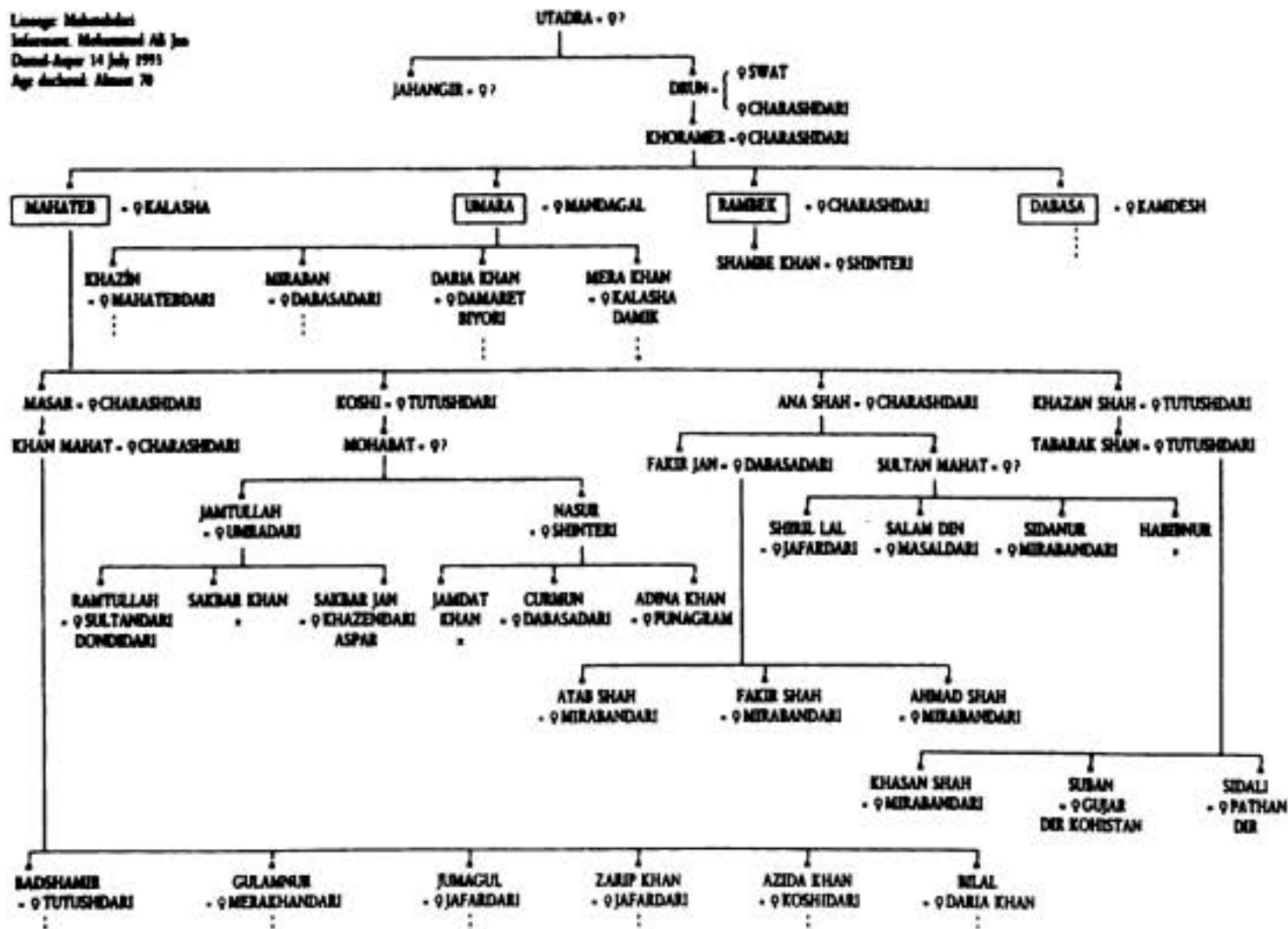
Lineage: Jafardari
Informant: Razi Muhammad
Age declared: Over 70
Date of Interview: 13 July 1993



That these groups are recognized social units, and not merely 'the agnatic descendants of a male ancestor,' is confirmed by the fact that different informants would always define lineage membership of a person by referring to the same ancestor.

Fig. 42.4 (a) Lineage: Mehatebdari

Lineage: Mehatebdari
Informant: Muhammad Ali Jan
Date of Interview: 14 July 1993
Age declared: About 70



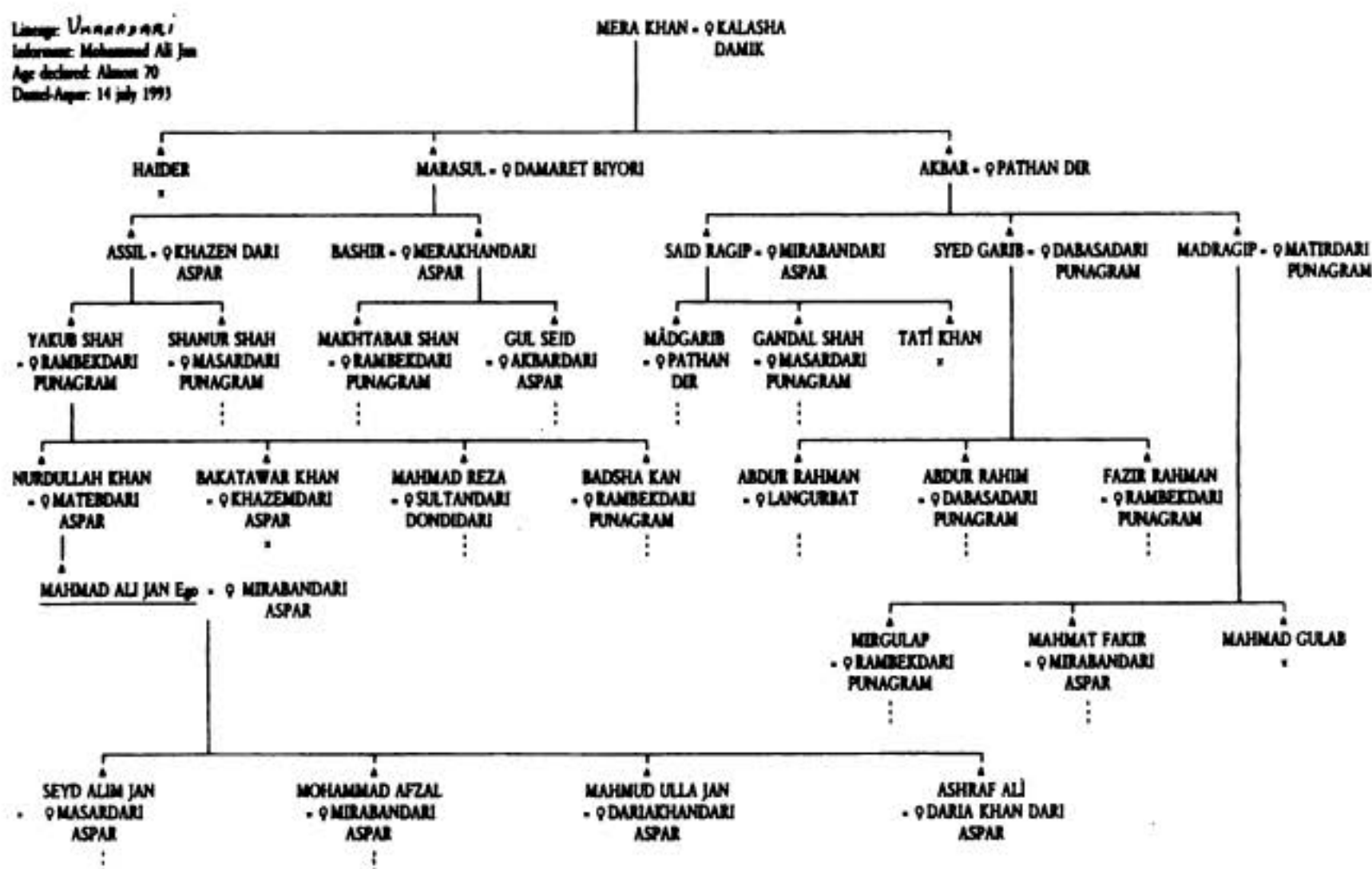
* see following chart

Genealogy of the descendants of Khoramer. Eponymous ancestors of present-day lineages are marked with a square. Names of wives are not given; only their lineage of origin is indicated.

One thing we can tell for sure about the process of segmentation is that, unlike with the non-Muslim Kalasha, it has nothing to do with exogamy, since Dameli lineages are not exogamic units today. To define their function in social life, we must also consider that these lineages do not own corporate rights on land or any other property, since, as we have seen, fields and buildings belong to individual families, while the high pastures are considered the common property of the whole valley community. Homes and cultivable fields of the members of a lineage, however, apparently tend to be territorially concentrated in the same area: this was said to be the rule in Shinteri and Dondidari, less so in Aspar. What usually happens is that lands currently belonging to members of a lineage are said to have once belonged to its eponymous ancestor, who is often credited with the construction of the main canal that serves to irrigate it. Since, however, land can be freely bought and sold (subject only to the right of pre-emption of the immediate neighbours), this territorial localization of a lineage can tend to blur with time.

At any rate, lineages do act as a corporate body to a certain extent. For one thing, they have a single spokesman (called *j'esta*, *z'esta*, elder, or *jest'ero*, a comparative form of the same word [see Biddulph 1880: 17]), who can represent them whenever necessary. The *j'esta* is selected in a meeting (*jirga*) of the male members of the lineage, in which, without a formal vote, the matter is discussed until unanimity is reached. This *j'esta* was said to represent the lineage in village and valley-wide meetings, to cooperate in the settlement of controversies and violent conflicts, and to participate in the arrangement of marriages. Other capable male members of a lineage may however participate as well. Decisions concerning the community—as is the custom in all surrounding areas—are in fact taken by a council of elders (*jirg'a*) that can change its composition according to the issue discussed. Most *j'esta* will usually attend, but other concerned people can freely participate.

Fig. 42.4 (b) Lineage: Umaradari



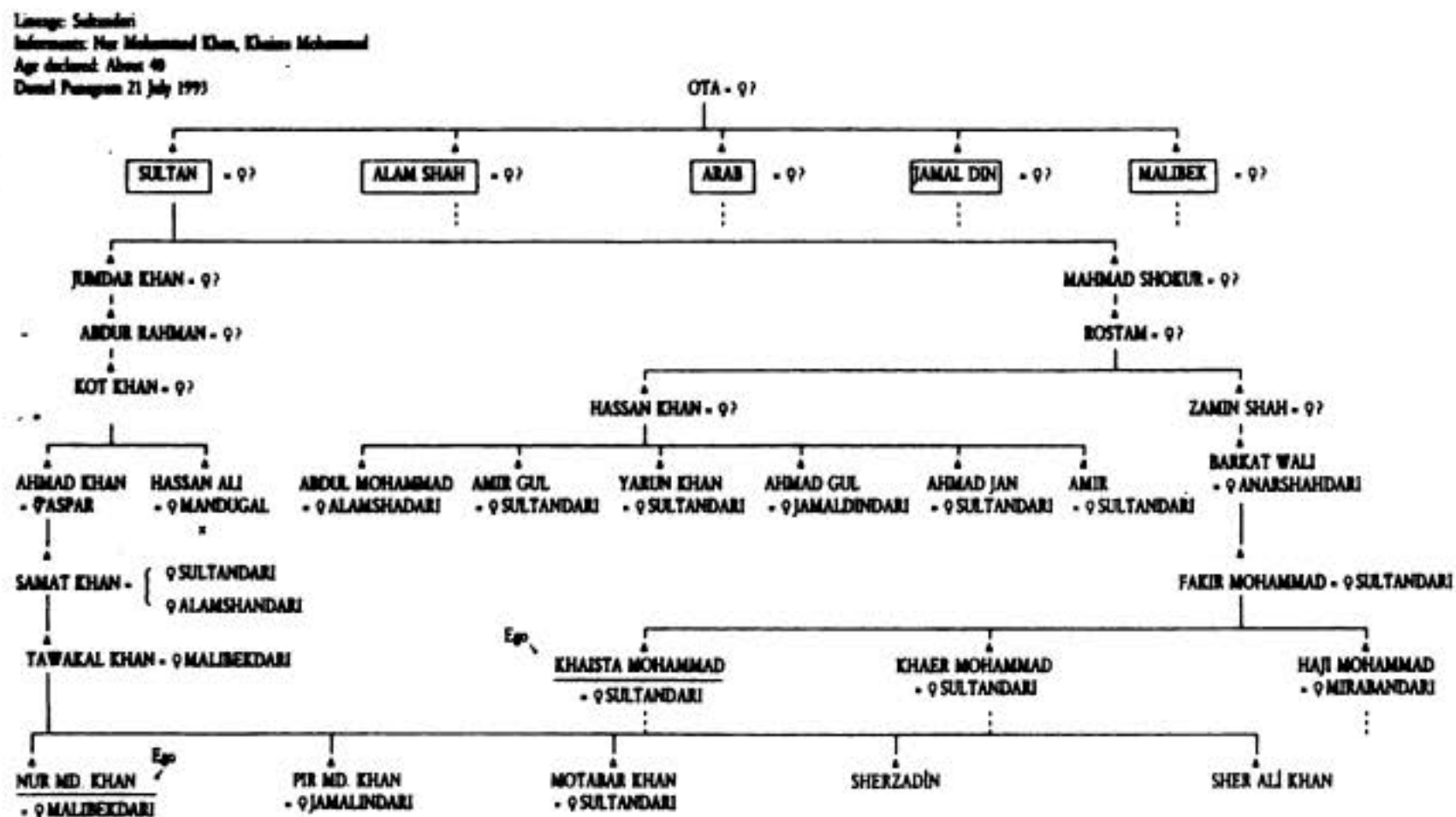
Altogether, the political organization of Damel seems to be (like in other communities of the area) the product of a rather complex and fluid admixture of three elements: traditional roles and rules specific to the Dameli community, generalized Islamic concepts and practices, and the formalized structures of the modern state of Pakistan. In the latter sphere, Damel had in 1993 two representatives (called *mimb'ar*, i.e., 'member') in the union council, the elected body at the *tehsil* level, one for the people of Punagram and Shinteri, the other for those of Aspar and Dondidari. In the district council of Chitral, Damel contributed to the election of one member, whose constituency included all the territory south of Mirkhani.

We have stated earlier that Damel is a highly endogamous community. Our information on the subject is based mainly on the analysis of 136 marriages, spanning over eight generations, reported by our most reliable informants. We must warn that our sample is not a statistically significant one, since the male partners in the marriages are largely concentrated in less than half of the eighteen minimal lineages. Furthermore, the data have not been cross-checked and may therefore contain many mistakes. However, the correlations that emerge are so high that it is hard not to consider them reliable.

Of the total marriages considered, as many as 117, that is, 86 per cent, are valley-endogamous, taking place within the Dameli speaking community. Furthermore, approximately 70 per cent of the total are macrolineage endogamous.

If, however, we disaggregate our data by generations, we note that the frequency of intra-valley marriages becomes higher and higher in more recent times. The rate of endogamy rises from 66.6 per cent in the higher generations to 97 per cent among living couples, where as much as 79.3 per cent of the marriages are within the same macrolineage.

Fig. 42.5 Lineage: Sultandari



According to our informants, there is a recognized preference for marriage with close agnates, since such unions are believed to help in preserving the unity of the lineage. This argument—although quite controversial—is at the basis of the general tendency toward lineage endogamy found throughout the Middle East (Lindholm 1986a: 347), and it is well-known also to the Pathans (Barth 1959: 40), whose influence on this trait of Dameli culture seems hard to deny.

On the other hand, the shift from the exogamy of the higher generations to the endogamy of the present ones seems just as naturally to be connected with the Islamization of the community. Though our informants never admitted any knowledge about the pre-Islamic kinship system of Damel, on the basis of what we know about surrounding peoples, it seems quite reasonable to suppose that it must have been based on some exogamic rule of the kind found among the Nuristani (Robertson 1896: 86; Jones 1974: 144) and the Kalasha.⁸

The circumstances of conversion in Damel remain entirely clouded in mystery, since our informants never could afford any information about them. However, a careful analysis of the genealogical data available may help us to venture some hypotheses about the time of conversion on the basis of this switch in marriage rules.

The data from Shinteri and Dondidari does not provide information about the marriages of earlier ancestors above the informants' great-grandfathers, but our best informant from Aspar, Mohammad Ali Jan, did claim knowledge about all the marriages of his ancestors until the eighth generation above his own. Though, as usual, we politely declined to inquire about the names of the brides, we did record their lineage and/or community of origin. Of course, the historical accuracy of this information cannot be proved at the present state of our knowledge, but, nevertheless, it remains significant since it does reflect a concept about marriage relationships handed down by the oral tradition of Damel.

Thus the four original 'brothers' of this line are all married with non-related women. Such marriages are likely to symbolize the early alliances of this section of the Dameli community: one brother 'marries' with the Charashdari, two with the Nuristani, one with the Kalasha of Suwir. Though it is not impossible that these people were Muslims, it is much more likely, since they could not have been living any later than in the eighteenth century, that they were all 'pagan.' In the next generation, the four sons of Mahateb are all married with non-related women and may have therefore been non-Muslim, while of the four sons of Umara, two are married with close agnates, and must therefore have been Muslims. The other two 'sons' of Umara, on the contrary, seem to have remained unconverted, since one, Daria Khan, married a woman from Damaret in Biyori, who may have been Kalasha at the time (cf. Alb. Cacopardo this volume), and the other, Mera Khan, had a Kalasha bride from the village of Damik, close to Jinjeret village in the main valley. This generation may have lived around the beginning of the nineteenth century, and may have witnessed the first conversions. In the following generation, we still find both endogamic and exogamic marriages in the line of Mahateb, while if we follow the line of Mera Khan (the lineage of our informant) we see that one of his two sons are married with a Dir Pathan, and therefore Muslim, woman, the other again with a lady from Damaret, possibly unconverted Kalasha. In the next generation, at any rate, all the marriages are endogamous in the Mera Khan line, and most of them on the Mahateb side. This generation, that of the great-grandfathers of our informants, is likely to have been entirely converted, or even born Muslim. This is confirmed by the fact that the earliest *mullah* remembered in Damel, a man of the Dabasadari lineage named Mullah Fazil whose grave is still honoured in Punagram, is said to have lived at this time. If the genealogy is not too inaccurate, we should at this point have arrived at sometime around the mid-nineteenth century, a period that coincides (cf. Alb. Cacopardo this volume), with the probable time of the conversion of the Palulo.

The regular marriage procedures in Damel follow generally the Islamic pattern. Like in other parts of the world, however, things often happen to become more adventurous. Despite the strictness of Islamic law on the subject of extramarital relations, Dameli custom allows for some practices which are clearly of pre-islamic origin.

Thus if a woman leaves her husband to elope with another man, instead of the death penalty prescribed by the sharia, they may get around with a payment called *kam'an*, equal to the triple of the original *mal*. This custom of elopement, said to have been much more frequent in the past but still practised today, is called *ulas'ang* in Dameli, a name which clearly reveals its affinity with the *alas'ing* so widely practiced today by the unconverted Kalasha (Parkes 1983: 514–98, 633–34, 1987: 641–42; Loude & Lièvre 1984: 101–06). The affinity is not a secondary one, since *alas'ing* is considered one of the *tre gona dastur*, the 'three great traditions' of the Kalasha.⁹ It is worth noting, however, that while homicides never occur in connection with *alas'ing* among the Kalasha, in Damel the offended husband is entitled to kill the guilty couple, without having to pay compensation, and he is not obliged to accept the *kam'an*.

Oral History

The oral history of the Dameli is a fairly complex corpus. Each one of the three macrolineages has its own tale of origins and its own version about early events in the valley. These oral traditions begin with the departure of the apical ancestor from a previous homeland and his arrival in Damel; in all three cases the migration is caused by a conflict. The accounts are based on the genealogies.

Genealogical memory is still quite rich in Damel. It seemed that a good number of men knew at least their own pedigree, while some elders were able to relate the whole genealogy of their macrolineage. Although we sought people who were believed to be experts, our data possibly represents only a fraction of the genealogical knowledge existing in Damel. With more time, other elders not immediately available could have been questioned and the various charts could have been compared to assess the extent of their reliability.

How reliable are then these genealogies? In general, we may note that all the charts we present here can be divided in two parts. The upper part is single-track and essentially mythical. There the number of generations is meaningless for the count of time, because those ancestors are likely to have largely been forgotten, apart from a few very prominent ones. The lower part, from the fourth/fifth generation above our informants down, just below the eponymous ancestors of present-day lineages, is on the contrary quite ramified and definitely more historical.

The charts in fact become more reliable at the point where a connection is established between present-day lineages and ownership of land. The eponymous ancestors of existing lineages are supposedly brothers who receive from their father—or grandfather—a portion of territory that they organize for cultivation by building the main canals, still used for irrigation today.

Actually the reported fraternal relation between these eponymous forefathers may be somewhat fictitious, just reflecting an ideal model according to which existing sublineages are issued from the same ancestor and therefore from a series of brothers who may be his sons or grandsons. It is however quite reasonable to believe that a relation of common descent between sublineages of the same macrolineage does really exist, even if it may not be as simple as that.¹⁰

However, one or two generations below the eponymous forefathers of present-day lineages the charts become so detailed that it would be unreasonable to deny them an historical character. Knowledgeable elders remember also, as we mentioned, the lineage and place of origin of the wives. A comparison between the same genealogies given by different sources shows some minor incongruencies, but confirms the general reliability of this data.

For what concerns the events related in the narratives woven around the higher portion of our genealogies, we have obviously no way of telling to what extent they are related to historical facts. In people's recollection remote events not only naturally fade away through the passing of time, they are also purposely moulded and reshaped to fit ideal models based on ethnic pride. A final defeat, for example, shall never be admitted, and relations of servitude shall be recognized only to relate the rebellion that put an end to them. We must, therefore, read between the lines of these oral accounts, if we want to detect the kernel of truth that, as is generally the case with legends, they are likely to contain.

This is obviously quite a difficult task in the absence of written documentation or archaeological investigation. However, in some cases, by comparing accounts of the same events from different sources, it is possible to be reasonably certain of the historical quality of some specific circumstance. For example, as we mentioned earlier, while each macrolineage claims to be the first to have arrived, they all agree that their ancestors found the valley inhabited by an indigenous population. It seems therefore quite reasonable to give credit to oral tradition on this point, and to accept the existence of a former ethnic group in Damel as a very likely historical fact.

Much more complex is however the question of who the latter people were. We shall start from this point our account of Dameli oral history, and then we shall proceed to relate separately the oral lore of the three great macrolineages, trying to highlight the points that seem to have some historical consistency and trying to infer possible historical circumstances by 'reading between the lines' of the oral texts.

The Charashdari (Shinteri)

The story of the encounter with the previous Dameli population was told in very much the same terms by informants from all the three larger kinship groups and from the small lineage of the supposed descendants of the indigenous population. The account we are about to give is therefore a compound of very similar versions of the same story heard by members of all descent groups.

The story of the forefathers of the Charashdari tells that the men of that ancient community were ambushed and slaughtered by the Kom of Nuristan during their sleep while they were resting on the way back from a raid. When the women and children came to know of the massacre, they fled from Damel to seek refuge in Waigal, and further in Kordar, which appears in Edelberg's map (Edelberg & Gramstrup 1971) as a western tributary valley of the Pech, south of Wama. Only a man and a woman—Kambrash and Shambrei were their names—stayed behind, and hid themselves in a cave high on the flank of the mountain opposite Shinteri, the area where their people used to live; its entrance can be seen from afar and it was indicated to us by all informants. Insofar as a disaster wiping out a previous population is conceived to be at the beginning of history, this legend reminds us, on a small scale, of great foundation myths where mankind narrowly escapes extinction to multiply again from a surviving couple, as in the biblical story of the great flood.

Kambrash and Shambrei went about naked and their bodies were covered with hair; they survived by stealing milk and cheese from the new Dameli population. One day they approached a storage room and the man sneaked in to get hold of some food. From outside the woman called him asking whether the milk had turned into *nyit*. This alerted the people, who captured the intruders. Their bodily hair was shaved off and they were dressed with proper clothes. They were accepted into the newly arrived group as affines and intermarriage started to take place.

The notion of a wild, primitive people, hiding in the hills and sneaking at night into houses to steal food, is generally present in the area. We found it among the Kalasha of Jinjeret Kuh (Cacopardo & Cacopardo 1992: 357–60) and among the Palulo as well. In Ashret (see Alb. Cacopardo, this volume), in fact, we heard the exact parallel of the Charashdari story, but there the wild survivors were Kalasha. The structure of the story is exactly the same as in Damel, only that here we are dealing with the remnants of an unknown ethnic group.

A significant question may be that of the language spoken by this early Dameli population. All would seem to indicate that they must have been the speakers of the unknown Nuristani tongue whose traces were detected by Morgenstierne in modern Dameli. A trace of this language, according to our informants, is preserved in a single verse of an ancient song connected with the story of the conflict with Ashret (see Alb. Cacopardo, this volume), which was still remembered. The verse is as follows:

c'upi lal'ui kari'u rosk'ala tikot'ak jump young men make dawn *tikot'ak*

The meaning was thus explained: Jump high, young men (of Ashret) in your dance, tomorrow at dawn your legs will make *tikot'ak* (the last kick of a slaughtered goat). We were given the following translation in Damiabasha: 'c'upi zuw'an kure'a rosk'ala tikot'ak.' Only the words lal'ui and kari'u are different from modern Dameli. Informants specified that lal'ui was the plural of lal'i.

But who were these people, and can they be connected to any known group? In the light of available data, nothing certain can be said on this issue. The oral traditions of the Kalasha, the Kom (Robertson 1896: 82–83), and the Dameli all mention an early outochthonous population of their areas. The Kalasha of Birir and Bumboret call these indigenous people Balalik, the Kom call them Jashi, and for the Dameli, we have seen, they are the ancestors of the Charashdari. The Jashi still live in Gawardesh and Pittigal in Nuristan, and a branch of the tribe has migrated to Badugal, a village in the Chitral valley where, as mentioned, we also conducted fieldwork. The Jashi now speak Komviri, and any trace of a previous language is reportedly completely lost.

About the Balalik we have already made some remarks elsewhere (Cacopardo & Cacopardo 1992: 371–73), but we have not yet been able to fit them in the ethnic puzzle of southern Chitral. Morgenstierne (1942: 119) apparently heard the name used as another denomination for the Jashi of Gawardesh. It could be that both the Balalik and the ancestors of the Charashdari were the same people as the Jashi. We have no data, however, to add in support of this suggestion.

Oral Traditions of Shinteri

In our data, the Rahzan cycle is the more detailed one. We shall combine here in one single story a number of versions obtained from different informants. The narratives coincided in the main points, but each added some specific detail.

Rahzan lived in Dir Kohistan in the area of Tal and Patrak and had four brothers: Shemur, Ramnur, Deimur and Rajnur. In that area, in those times, it was forbidden to eat the meat of cows and bulls. Rahzan and his brothers thought it a waste to renounce all that food, and tried to convince the people to discard that tradition. Since at first their idea seemed to be approved of, Rahzan killed an ox to feast on its meat. At this point, however, the people changed their mind and sternly condemned Rahzan for his breach of the rule. Thereupon he was forced to leave Dir Kohistan with his brothers and they migrated over the passes to Damel.

A conflict in the homeland is usually the reason given for their migration by the many refugee groups who in the course of the centuries settled in southern Chitral. Sometimes it was a dispute over land in other cases it was a homicide that forced a group into exile. Here the conflict is of a religious nature, and as such is quite intriguing. The prohibition concerning the cow may bring Hinduism to mind; an influence hinted at also by the names of Rahzan's brothers. Such influences were also—although very cautiously and on different grounds—suggested by Morgenstierne (1942: 116). Hindu influences in Dir Kohistan seem quite likely (Edelberg & Jones 1979: 14–16; Edelberg 1960; Tucci 1977: 69–70; Jettmar 1982: 19, 31). It is however improbable that the religion of these immigrants was a form of Hinduism. The idea that bovines are impure is quite characteristic of the Dardic complex. It is found among the Buddhist Dards of Ladakh (cf. Shaw, quoted in Biddulph 1880: 51; Francke [1907] 1986: 29), among the Shina (Biddulph 1880: 37, 113; Jettmar 1975: 252–53), and it is not unknown to the Kalasha. The pre-Islamic religion of Dir Kohistan, where Rahzan supposedly came from, may very well have been a variant of the model still practised today by the Kalasha.

In one version Rahzan leaves 'Tal-Patrak' with 180 people, shepherds and blacksmiths and others, and the story seems to conjure the image of a society diversified in castes. The epic tells of their voyage in the course of which they named places according to events that took place in each: Kucurs'ai from *k'ucur* (dog)¹¹—for example—was the place where a female dog delivered its puppies. With the act of naming, the group takes possession and gives an order to the new environment.

To decide the final destination, Rahzan aimed his bow and arrow at a shooting star declaring that they would settle in the place where its light dissolved. As Eliade (1976: 380) remarks in general terms, the site where a new space shall be created is not chosen, but only discovered or, rather, revealed. The Leit-motive of the arrow occurs in foundation myths of the Kalasha (Lièvre & Loude 1990: 188) as well as in the epic of Choke and Machoke in the Laspur version collected by Inayatullah Faizi (1989: 5).

The shooting star dissolved above Kotwal and there they settled. The ruins of Kotwal can still be seen today, on the narrow crest of a ridge just above Shinteri. We visited the site. Only the foundations of a tower (*kot*) and of a few houses are visible today. The buildings seemed to have been destroyed by fire, since we found several pieces of burned wood. On this site, we were told by our host Gul Ahmad, several burials have been found: the skeletons of two adults laying beside each other head to feet, and the remains of three children buried upright in earthen jars (see the findings of cinerary jars reported just south of Chitral in Stacul 1969: 93).

When the five brothers reached Damel, they saw that there was not enough room for all of them. To decide who was going to stay they had a race. Rahzan had a bad leg and limped, and so he lagged behind the others. However, he managed to win by throwing his walking stick from afar, to hit the target point of the race. Rahzan then stayed, while Rajnur went on north to Biyori, one of the Palulo valleys. The other three brothers—Shemur, Ramnur, and Deimur—returned to Dir Kohistan.

Damel was then inhabited by the ancestors of the Charashdari; and here comes in the story of the massacre and of the couple surviving in a cave, that we have already told when dealing with the Charashdari. These ancient people, we soon learn, were not the only inhabitants of the valley. Two separate Kalasha communities were settled at Malu, above Aspar, and Sahli Kot, near present-day Dondidari. A daughter of Rahzan's was given in marriage to a leader of the Sahli Kot group.

During the time of Rahzan's son, Butabal, a conflict arose between the two Kalasha groups. The people of Sahli Kot let their cattle feed on the pastures of the Malu community, who retaliated by skinning alive the animals in a very cruel fashion. They incised the skin on their chest tying the edges of the incision to two trees; then they whipped the cows so that they would skin themselves.

Butabal, in the meantime, had gone to Mastuj where he had served in the court of an unspecified *mehtar*. During his absence, according to one version of the story, the Kalasha chief of Malu, called Malua Gambui, attacked and destroyed Kotwal, whose people had sided with their affines of Sahli Kot. The only survivor was Butabal's brother-in-law, who ran to Mastuj to fetch him and met him in Serdur, near Kalkatak, where he gave him the bad news. Thereupon Butabal marched back to Mastuj, got troops in support from the *mehtar*, allied with the people of Sahli Kot, and wiped out the Kalasha of Malu.

Both the Malu and the Sahli Kot Kalasha are said to have left no descendants, but if we consider that, according to the story, the latter sided with the winners, it seems possible that their offspring may rather have been assimilated. In fact we heard some rumours about the existence of people of Kalasha descent in Dondidari, which is located just below the ancient site of Sahli Kot; but the point remained quite obscure and nobody indicated any specific existing group as of Kalasha descent.

Butabal is credited also with the destruction of the Kalasha of Ramram (Arandu Gol). This he did on the orders of the Chitral ruler whom he had served. In Ramram he was friends with two brothers—Shalu and Sama—who were very wealthy. For this very reason they were hated by the envious who plotted to do them harm. The two brothers sensed hostility, and left the valley. But on their way, they were ambushed and killed by their people, armed with wooden knives. Their mother turned to Butabal for vengeance. He then appealed to the *mehtar* for support. The fort of Ramram was besieged. Its position was so impregnable that it fell only through a trick. The mother of the two victims revealed to the attackers the secret of the water supply: an underground pipe of markhor's horns was connected to a nearby spring.

We had the chance to collect two more versions of this last story about the attack on Ramram. One, rather poor in details, we heard in Ashret; the other, very similar in structure to the Dameli version, we heard from a Gawardeshi informant. We may note also that the theme of the Fortress Betrayed is incorporated in many legends of the area. It appears in the Palulo epic (Alb. Cacopardo this volume), and it has been recorded also in Upper Chitral (Ghulam Murtaza 1982: 38), in Swat (Inayat-ur-Rahman 1968: 8–9), Gilgit (Ghulam Muhammad 1980:47), and Indus Kohistan (Staley 1982: 186).

This episode may be seen in a different light if we consider that in traditional Kalasha culture, the accumulation of wealth was only conceived in view of distribution in the course of customary feasts. The story of Shalu and Sama may be seen as reflecting an attempt to withhold wealth in contrast with traditional rules. Hence the rebellion of the people, who in the version of the final winners become the 'envious.'

The tension between an egalitarian social order and emerging individuals who try to acquire a dominant position that leads in the end to the imposition of tribute, seems to be a recurrent theme in the history of southern Chitral. In the Palulo epic, this tension is much

more articulately and fully expressed. There, Choke, the Palulo leader, sides with the Kalasha population of Ashret against a petty ruler, called Nagar Shah, who exacted tribute (Alb. Cacopardo this volume). And there again, the result is the domination of the newcomers over the local Kalasha population.

Interestingly enough, we found in Damel a local version of this last story which agrees pretty much with what is told in the Palulo epic. We may wonder if we are not dealing really with one single story transmitted from Ashret to Damel or (less likely since it represents only a fraction of the Palulo epic) vice versa. But the fact that the Dameli narrative is accompanied by the ancient song we referred to earlier, plus several other original details, seem to indicate that we are in all likelihood dealing with two independent versions of the same episode.

Dameli oral tradition relates that the people of Damel allied with the Palulo to defeat this Nagar Shah. Sometime after the victory, however, a conflict arose between the two groups. Butabal was dead by then. His son Mohammad Hakim underwent a brotherhood ritual (*dram*; see Kalasha/Kati *d'ari*) with the lord of Rahli Kot, in Ashret, mentioned in the Palulo epic as the stronghold of another Kalasha chief defeated by Choke. Our Dameli informants, however, did not mention Choke's name.

After some time Mohammad Hakim's *dram* came for a visit to Damel. At his departure he received a gift of iron arrow-heads and women ornaments (*tik'i*). Back in Ashret he claimed to have subjugated the Dameli and showed the gifts as evidence of tribute. Of this his Dameli blood-brother was promptly informed by a man called Mitroi, the son of a Charashdari mother and a Palulo father, who lived in Ashret. Mohammad Hakim decided then to react. He led a group of Dameli to Ashret and participated with them in a feast at Rahli Kot that ended in a great dance. While dancing, he sang to his followers the song of alert mentioned earlier. At dawn, while everybody was still asleep, the Dameli killed sixty people and beheaded them. Then they returned to their valley. While this is the end of the story for the Dameli, the Palulo add a further development in their favour (see Alb. Cacopardo this volume).

A significant point in the last narrative is the attempt, by the Palulo chief, at transforming the liberal gift of arrow-heads into a tribute indicating submission. At a time when the authority of the Chitral ruler—whoever he might have been—was not yet established, tribal groups were apparently struggling to acquire supremacy over each other. Whereas gift exchange is a sign of equal status, tribute is the mark of submission.

Although tribute is commonly considered to belong to state administrations, in the Dardic and Nuristani areas we have many examples of tribal tributes. Robertson (1896: 158) relates how the Kom boasted of having imposed a tribute on the Waigali in the past, and the oral lore of Damel itself mentions other such instances. In a narrative referring to more recent times we find the Dameli burdened with three tributes, exacted by the Pathan of Dir, the Kom of the Bashgal valley, and the Chitral ruler who was then Aman-ul-Mulk. To the Kom the Damelis gave yearly twenty-five goats, and to the Pathans twenty-five small goatskins (*m'ana*) of ghee. The *mehtar* received a tribute (*th'angi*) of iron bars: twelve of them twice a year at the wheat and maize harvests.

Three different exactions were too much for the Dameli population who, exasperated, decided to desert the valley. One Shah Taras Khan went to neighbouring Biyori where he had a *dram*. The *mehtar* was soon informed of the event; he summoned Shah Taras Khan to his court and asked him to convince the people to return to Damel. He got a very firm reply: the Dameli would return only if they were freed of all tribute. The *mehtar* then gave five bullets to Shah Taras and told him to take them to the Kom as a message: either they gave up their tribute or they would be attacked by the Chitral troops.¹² He instructed Shah Taras to beat on

a drum that stood just at the edge of the village of Kamdesh, and the chief of the Kom would appear. To him he was to hand the *mehtar's* message.

When Shah Taras beat the drum the people gathered in great anger because a foreigner had dared to touch it. When he delivered the five bullets, Torag Merak—a famous warrior and a historical character who lived in Robertson's times (Robertson 1896: 5–6 and *passim*)—enraged by such a threat, pointed his bow and arrow at him; he was held back by the chief (unnamed) who asked Shah Taras what he wanted. Shah Taras declared that the *mehtar* was ready to attack them if they didn't give up their tribute on Damel. To this the chief answered that they would renounce it if the *mehtar* renounced his.

At this point, freed from two tributes, the people returned to Damel. The Kom chief told Shah Taras to inform him when the Pathans were about to come to carry off their tribute of *ghee*. When the time came, Torag Merak was sent with a small group of warriors to ambush the Pathans on their way back to Dir. The Pathans were all killed on the spot but one, who managed to escape towards Arandu Gol. Torag Merak ran after him and killed him while he was trying to wade the river. All three tributes, according to the story, were thus eliminated. It seems unlikely, however, that the Dameli stopped paying tribute to the *mehtar* altogether.

The story seems to indicate that in still fairly recent times the *mehtar's* authority was not consolidated in the southernmost end of Chitral. The *khans* of Dir exerted in fact some influence there (Lindholm 1986b: 6) and they even still collected tribute from some valleys of southern Chitral at the arrival of the British, while the Kom in their turn had claims over several areas of Lower Chitral (Robertson 1896: 297–98).

The Story of Drun, Father of Khoramer (Aspar And Punagram)

The stories we collected about the Khoramer macrolineage refer only to the higher, mythical section of the genealogy. The common notion is that the ancestors of the group came from Swat. But according to our informant Mohammad Ali Jan the apical ancestor of the line was one Utadra from Mandugal (Robertson: Madugal) who was forced into exile because he had converted to Islam. He went to Pakhlei, in Swat Kohistan, between Kalam and Bahrein. There he had two sons, Drun and Jahangir. An unspecified conflict arose between the two brothers, and Drun left for Damel.

Drun first lived in the area of Shinteri, where the descendants of Rahzan had not appeared yet. There he found only the ancestors of the Charashdari. In Malu there was a Kalasha community (of the Birir type, our informant specified). Drun had come to Damel with a daughter. With her he went to a feast in the Kalasha fort of Malu. In the course of the merriment, the ceiling of a room fell in, killing his daughter. Drun then appealed for revenge to the ruler of Chitral. Quite surprisingly this time he is neither a Kator nor a Ra'is, but a Kalasha king called Shah Bumbur. This detail is of some interest because very few names of Kalasha 'kings' are still remembered, and this particular one is not mentioned by any other source, to our knowledge.

Drun spent some time with Shah Bumbur, and departed with a force of sixty horsemen armed with swords and arrows, each carrying an iron bar. They reached Malu at night and surrounded the fort. In the dark a guard urinated from a defence wall sprinkling the shields of the assailants, and was alarmed by the strange sound. Drun and his men then retired into the forest leaving only their horses visible. In the morning, the defenders saw them from afar and, apparently ignoring the existence of such animals, thought they were looking at hornless cows. Despite these unusual events, the people in the fort held a feast that night until they fell in drunken sleep. In the middle of the night, Drun and his men approached the fort. The iron

bars were fixed to the outer wall as an improvised ladder and a soldier climbed over it into the fort. He opened the gates from the inside and let in his companions who massacred the defenders to the last man. The soldiers then returned to Chitral, while Drun married a Charashdari woman and lived on in Shinteri.

A quick comparison with the Rahzan cycle can easily show that the structure of the narrative is again the same; only the names change. The future winner seeks here too the support of the *shah*; the fort is taken again with a stratagem, and the Kalasha are again wiped out while the winner takes a wife from the other indigenous group, the ancestors of the Charashdari.

The Story of Ota (Dondidari)

The same rough structure we find also in the oral history of the third macrolineage, the Otadari of Dondidari. The original conflict here is related with some detail. Ota came from Momagrom (Robertson 1896: 200, Muman or Bagalgrom), in Mandugal. He quarrelled with his brother Lantang and killed him. The quarrel was caused by the fact that Lantang, while milking his goats wearing only goatskins as clothes, let his penis dip in the milk. Ota reproached him for that, and Lantang hit him on the head with his axe, as a reply. Ota reacted with his, and killed him with a single blow.

Ota was a Kafir when he left Mandugal, and his father had been killed while fighting the Muslims. In Damel, according to the story, he found only the famous Charashdari couple, who went about naked, and were captured, as in the other narratives, while stealing sour milk, to be in the end integrated in the community of the newcomers. As for the Kalasha of Sahli Kot, in this narrative they are not considered indigenous, but rather an immigrant group who arrived in Damel after Ota. Having suffered a first defeat, they sought refuge in Malu where they were again defeated by Ota with the support of the Chitral ruler who, in this version, was of the Katore family. The details of the attack were not given by our informants.

After some time Ota went back to Momagrom with a sample of water and earth from Damel. He compared their weight with local samples and, having found that they were equally heavy, he was sure that the two places were just as good. Thereupon he returned to Damel and settled there to stay. The episode has the function to indicate that Ota was not chased away from his country, but that he rather left it of his own free will for a place that certainly wasn't any worse, as shown by the weight of water and earth. Relations with Mandugal are actually kept to this day and intermarriage is quite frequent; the Otadari of Damel can usually speak Komviri, although it is no longer their mother tongue, because they often visit the Bashgal valley.¹³

These are the oral traditions of the three macrolineages about their own origins and about the early inhabitants of Damel. Officially, we know, there are only four kinship groups in the valley including the Charashdari. There are however some indications of the existence of subordinate groups, which have now been completely integrated into the other ones. This could have happened with the defeated Kalasha, but not only with them. We were told that subordinate groups of artisans existed until recent times and that their low status is concealed since they now freely intermarry with the rest of the population, and this is confirmed by Biddulph (1880: 65) for southern Chitral in general. The relevant point here, at any rate, is simply that if the Dameli are at present distributed in four lines of descent, this doesn't obviously mean that the supposed descent ties always actually exist. Defeated or subordinate groups may very well have been assimilated by expedient genealogical manipulations.

Conclusions

Now that our data has been presented, it is time to sum up our suggestions and draw some tentative conclusions. What kind of historical facts can in the end be discerned by reading between the lines of the oral texts, keeping in mind Morgenstierne's linguistic data?

First of all, it seems a quite likely historical circumstance that an indigenous population did exist in Damel before the arrival of the immigrant groups. For the Dameli, these people are the ancestors of the Charashdari and the original speakers of the Dameli language. Damiabasha is considered to be their language, later adopted and modified by the immigrants.

About this tribe, all we can say is that they may very well have been the speakers of the unknown Nuristani language detected by Morgenstierne as one of the roots of modern Dameli. We would thus postulate the existence, in a remote past, of a fifth Nuristani tribe. A possible connection between these people and other known ethnic groups of southern Chitral, we have seen, is hard to establish. But we believe, following Morgenstierne's (1942: 119) suggestion, that it is an hypothesis worth exploring that they may have been the same people as the Jashi of Gawardesh who, according to a Kom tradition, formerly occupied the whole lower Bashgal and Pittigal (Robertson 1896: 82–83).

The reported existence of a Kalasha population in Damel may not seem surprising, since the oral lore of the unconverted valleys has kept well alive the memory of a time when the Kalasha extended throughout southern Chitral and beyond,¹⁴ and the same is told also by the oral tradition of the Kom (Robertson 1896: 159). However, Dameli oral lore is a bit ambiguous on this point. Morgenstierne, we recall, was able to establish that Damiabasha has been in the past in direct contact with Kalashamon, but this may only mean that the Kalasha were all around Damel and not actually settled there.

All things considered, it is not impossible that Damel was an area of ancient Kalasha settlement and that the Kalasha shared it with the ancestors of the Charashdari. Coexistence of Kalasha communities with other groups in the same valley occurred in the past in Biyori and Shishi Kuh, and even today in Ramboor, Bumboret, and Urtsun. In the case of Damel, however, it could be that Kalasha groups gained a foothold in the valley only for a time, to be in the end driven out by the other immigrant groups.

About the various places of origin of the three immigrant groups, it seems quite possible that they are more or less correctly identified in the narratives, although in the case of the Khoramer line the connection with Nuristan may be spurious. Furthermore, immigration from Dir and Swat Kohistan may be connected with the turmoil caused by Pathan pressure around the middle of the millenium. However, there is no way of telling when these migrations took place and in which succession.

All we can say is that, while each group claims to be the first to have arrived, the Otadari are actually likely to have been the last, since both the other groups agree on this point. The bulk of the Dameli population would thus be formed by the fusion of Kohistani groups with the Charashdari people, while the Nuristani lineage of the Otadari was integrated later, as indicated by the fact that they are the only ones who still maintain substantial ties with their original homeland.

Another point that seems to emerge from the material we collected is that the Dameli—like the Palulo—refer the beginnings of their history to that same period of conflicts and turmoil that marks the dawn of Kalasha remembered history (Parkes 1991: 77–78; Cacopardo & Cacopardo 1992: 355–56) and ends with the establishment of Katore supremacy in southern Chitral.

For the people of Chitral the history of the state is divided in three periods: first the Kalasha rulers, then the Ra'ise dynasty, and finally the Katore family, which reigned—through the British period—until the advent of Pakistan. This is the course of events described in the *Nai Tarikh-e-Chitral* (Ghulam Murtaza 1982), an account of Chitral history compiled by local intellectuals under the patronage of the royal family. This circle has been the source of all current published accounts of Chitral history (Biddulph 1880 Schomberg 1938 Wazir Ali Shah 1974).

According to *Nai Tarikh-e-Chitral*, Chitral had nine Ra'ise *shahs* who fought and vanquished the Kalasha under Bulasing and Rajawai in the south. While the conquest of Chitral proper, held by Bulasing, was quickly accomplished by the first Ra'ise ruler shortly after 1320 AD (Ghulam Murtaza 1982: 54), the area of Drosh including Kalashgum remained independent until the 16th century when the last rulers fought a long war which resulted in the defeat of Rajawai (p. 61) and, after his death (p. 62), in the submission of southern Chitral (p. 63).

The scientific quality of this reconstruction, however, has recently been challenged by Wolfgang Holzwarth, who has searched for its unquoted sources. He concludes that he is inclined 'to consider *Nai Tarikh-e-Chitral's* proposed chronological outline of the Raisa period as very weak, if not fictional' (Holzwarth 1991: 5).

Holzwarth's objections seem to us very reasonable and we cannot therefore give credit to the historical reconstruction of *Nai Tarikh-e-Chitral*, apart from where it relates that the subjugation of the south was a lengthy process due to the stiff resistance of the Kalasha; a point quite confirmed by our ethno-historical data. The oral history of the area speaks of times of turmoil when local chiefs were trying to impose themselves over their brethren and over neighbouring groups, and people lived in constant fear of raids. Immigrant groups struggled to gain a foothold in Chitral, while the new Islamic power was imposing its supremacy. The Kalasha were everybody's enemy.

The position of the Kalasha at the times of the establishment of an Islamic state in Chitral, we must understand, was very different from that of the other minority groups of today. They were then the dominant group in southern Chitral, and as such they had to be vanquished and subjugated by the new Muslim power. The Dameli and the Palulo, in contrast, allied with the Chitral rulers to defeat the Kalasha.

An alliance with a ruler from the north is reported by all informants at the very beginning of Dameli-remembered history. The question of who those rulers were, we have seen, was answered in different ways. Mostly they were said to be Ra'ise, but in one instance we find at Chitral Town the mysterious Kalasha king by the name of Shah Bumbur, mentioned above. It may not be a far-fetched hypothesis that this ruler corresponds in fact to Shah Babur (Holzwarth 1991: 8) who ruled Chitral around 1620 AD; he was for some time a Shia, and therefore almost a Kafir from the Sunni point of view. In another narrative the alliance is with a Muslim *shah* residing at Mastuj, a detail not in contrast with recent research that places the local subcentres of the early spread of Islam in the area between the Hindu Kush and the Hindu Raj, in Upper Chitral and Yasin (Holzwarth 1991: 7).

It is generally believed that the establishment of Muslim rule in southern Chitral roughly coincided with conversion to Islam (Wazir Ali Shah 1974: 70; Loude & Lièvre 1984: 35). Our data indicates that this is far from true, since the whole area around and south of Drosh was probably fully converted only in the nineteenth century, with the exception of course of the five western Kalasha valleys still partially unconverted today (Alb. Cacopardo 1991; Agu. Cacopardo 1991; Cacopardo & Cacopardo 1992).

It would have been of great interest of course to learn something about the pre-Islamic religion of Damel. But unfortunately among the questions we posed in our investigations, this is the one that remained almost completely unanswered.

When asked about names of ancient supernatural beings, informants mentioned the *per'ei*, the mountain spirits feared and respected throughout Dardo-Nuristan, plus a number of other spirits of which we learned only the names: *d'andik*, *runz'i*, *sis'eki*. *d'andik* is connected to the Kati term *danik*, witch, (Morgenstierne 1973: 158; Jettmar 1986: 42), while the *runz'i*, Kalasha *r'uzi* (Morgenstierne 1973: 158), are nothing but the *rui* of the Shina. As for *sis'eki*, it seems to echo a story told in Biyori (see Alb. Cacopardo this volume)

We found also some traces of the sacred character of the juniper tree (a typical element of the Dardo-Nuristani complex), which is still used against the evil eye.

This is very little indeed to advance any hypothesis about the pre-Islamic Dameli religion and culture. More revealing are maybe the traces we discovered at the socio-economic level. Summing up, the relevant elements are the following: a) the likely existence of lineage exogamy, which we inferred from the analysis of our data on marriages; b) the division of labour reserving goatherding for the men; c) the custom of *ulas'ang*, which corresponds to the Kalasha *alas'ing*; d) the use of wine for feasting and dancing repeatedly mentioned in the oral history.

These elements, we believe, are sufficient to indicate that the Dameli practised in all likelihood a pre-Islamic religion of the Dardo-Nuristani type, based on the characteristic pure/impure dichotomy, which can be observed in its manifold aspects in the Kalasha symbolic system (Parkes 1987; Cacopardo & Cacopardo 1989). It is possible that, due to influxes from the south brought by the immigrant groups, the ancient religion of Damel was somewhat more influenced by Hinduistic elements than the ones known at present and may, therefore, have been one vehicle of Hindu influence on both the Kalasha and the Nuristani.¹⁵

One final question that, we believe, deserves an answer is whether the Dameli can be considered a Nuristani 'tribe.' Our Kalasha informants seemed indeed to consider them as such, but too many elements, as we have seen, actually keep the Dameli apart from Nuristan. It is better to consider the Dameli as occupying an intermediate position between Dardic and Nuristani cultures, as their language, on the other hand, indicates. However, as we have seen, the original inhabitants of Damel—that is, the ancestors of the Charashdari—may have been a Nuristani group.¹⁶

Whatever the truth about their distant origins, at any rate, it is important to emphasize that, despite internal conflicts, the Dameli people of today consider themselves as members of a single community, unified by a common language, common customs, and common interests which they are ready to defend together. Patrilineal descent from this or that ancestor, in this light, becomes secondary as compared to the feeling of common identity that unites the inhabitants of the whole valley. It is to this feeling of identity, which will hopefully be preserved by the coming generations, that we have tried to pay homage through our work.

NOTES

1. In the literature, brief references to Damel are made by Robertson ([1896] 1974: 181, 542), who relates that from Damel the Kom got their iron, and that the valley was also one of the destinations of their raids; by Scott (1937: 16), who provides some information on the administrative position of the valley under the *mehtar*; by Jettmar (1975: 420), who mentions a short visit there; and by Israr-ud-din (1990:34-35). The Dameli language is of course considered in Fussman's (1972) *Atlas linguistique des parlers dardes et kafires* and, even if only fleetingly, in an article by Strand (1973).

2. I carried out ethnographic research in southern Chitral in cooperation with Alberto Cacopardo in the summers of 1989, 1990, 1993, and 1995. The project was supported by the former Istituto per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente (Is.M.E.O) of Rome, now the Istituto per l' Africa e l'Oriente (Is. I.A.O.), and it was funded by the National Council of Research of Italy. The present article is a revised and abridged version of a previous work I coauthored with Alberto Cacopardo (Cacopardo & Cacopardo 1995); of that work, a part written by Alberto Cacopardo has been abridged to form section 2 of this article.

Fieldwork in Damel was carried out in July 1993 in the course of two short visits, but additional information was collected from different sources starting from 1990. During our first visit to Damel, we were accompanied by an outstanding guide, interpreter, and fellow researcher, in the person of Major Ahmad Saeed from Ashret (see Alb. Cacopardo this volume). We were greatly helped by the eager cooperation of the people of Damel, and especially of Maulana Gul Akbar, who was our generous host in Shinteri. Very important was also the intelligent assistance of our second interpreter, Ahmed Aziz from Mastuj. Research was conducted in Shinteri, Aspar, Kuru, and Punagram. We interviewed altogether more than a dozen informants; especially important were the contributions of Maulana Gul Akbar, Rozi Mohammad also from Shinteri, Mohammad Ali Jan from Aspar, who has a prodigious genealogical memory, and the son of Gul Akbar, Gul Ahmad, who has a command of English that allowed communication without interpreters. To all these people we want to express our gratitude.

3. The names of the first three villages have reportedly been changed in recent times; they used to be respectively: Narila, Punagram, Islam Kot.
4. Decker (1992: 117) reports also the name Gad'oji as being most commonly used for it; but this is a Pashto term designating the Dameli and not their language. The Pathan call the valley Gad.
5. It is worth noting that the Dameli name for the Kalasha is Kasi (Kas'i), which may have something to do with Khasa or Kasa (Tucci 1977: 82 and passim).
6. For comparison with the material culture of surrounding areas, sources include: Barth 1956, 1981: 3–15; Jettmar 1961; Alb. Cacopardo 1974; Strand 1975; Jones 1974; Edelberg & Jones 1979; Parkes 1983, 1987; Zarin & Schmidt 1984 Snoy 1993.
7. According to Israr-ud-Din (1990: 34–35), the Dameli claim to be divided in two groups, the Shinteri and the Swati. His informants must have referred to the two macrolineages formed by the descendants of Rahzan and by the descendants of Khoramer (Swati is the modern name of Punagram). His suggestion that the forefathers of the Shinteri may be the Jashi is connected to Morgenstierne's remarks (1942: 119) and has a foundation in the presence of the Charashdari in Shinteri village.
8. Nuristani and Kalasha lineages are exogamous. Among the Kalasha, marriage is forbidden between agnates who have a common ancestor within the seventh ascending generation. Lineages usually segment as soon as the genealogical distance required for intermarriage is reached.
9. The other two are the Chaomos winter solstice festival (Wutt 1983; Loude & Lièvre 1984; Aug. Cacopardo 1985; Cacopardo & Cacopardo 1989) and the biramūr distributive feast (Darling 1979; Loude & Lièvre 1984: 114–39).
10. A similar process of simplification according to a model we witnessed among the Kalasha of Ramboor (see also Parkes 1983: 374, 382, 388).
11. This word is rather interesting because our informant declared that it is old Dameli; in modern Damiabasha the term for dog is *thun'a*.
12. The custom of sending bullets as a declaration of war is reported also by Robertson (1896: 564).
13. The 'Utahdari' is one of the 'chief clans of the Kam people'; it is 'the clan which produces the tribal priests' (Robertson 1896: 85–86).
14. Damel is mentioned in the famous Luli song which sings the progression of spring through the ancient Kalasha territory, from Asmar to Lotkuh (Morgenstierne 1973: 61).
15. The question of relations between Hinduism and the Kafir world has been posed among others by Allen (1991), Fussman (1977), Jettmar (1986: 130–47), Klimburg (1976) and Morgenstierne (1947: 240). In our opinion the matter is still open for discussion.
16. In spite of some good arguments advanced by Fussman (1988) to the contrary, we are inclined to believe that a Nuristani 'identity' did exist in the past within the wider Dardo-Nuristani complex.

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THE PALULA OF SOUTHERN CHITRAL: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC INQUIRY

*Alberto Cacopardo**

The speakers of Palula (palul'a) inhabit two of the larger side valleys that flow into the Chitral River in southern Chitral District, those of Biyori and Ashret, plus the three villages of Purigal in Shishi Kuh, Ghos in the main valley close to Drosh Bazaar, and Kalkatak.¹ (Fig. 43.1)

The existence of this linguistic group is known in the literature at least from Biddulph's time (1880: 64, 113) and, as opposed to the lack of anthropological research about it, its language is fairly well-known, thanks mainly, of course, to the work of the indefatigable Georg Morgenstierne (1932: 54–59 1941).

Palula (see also Fussman 1972: 393; Strand 1973: 302) is considered a variety of Shina, the widest spoken of the eastern Dardic languages, that of Gilgit and Chilas.

Though the language is mostly known in the literature as Phalura, a term inaugurated by Morgenstierne,² our informants denied any knowledge of such term and agreed that its correct name is palul'a, without an aspiration to the labial and with a stress on the last syllable, which distinguishes the language name from the word pal'ula, plural of pal'ulo, designating a speaker of the language or a person of Palula descent in the patriline.

The latter two groups, indeed, do not coincide exactly at present. The large village of Kalkatak in the main valley is, according to most of our informants, inhabited by people of non-Palula descent, mostly Kalasha who converted to Islam in the 1800s and later gradually adopted Palula as their tongue in place of Kalasha. This study, which concentrates on the traditional culture of the Palula, shall therefore not be concerned with them.³ Furthermore, part of the population of the lower Biyori valley, as well as a number of families in Ashret, is likely to be of Kalasha descent, but these people have long been integrated in the Palula communities of the valleys and shall be touched upon later.

The people of Purigal and Ghos, the two small villages which we could not visit, are considered Palula to all effects by our informants.

The inhabitants of the village of Sau in Afghanistan, some fifty kilometres south of Mirkhani, speak a closely related tongue which, however, is not called Palula by its speakers (Buddruss 1967: 9), who consider themselves an integral part of the Gawar community, despite their linguistic diversity. Our information about them, therefore, will be discussed in a future publication. At any rate, the Palula and the Sawi cannot in any way be considered as a single community.

Rumours about the existence of Palula speaking villages in Dir and Swat Kohistan have been reported by various studies (Morgenstierne 1941: 6; Saeed 1987: 25 Decker 1992: 68), and Keiser (1991b: 12) quotes a personal communication by Richard Strand, stating that Ushuji, a so far unknown language spoken in Ushu and Bishegram in Swat Kohistan 'appears

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to be a dialect of Shina,' and could therefore be akin to Palula. We ourselves got various different names of such villages from our informants (Bihar or Bihol, Dogdarra, Banda, another Ashret, Gumedand), but we could find nobody who actually claimed to have heard and spoken the language in Kohistan.

The Palula themselves are identified as a separate group by their neighbours, who indicate them with the term Dangarik,⁴ while the term Palula, on the contrary, is normally not used or even understood by other people. However, despite this identification based on language, the identity of the Palula as a community is not very strong today. From the social and political point of view, nowadays there doesn't seem to be any such thing as a Palula unit embracing even the settlements of strictly Palula descent, though this was probably different in the past. Inter-marriage and social intercourse between members of different Palula settlements are not more intense or frequent than with the other surrounding groups—and there is no political body or organ that claims to represent them all. The Palula mostly tend to see themselves as part of the larger society of southern Chitral with which they nowadays share religion, markets, and administrative and political arrangements, as well as many of the customs.

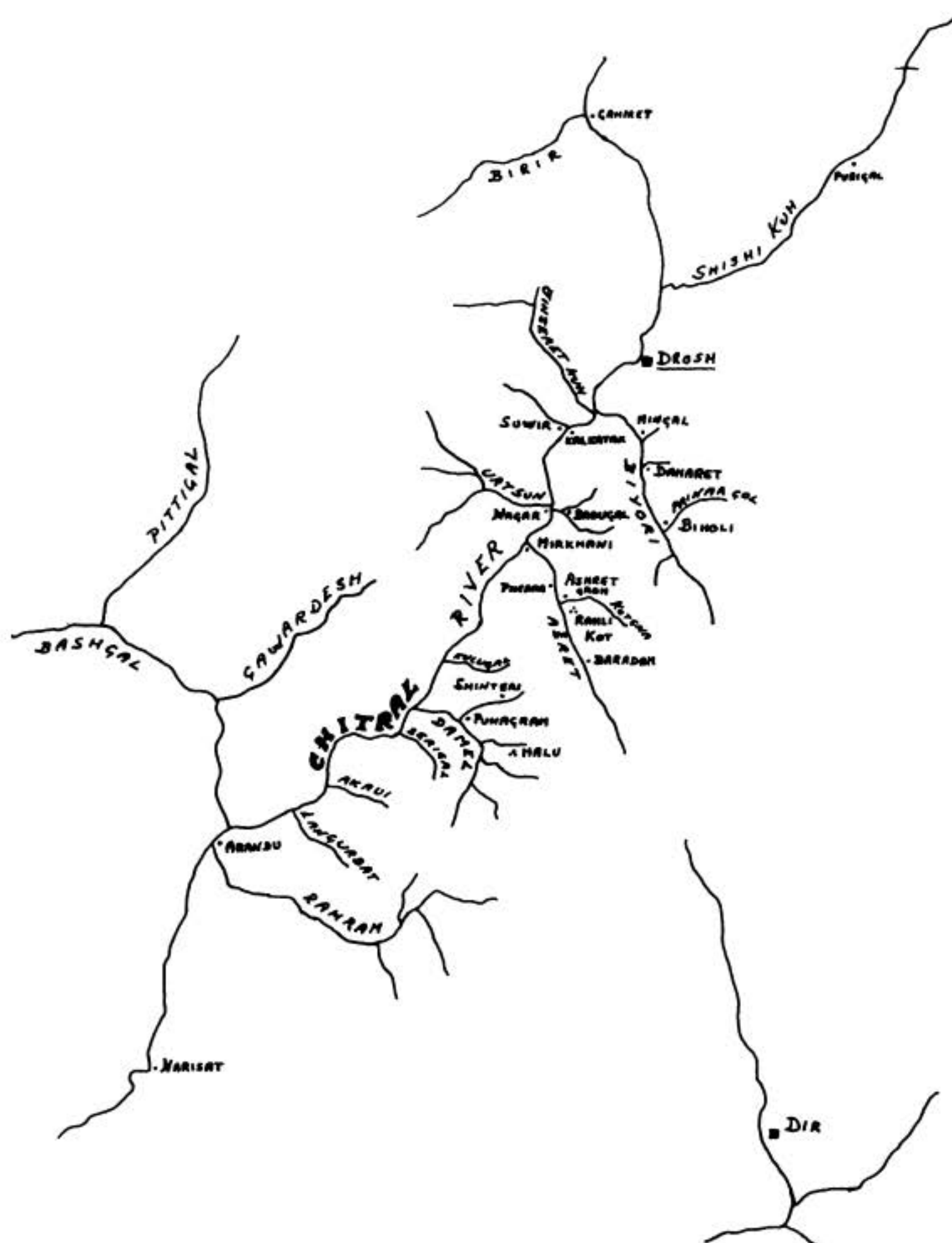
Both in Ashret and Biyori, however, we have found a strong feeling of identification with the single valley community, which is a well-defined unit, with its own delimited territory, political organization and representation, and collective rights of ownership on pastures and forests.⁵ Internal social intercourse within each of the two valleys is definitely more intense and intimate than with outsiders of any denomination.

General information about the Palula of today has been provided by Kendall Decker (1992: 73–76) from fieldwork carried out among them in 1989–90 as part of the Sociolinguistic Survey of Northern Pakistan. Since his description of the present condition of the Palula generally agrees with ours, we shall only update it and integrate it with a few remarks, and then proceed to investigate the 'traditional' culture of these people, which is the main focus of this paper.

Despite many recent changes, the basic economic activities for the inhabitants of Ashret and Biyori remained in the early 1990s agriculture and goatherding. However, other relevant sources of income were winter migrant labour in the southern plains, some government employment and various trades, plus the significant revenue derived from royalties on the cutting of the cedar forest, which, on the basis of government schemes, was taking place on a large scale in Biyori in the early 'nineties. Royalties due to the community are divided among the population and can provide as much as the equivalent of a good salary for each household. Though neither of the valleys had electricity in 1995, there seemed to be a considerable difference in economic development between Ashret, a more 'urbanized' area thanks to the mostly paved road that leads to the Loari Pass, and Biyori, which appeared as one of the most secluded valleys of the region. Ashret has many educated people, more government services, and even a few telephones, while Biyori has only a difficult dirt road (built between 1984 and 1986), and lacks even a police station, which many inhabitants strongly desire.

Politically, the Palula were then represented in the union council (the local elected body at the *tehsil* level) by one member from Biyori and two from Ashret. One prominent elder from Ashret, Qazi Saeed Ahmad, had been a member of the district council for over ten years. Each of the valleys had a political body called *jirga*, which was then reportedly composed by one representative (*gadh'ero*), for each of the recognized lineages (called *d'imo* or *dim* in Palula, though the word *kam* is commonly used), chosen by an assembly of the male members of the lineage itself.

Fig. 43.1 Map of Southern Chitral (Scale 1:250,000)



According to our estimates, which are pretty close to Decker's (1992: 74–76), the Palula numbered some 7000 altogether in 1993, not including the speakers of Kalkatak. This would make them the largest linguistic minority in southern Chitral.

Turning to the aspects of the Palula's past that are the main subject of this paper, let us first deal with some elements common to both Ashret and Biyori.

The 'traditional'⁶ economy of the Palula has a basic configuration very similar to that of the surrounding peoples. We can define it synthetically through a few cultural markers.

namely, agriculture in small, irrigated plots on the valley bottoms; stone and wood water mills; goatherding with summer pastures in the mountains and small numbers of cattle and sheep; absence of donkeys and horses; family ownership of irrigated land and communal ownership of pastures and forests. The above-listed characteristics are common to all the people of southern Chitral, but this is not true of all the traits of the traditional Palula economy.

The division of labour between genders, for example, is of a Kalasha type as opposed to Bashgali on the one hand and Kho or Pathan on the other, with women banned from dealing with goats and in charge of most agricultural chores, but not of ploughing. The dairy production is based on the two series of *ghee* and rennet cheese (*kil'al*): this makes it virtually identical to that of the Dameli (Cacopardo & Cacopardo 1995: 249–50) and the Nuristani (Edelberg & Jones 1979: 86), and therefore different from the Kalasha. All the mentioned traits of the traditional economy are basically until today, like many other aspects of material culture.

In the political sphere, of course, many changes have taken place in the last century or so, though the Palula have basically always remained what they had long been: a fundamentally acephalous community more or less loosely encapsulated in a larger, hierarchical political system. Before the arrival of the British, however, there are many indications that the authority of the *mehtar* of Chitral was not so firmly established on the Palula territories, which were also under the influence of the Dir *khanate* (Saeed 1987: 15; see also Leitner 1894: 70; Ghulam Murtaza 1982; Lindholm 1986: 6) and probably paid double tribute to the two powers, a not uncommon occurrence in the area. It was only in 1898 that Nawab Sharif Khan, the first *nawab* of Dir, recognized with a *sanad* (decree) the boundaries defined by the British between the two states (McMahon & Ramsay 1901: 133). Mehtar Shuja-ul-Mulk (1895–1936), who introduced the custom of *jagirs* in Chitral, granted Biyori as *jagir* to his brother Amir-ud-din (Scott 1937: 16), who built a fort at Serdur at the mouth of the valley (Ghulam Murtaza 1982: 332), where his line is now represented by Shahzada Mohayud-Din, an influent political leader of the area.

Until the late 1940s, each of the two Palula valleys had a political leader in the person of the *Mal'ik*, which was appointed by the *mehtar*, mostly with the consent of the elders, to represent each valley community and deal with the state officials. The authority of the *Mal'ik* was always balanced by that of the *jirga* of the elders, but, according to our informants, he had the power to summon its meetings and even to designate the *gadhera*, who, at that time, were not the elected representatives of each lineage like today, but generically the most 'capable and competent' people that emerged in the community.

It is quite evident that the office of *Mal'ik* derives from Pathan influence (Spain 1963: 45, 74–75; Ahmed 1980: 74; see also Keiser 1991a: 99–101 and *Imperial Gazetteer of India* 1991: 255), since we have found it only in the extreme south of Chitral, among the Palula, the Dameli, and the Gawar. In the administrative structure of the *mehtar*, his position seems similar to that of the *asakāl* in other areas (Scott 1937: 19; Siiger 1956: 15).

At any rate, before its introduction, the Palula must have been led by an assembly of elders like the other communities of the area, since, as we shall see, we have found no trace of a centralized internal power in their oral tradition.

We could also find no trace among the Palula of a caste structure comparable to that reported among the Shina (Biddulph 1880: 34–41; Leitner 1894: 62–63; Jettmar 1975: 237). As we shall see, however, we have found in both valleys some trace of former subordinate endogamous groups that seem similar to the *bh'aira* (Schomberg 1938: 195 Parkes 1983: 27, 204) or *b'ara* (Cacopardo & Cacopardo 1992: 357–60) of the Kalasha.

In the religious sphere also, important changes have taken place in fairly recent times. The Palula are now Sunni Muslims: but thanks to the research of Wolfgang Holzwarth, a nineteenth century written document has recently emerged which shows that the Palula were still at least partly unconverted to Islam in the 1840s.

The document contains the answers to a questionnaire on Kafir customs formulated by the French general Auguste Court and submitted by a Muslim emissary of his to two Kafir elders from Kamdesh, Tak and Shamlar, during a meeting in Dir in Circa 1840. In answering one of the questions, the two Kafirs state that the Dangarik of Mulk-e-Kashqar (Chitral) were then 'practising idol-worship' (Holzwarth 1993: 7).⁷

This shows that the Palula preserved a pre-Muslim religion until fairly recent times. Since they were apparently entirely Islamized in Robertson's time, their conversion must have been completed between 1840 and the 1880s, the same span of time as that of the Dameli and of the eastern area Kalasha.⁸

To throw some light on this and other aspects of the Palula's past, we shall now proceed to analyse separately our findings about the two valleys of Ashret and Biyori.

Biyori

The three villages of Biyori are located in succession close to the valley bottom. Mingal (Pongode, Lur Biyori) is the lowest and is found on the right (eastern) side of the stream some three kilometres from Serdur. Some two kilometres further up, Damaret (Mujode, Muz Biyori) rises on a knock of the hill, again above the right bank. These two are both clustered villages.

The third village is called Biholi (or Azi Desh, Biyori Bala), also the Palula name for the whole valley. This village, on the contrary, is composed of houses scattered over a particularly wide area, at the confluence of two streams that merge to form the main one. The altitude here is approximately 1700 metres above sea level.

Unlike those of other valleys of the area, such as Ashret or Ramboor, the inhabitants of Biyori do not have a genealogy connecting them under a single apical ancestor. Indeed all the genealogies we could record invariably referred to a single patrilineal lineage, often only to a section of this, and did not connect even the inhabitants of a single village under one ancestor.

But this does not imply that the community does not have strong internal ties. Our data on marriages is quite eloquent in this respect. Though they are far from statistically scrupulous, their correlations are so high that they deserve some attention. As the table in Fig. 43.2 shows, of the total 166 marriages reported in the whole valley within three generations above the informant's, 83.2 per cent are valley-endogamous, showing that, as we have seen earlier, the feeling of identification with the valley community is indeed very strong. Of the remaining marriages only 6.6 per cent are with other Palula-speaking communities (Purigal, Ashret, Kalkatak, and Ghos), while 10.2 per cent are with non-Palula groups, which shows that, once a Palulo chooses to marry outside the valley, linguistic identity of the partner is not a priority. The data was recorded in 1993 from statements of informants on the basis of their patrilineal genealogies. The sample has therefore a limited statistical reliability and does not include marriages of Biyori women with men of other groups. Marriages included refer only to generations within the three above informants.

Lineage endogamy, though not uncommon, is definitely not the rule, since marriages within the same lineage are only twenty-seven, that is, 16.2 per cent of the total. This may reflect a persistence of a pre Islamic rule of lineage exogamy, but may also be merely due to the generally small size of the lineages.

Fig. 43.2 Marriages in Biyori**2a. Absolute Values**

<i>Woman from Man from</i>	<i>Biholi</i>	<i>Damaret</i>	<i>Mingal</i>	<i>Other Palula</i>	<i>Other Groups</i>	<i>Total</i>
Biholi	48	2	5	3	6	64
Damaret	5	19	6	3	2	35
Mingal	10	6	37	5	9	67
Total	63	27	48	11	17	166

2b. Relative Values (in %)

<i>Man from</i>	<i>Village Endog.</i>	<i>Rest of Valley</i>	<i>Other Palula</i>	<i>Other Groups</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Valley Endog.</i>
Biholi	75	10.94	4.69	9.38	100	85.94
Damaret	54.29	31.43	8.57	5.71	100	85.71
Mingal	55.22	23.88	7.46	13.43	100	79.10
Total	62.65	20.48	6.63	10.24	100	83.13

The present lineages look like units that have formed in Islamic times, with functions quite different from those of the pre-Islamic period. The structure of most of the genealogies collected is typical of situations in which lineages are losing their role: their depth does not usually exceed seven or eight generations and the upper part, above the third or fourth step, is mostly a linear elencation of names about which informants are unable to give much information.

However, despite the absence of a general genealogy of the community, several of our informants did consider the people of Biyori as descendants of a single ancestor in the person of Choke (čh'ouk, čhok, čok, šok) and/or Machoke (mač'ok, mač'ok, mač'ouk, mač'u). Like other ancestral couples in the area, Choke-Machoke are alternatively considered brothers or father and son, and are often mentioned together without a conjunction.

As we have remarked elsewhere (Cacopardo & Cacopardo 1992: 371–72), traditions concerning the migration of this famous couple from the area of Chilas have been recorded by several studies in many distant and different places, including Chilas itself (Biddulph 1880: 16; Leitner 1894: 61), Batera in Indus Kohistan (Jettmar 1982: 11), Darel (Faizi 1989: 2), Punial (Choke may be behind the Shot mentioned in Biddulph 1971: 31), Laspur, Kushum (Faizi 1989: 5–6), and Owir (Saeed 1987: 25), and by ourselves in Arandu. The authors of the latter two works, Inayatullah Faizi of Laspur and Ahmed Saeed of Ashret are among the founders of the Choke-Machoke Society of Chitral (Itihat-e Aulat-e Choke-Machoke), an organization specifically created to connect with each other the descendants of the couple.

While, as we shall see, a coherent version of this legend has been preserved in Ashret, this is not so in Biyori, and our informants' accounts differed widely on the matter. While one stated that Machoke migrated to Bihar in Dir Kohistan and some descendant of his from there to upper Biyori, according to another one it was Choke's three sons that founded the three villages of the valley in some distant past, and yet another one specified that Choke came to

Biyori via Mastuj and Chitral. For some, the valley was never inhabited before them, for others they found Kalasha in the valley and exterminated them, for yet others the previous inhabitants (whose ruins can still be found in many places) had been exterminated by the Nuristani Kafirs, while still others held the view that Choke-Machoke had not fought with the Kalasha, but had arranged to live peacefully next to them, as proved by the fact that their descendants are still found in the valley and have been absorbed in the Palula community.

As we can see, though there is no standard recognized version of the legend of Choke-Machoke in Biyori, there definitely is a memory of a migration from the area of Chilas (cf. Schomberg 1938: 206). This is attributed to the time of the last Kalasha rulers or to that of the Ra'ise. One informant, as a matter of fact, even had a story concerning the Kalasha ruler Nagar Shah, a figure prominent, as we shall see, in the Ashreti tradition. According to him, when the Choke-Machoke people came to Biyori, they found the valley occupied by Kalasha whom they fought and drove to seek refuge with the Kalasha ruler of Nagar. But Nagar Shah was a nuisance to the people of Biyori, because he hosted and assisted the Nuristani raiders, who periodically came to pester the Palula valleys with their incursions. So the Palula of Ashret and Biyori got together, attacked Nagar Shah and defeated him. Though the living elders did not admit any memory of Nuristani raids in their lifetime, these are documented by Robertson (1896: 181, 247) at the end of the last century.

A further theme frequently raised by informants is that of the Quraish origins of the people, which, at any rate, are lost in some immemorably distant past. This theme is common to Ashret and to many communities of southern Chitral and surrounding areas (e.g., Dupree 1974: XVIII), but is unlikely to have a historical foundation.

We shall now examine in further detail the oral traditions of each of the three villages. In the upper village, the great majority of the population belongs to two lineages, called Hundi Kor and Buni or Muni Kor, meaning 'upper house' and 'lower house,' which are said to correspond to the upper and lower part of the village area, respectively. This moiety-like dichotomic division is widely recognized and known to everybody, whereas informants had confused notions about the other three smaller lineages which seem to exist in this village, the Badurge, the Nazare, and the Kanjuli. At any rate, we could not find much information about the origins of that dichotomy. According to one source, Tupu' and Munu' were the two pre-Islamic brothers who apparently generated the two groups, which might therefore have a pre-Islamic basis. According to this informant, they came from Dir Kohistan, probably belonged to the Choke-Machoke group, and had a religion similar to that of the Kalasha, but different, which seems to be the common idea about it in the valley.

Other informants gave different names for the founding ancestors (Abdallah, Zinat), but they all agreed on the provenance from Dir Kohistan. Bihar or Biyar, supposed to be a Palula-speaking village still today, is the place most frequently indicated as the original home of the ancestors there. This village is located exactly 30 kilometres northwest of Dir as the crow flies, not far from Patrak.

At any rate, we have also found traces of a former dichotomic division of the whole valley, which is confirmed by the fact that *qalang* paid by Gujars for the use of the valley's pasture was said to be still divided in halves, one for the upper and one for the two lower villages, and only after that distributed to the inhabitants. It may very well be that the inhabitants of the upper village have a different origin from those of the other two, and belong to a secondary wave of immigration of Shina speaking people from the east, who first settled in Dir Kohistan and then entered Chitral from there.

Let us therefore turn to the oral traditions of these two lower settlements. In Damaret we find four lineages, again two main ones and two smaller ones. The Amardine, apparently the

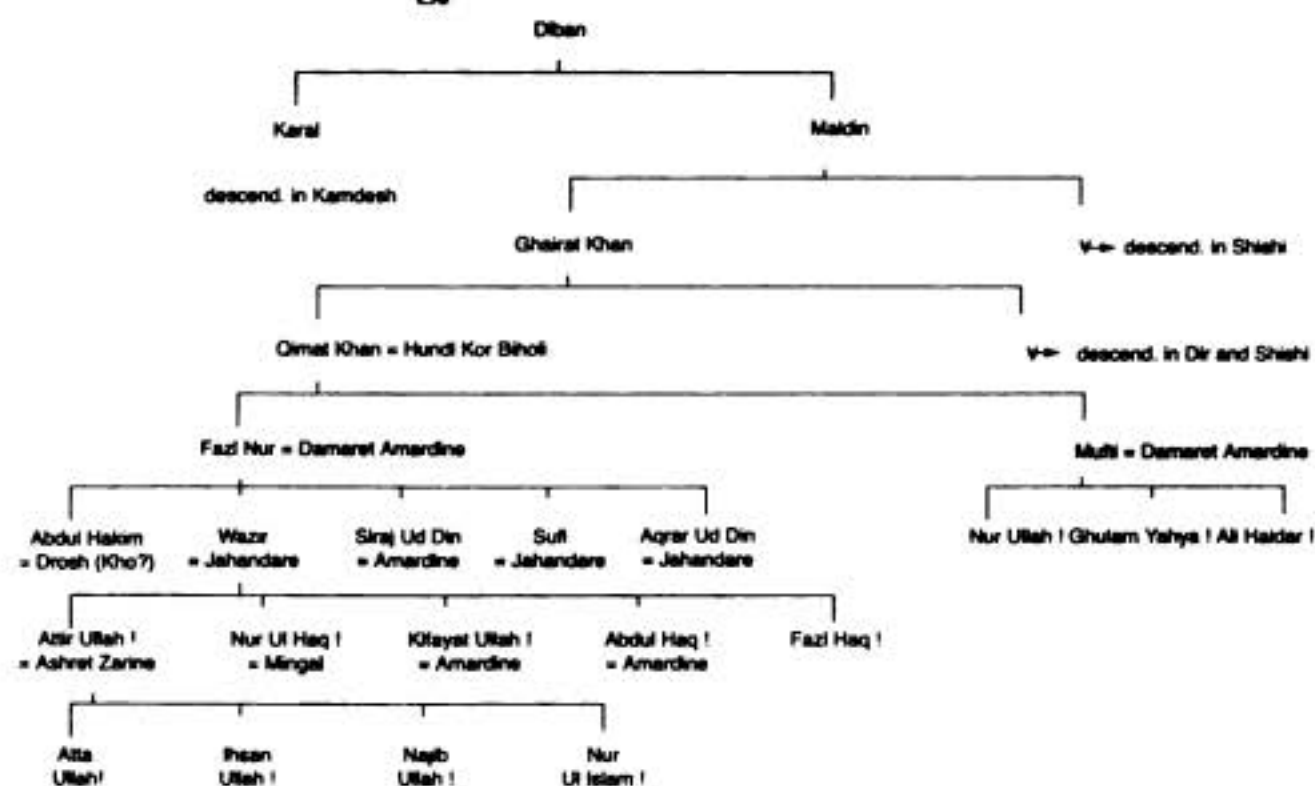
largest, is of widely (though of course not unanimously) recognized Kalasha origin. This lineage is derived from another renowned ancestral couple of the area, Dhondi and Tondi, who are, as often happens, alternatively considered brothers or father and son. Dhondigal was indicated in Biyori, as well as in Kalkatak (see Alb. Cacopardo 1991: 290), as the residence of Dhondi. Unfortunately, we could never find trace of any story about these two characters, who are only remembered as ancient Kafirs. The most credited version seems to be that the Amardine of Damaret are descendants of Tondi, while Dhondi is the ancestor of at least some of the Kalasha of Kalkatak. What all this really means is that there is a perceived genealogical connection between the village of Damaret and Kalkatak, which probably has a historical basis in the presence of a Kalasha community in Biyori before the arrival of the Palula from the Shina area. This theory, as we have seen, was held by some informants.

The Jahandare are the other main lineage of Damaret. They claim descent from Choke-Machoke and have associated the smaller lineage of the Zardale. As usual we found no remembered genealogical connection between this lineage and any of the others. In the upper, linear part of their genealogy the first ancestor has a clearly pre-Muslim name, Chateri (chat'eri).

The fourth lineage of Damaret is the so-called Mullah Khel or Dashmane. This is a term often used in the area to indicate the *mullah* families, which are frequently the descendants of a foreigner who has been expressly invited to the village by the community to fulfil this religious role, which better befits a person not involved in the enmities between lineages. The genealogy of this lineage (Fig. 43.3), collected from Attir Ullah of Damaret, is accompanied by a rather detailed history of the whole family, which deserves to be told.

The apical ancestor Diban was a Bashgali Kafir from Kamdesh, who, according to the custom, fled his home after killing a brother in a conflict about land and came to Shishi (the old name of the village of Uzurbekande in Shishi Kuh), where he bought land for the price of sixty cows and had two sons, Karal and Maldin. After some time, Diban made peace with his brothers in Bashgal and went back to Kamdesh with his son Karal, while Maldin remained in Shishi.

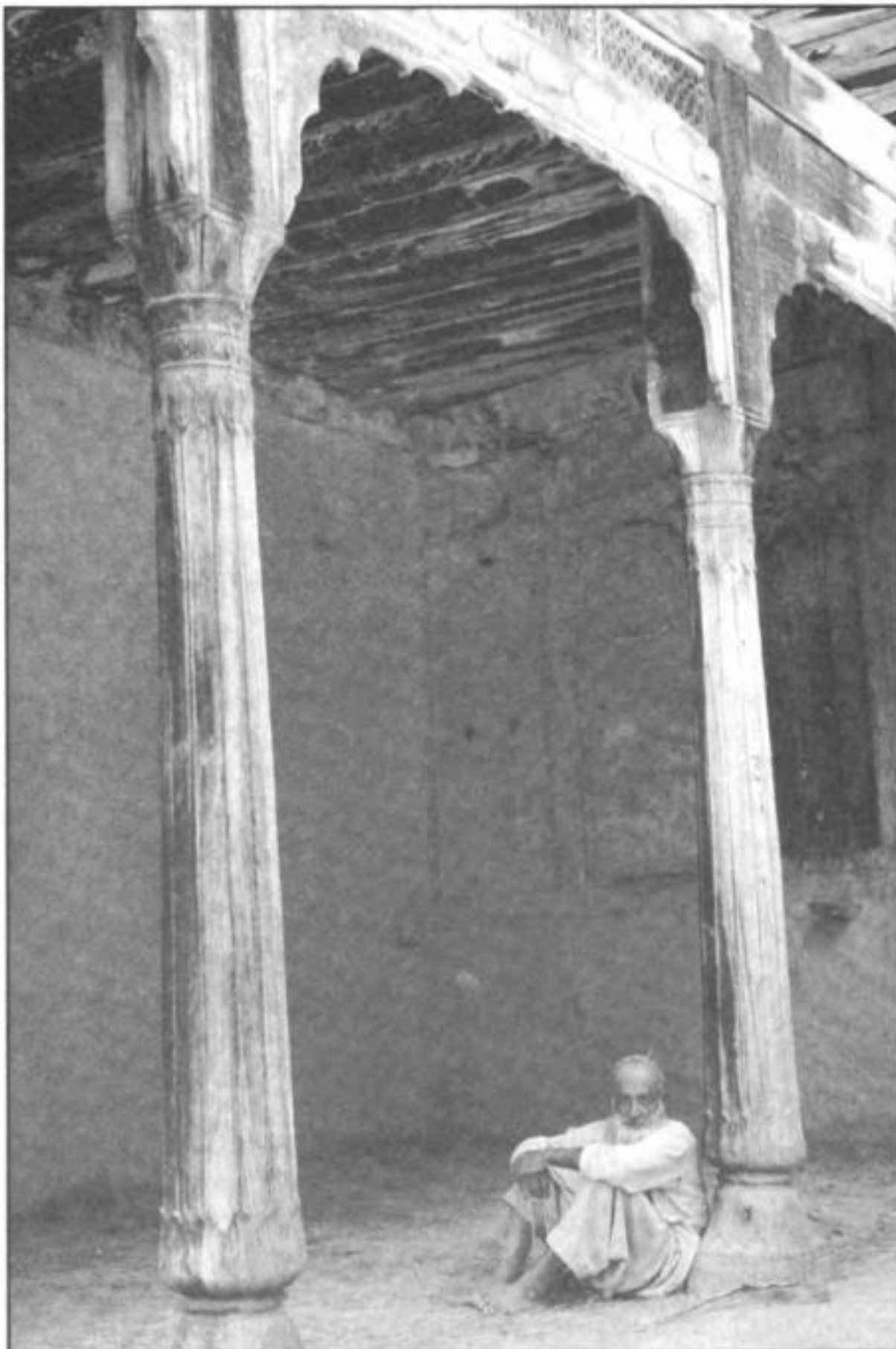
Fig. 43.3 Patrilineal Genealogy of the Dashmane of Damaret



Legenda
 I - living
 - - marriage (wife's lineage in italics)
 V - unnamed male

Maldin also had two sons, who are the first ones who converted to Islam. Of these, Ghairat Khan was appointed *hakim* (Scott 1937: 7) in Shishi by an unspecified Katore ruler, who, however, deprived him of his land when, in a conflict, he took sides with a brother of the *mehtar* against him. Thus Ghairat Khan came to Biyori with his relatives, seven families altogether, and went to visit Pir Baba, a saint whose *ziarat* can still be seen close to the road below Damaret. From there he proceeded to Dir, where he settled and where his descendants still live. But he left one of his sons to study with Pir Baba and this was Qimat Khan, who, as soon as he grew up, was invited by the people of Damaret, who were in need of an *imam*. Here he married and had two sons. One became 'a great *mufti*,' and is remembered by that name, while the other was Fazl Nur, the grandfather of our informant, who, with the work of carpenters from Joghur, built the beautiful mosque that can still be seen in Damaret (Photo 43.1).

Photo 43.1 The Mosque of Damaret



If this story is not untrue, then the grandfather Fazl Nur should have been born around Robertson's time, his father Qimat Khan, the *mullah* student, around the 1860s or 1870s, and his grandfather Ghairat Khan, the first Muslim, around the 1840s.

It may be not too daring to suppose that the figure of Pir Baba must have a lot to do with the Islamization of the valley, and this, of course, would agree with the dating of the conversion on the basis of the Court document.

According to another informant, Ghazi Khan from Mingal, Pir Baba came from Gawardesh with two wives (one of whom was from Damel) and settled opposite Mingal across the river. At that time, the valley was infested by a race of man-eating female ghosts, the *rui kul'ina*, who came around in large numbers at night, clapping hands and making much noise, to devour any person that they found alone. For this reason they had to live all clustered together for protection. Pir Baba waged his *jihad* against them: starting off at night armed with a large bow, he would kill all the *rui* he met. When he came back home, the whole house shook with his tremendous steps as if a host of warriors were approaching: that was his miracle, so goes the story.

Pir Baba finally killed all the *rui* except one named Sheksheki (*šekšéki*), who was pitifully blind in one eye and swore she would never hurt human beings again. Many years later, he died one day from a stomach illness that suddenly caught him in Ziarat, while he was on his way to Dir. His body was carried to Mirkhani, where the people from Damel, Badugal, Biyori, Ashret, and Gawardesh all convened, disputing his holy remains. Each of them tried to lift the body, but, despite all their efforts, could not manage to move it by an inch. Only when the Biyori people tried, the body was easily carried away to their valley, where it is still buried today in a much revered *ziarat*.

But Sheksheki survived, and she can still be seen haunting the surroundings of Mingal. One apparition of hers was reported in 1991 and one of our informants claimed to have met her himself in 1992, right next to his house one evening: she appeared as a darkish shadow and her feet were turned backwards, but when he called another man saying, 'Come, let's cut her hair!', Sheksheki quickly vanished, since that is what the *rui* fear the most.

The *rui* are well-known among the Shina (Biddulph 1880: 94; Lorimer 1929: 527–34; Schomberg 1935: 206–07; Jettmar 1975: 272–76). Our informants assimilated them with the *gorw'au* (Jettmar 1975: 65), a class of female man-eaters known to the Kho and other peoples, who, like the Shina *rui*, are alternatively considered spirits or actual human beings who change their form at night. In Biyori, however, we could find no notion about the latter variety. *Šekšéki*, on the other hand, is clearly a common noun that has become personalized in the Biyori legend (see Aug. Cacopardo this volume).

Another class of spirits we heard about are the *peirein'i*, the fairy beings mostly called *pariān* in Chitral. In Biyori like elsewhere, the *peirein'i* are associated with lakes, specifically with the four basins that are found in the upper reaches of the valley. There is also a species of mushrooms, *keimi'a car* (Khowar *kimi'a jas*), associated with them, said to be good for medicine, which is not collected for fear of the *peirein'i*, to whom they are believed to belong.

Though no one claimed to have seen these spirits in Biyori, people said that their voices are often heard. One story about them tells of a man who went to Painar Gol, where there is now only an almost dry basin in the mountains, and found a *masarb'a* (jug) and a *lol'i* (basin), the two vessels commonly used for washing hands. He threw away the water in the *masarb'a* and took it home, but the discarded water swelled and grew into a lake, which spilled over and flooded the valley. In the flood a cedar tree (*roh*) was seen travelling upright downstream, till it stopped at the house of the man. The two vessels then flew to the treetop and disappeared downstream: the fairies recovered their belongings. The motifs of a flood caused by the rage of the fairies and of the cedar tree standing in it are common to the Kalasha myth of Rolishai and Chirmala recorded by us in Ramboor, two versions of which are told by Lièvre and Loude (1990: 273; see also Biddulph 1880: 95, for storms caused by defiled springs).

The last, and most recent, of the three villages is Mingal. Here also we have two main lineages, the Mohammad Zarife and the Lawar, with two smaller ones associated to each, the Niluk and the Ghosanu, which is the Mullah Khel here.

The Mohammad Zarife are the descendants of what at first sight sounds like another rhyming couple of pre-Islamic ancestors, Drigosh and Shingosh. These two names deserve an analysis that, for reasons of space, cannot be dealt with here, but will be treated elsewhere.

The Lawar are the other main lineage of Mingal. They also claim descent from Choke-Machoke and are associated with the smaller lineage of the Niluk through a story that tells of some unspecified ancient woman who died pregnant and was buried. After two or three months, people found a hole in the tomb, and a child was seen at times coming in and out of it. After many discussions, the people decided to capture the child and thus found that he had survived by suckling from the mother's still-alive breast, or, according to others, from his own thumb. The child was adopted by people of the Lawar lineage, learned to speak only when he was seven, and lived to see many descendants. The story is fascinating, though it does sound like the kind that could be told to dissimulate the origins of a group.

The fourth lineage of Mingal is that of the Ghosanu. The linear part of their genealogy (Fig. 43.4) is very short. The first three ancestors, who have obviously pre-Islamic names, are said to have been Palula living in Drosh, from where the two sons of Dhrashul moved to Ghos (which is only a couple of kilometres away), after their conversion to Islam and the consequent conflict with the local Kalasha. Since these two brothers, Lal Mohammad and Mir Mohammad, appear in the genealogy in the fourth generation above our informants, this again confirms the dating of the conversion based on the Court document. Lal Mohammad had only one son, Shagul, or Chagul, who came to Mingal when his elder son Abdul Samat was invited to become the *mullah*.

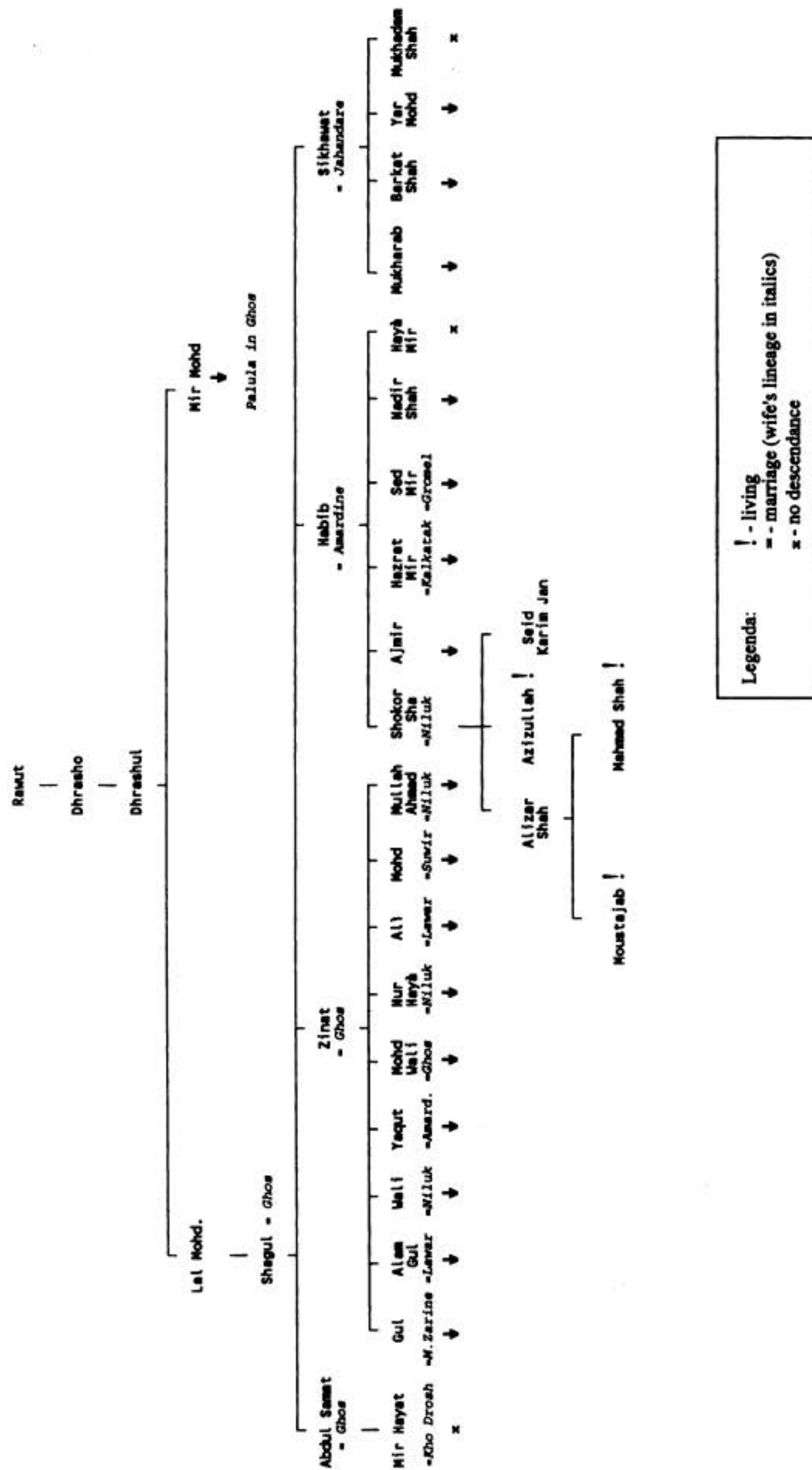
At that time, in the early twentieth century, the major division of lands took place in Mingal, and four shares were given to the Mohammad Zarife, four shares to the Lawar, and one to the newly arrived Dashmane. The Niluk only received a share from the Lawar in later rearrangements, which shows that they are either recent arrivals or a subordinate lineage akin to the *bh'aira*. Mingal is considered the most recent of the villages and the first large canal is said to have been built there by one Mohammad Rauf of the Mohammad Zarife lineage, who was in the armed service of Shah-i-Mulk, a son of Aman-ul-Mulk killed in 1892 (Robertson 1896: 300 and passim; Ghulam Murtaza 1982: 213, 217, 234–35). This would put the foundation of Mingal somewhere in the latter part of the last century.

Altogether, the kinship distributions of Mingal and Damaret seem markedly similar: two large main lineages, possibly one of Kalasha and one of Palula descent, plus a smaller lineage associated with one of the two, and a fourth group of Dashmane from a different but not distant village.

The conclusions we can draw about the origins of the Palula of Biyori may be synthesized as follows. The people of the upper village are likely to be the descendants of Shina speakers arrived from previous settlements in the Tal-Patrak area of Dir Kohistan, independent of the Palula of Ashret. This would agree, as we shall see, with the Ashreti tradition, which does not include Biyori among the descendants of their own founding fathers.

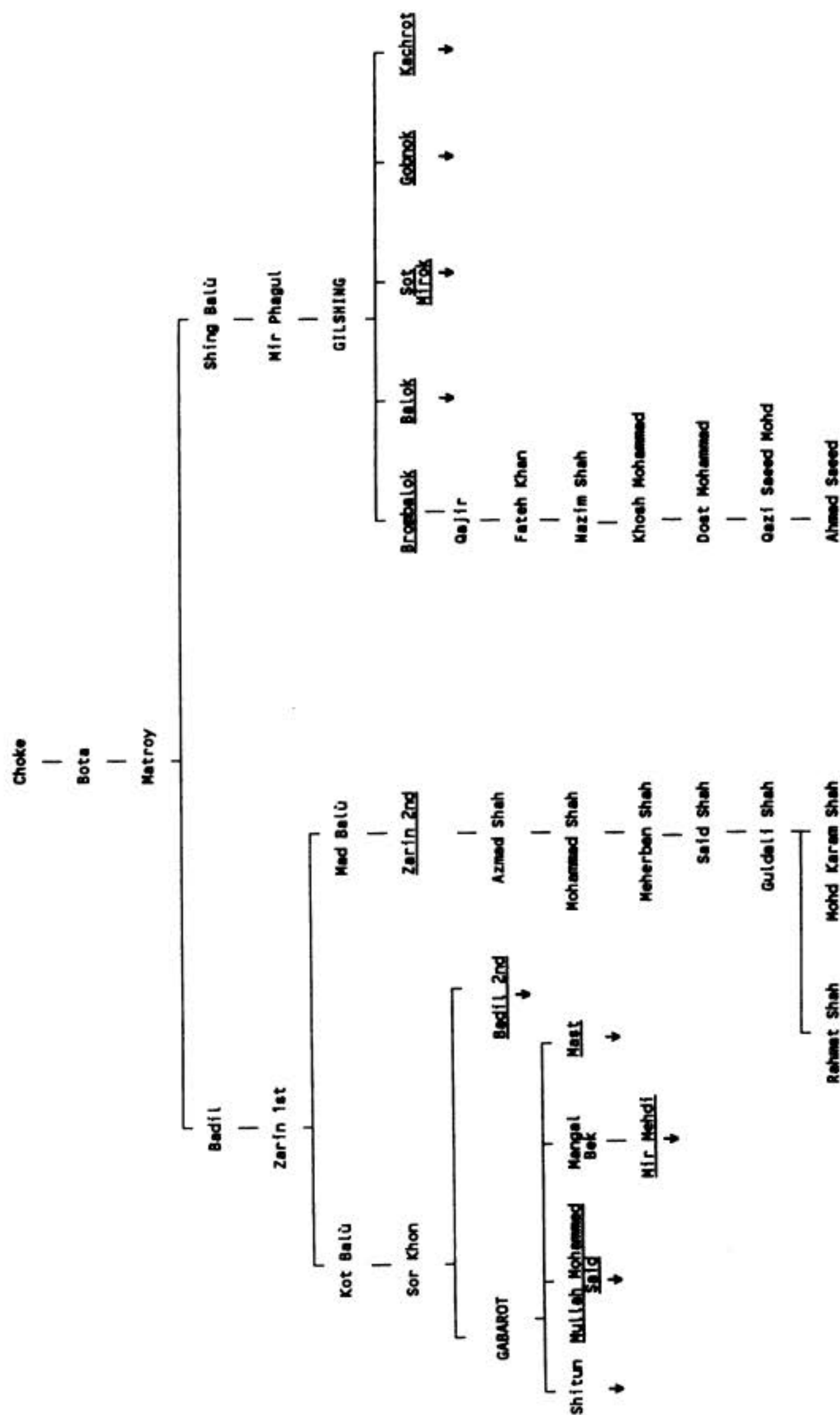
Other Palula may have settled at different times in the two lower villages: surely the Ghosanu (Dashmane) of Mingal in recent times, possibly the ancestors of the Jahandare and the Lawar long before. A good part of the population of the lower valley, however, is likely to descend from Kalasha inhabitants of the valley, who are connected with the ancient Kalasha of the area of Kalkatak. The absorption of these Biyori Kalasha into the Palula community is likely to be the precedent that explains the more recent adoption of the Palula language by the Kalkatak Kalasha. This would confirm the hypothesis we had earlier proposed on the basis of our 1990 data (Cacopardo, & Cacopardo 1992: 372).

Fig. 43.4 Patrilineal Genealogy of the Ghosanu of Mingal



Source: Seif-ur-Rahman, Mingal, 24 Jul. 1993.

Fig. 43.5 Patrilineal Genealogy of the Descendants of Choke in Ashret:



patrilineal genealogy of the descendants of Choke in Ashret as recorded by Mirza Guldali Shah. Underlined names are those of the apical ancestors of present minimal lineages according to field informants. Descendants of Shitun were included by informants in the Mullah Khel with those of Mullah Mohammad Said.

Ashret

As we have seen (note. 1 above), our work on Ashret has been greatly facilitated by the cooperation of an exceptional coadjutant in the person of Ahmad Saeed, who had a previous personal interest in the traditions of his people which had brought him to investigate their past. Major Saeed provided us with a most interesting Farsi manuscript, dated 1962, in which one Mirza Guldali Shah put down in poetry the oral traditions of the people of Ashret. The manuscript is accompanied by an extensive collection of genealogies of the community, dated 1958. This material was in possession of Ahmad Saeed's family because his father, Qazi Saeed Mohammad, had been the promoter and inspirer of the work. Major Saeed himself had reported in English about the two texts—integrating them with some further material—in a paper written in 1987, which he most kindly put at our disposal.

Our brief fieldwork in Ashret has therefore aimed at investigating the background and context of these sources.

The valley of Ashret (Palula: acar'et; Khowar: asur'et) is almost entirely inhabited by Palula, with some families of Pathan, Kho, and Gujar people. In a fairly recent past, the population of the valley was concentrated in the area of Ashret proper, often called Grom by the people, but nowadays it is dispersed in a considerable number of small villages lined up on the valley bottom between Lotingha (the lowest settlement, home of the one lineage of Kalasha descent) and Ziarat, where the Chitral Scouts' fort now stands. The largest villages, apart from Grom, are Pherma and Shaladesh on the right of the river, and Kotgha and Baradam on the left. All of these have a population of twenty-five to fifty households each. Mirkhani, at the mouth of the valley, belonged to the Palula in the past, but is now occupied by Pathans.

The bulk of the population of Ashret is considered to have descended from a single ancestor, identified as the above-mentioned Choke, son of Machoke. His offspring are divided in two moiety-like halves, the Gabarote and Gilshinge, which in turn comprise a total of ten minimal lineages. We have recorded on the field the current simplified representation of the underlying genealogical structure (Fig. 8), to be compared with the recordings of Guldali Shah (Fig. 43.5).

Residence and land of the members of a minimal lineage are not territorially concentrated, because when the land was divided, in order to obtain a fair distribution of the various qualities of soil, shares of each area were allotted to members of different lineages. This custom is clearly borrowed from the Pathans (MacMahon 1901: 41–43), and distinguishes the Ashreti from the Kalasha, whose lineages are usually territorially concentrated. No *wesh* system, however, was ever adopted by the Palula.

Three divisions of land (*bhaghain'i*) are remembered: the first one, between thirty households some time after Matroy (see Fig. 43.5), the second, between sixty families, and the third one in recent times between 140. Incidentally, this shows that the population increase recorded elsewhere in Chitral (Haserodt 1990) has taken place in Ashret as well. The object of the division was previously uncultivated land belonging to the community as such, which was then irrigated and put under cultivation by those who received it.

Furthermore, there are four lineages (Kharate, Phandare, Phatake, and Jankhane) that are not considered descendants of Choke and apparently had an inferior social status in the past, though they were not specialized artisans. Of these, the Jankhane are considered of Kalasha descent, while various disparate tales are told about the others (Saeed 1987: 23–24). They have acquired land only recently and have mostly been associated to one of the 'regular'

lineages. We could not find any specific Palula term comparable to *bh'aira* to designate them as a whole. But let us now come to the poem and its background.

The author of the poem and collector of the genealogies, Mirza Guldali Shah, was from a hamlet known as Dirgot in the side valley of Kotgha in Ashret. He was born around the end of the last century, though the date 1893 given by Ahmad Saeed is merely conjectural. The son of one Said Wali of the Zarine lineage, he belonged to an average family of small land owners and stock owners, but somehow had a chance to study at a *madrasa* in Mazo Garai, near Mardan. He came back from there a young man, possibly the very first member of the community who could read and write, with the title of *mirza*, a scribe. However, he did not follow a religious career, but spent the rest of his time in Ashret leading the life of a peasant and shepherd, working the fields and taking to the high pastures in the summer. He got married and had two sons, who had both died of an early death by 1993, though their children were living.

We have met several people who had known him well, and described him as an intelligent, active, and rather temperamental man, who dedicated many years of his life to inquire with the elders about the traditions of the tribe. He was also politically active in the Muslim League in the early days of Pakistan, when Chitral was still a princely state, and the league was raising a popular movement against the *mehtar's* rule. As part of such movement, Mirza Guldali created around 1951 a small primary school in Ashret, in political competition with the one opened by the *mehtar*. The school only lasted some three years, but one of his pupils, Mohammad Afzal, has followed up on the work of his teacher after his death (in 1962, according to Ahmad Saeed) and has completed and updated the genealogies.

Of the two manuscripts left by Mirza Guldali, the first one contains a long poem of 439 *motaqareb* verses handwritten in Farsi,⁹ apparently by the author himself, narrating the story of Choke and his descendants, while the other one consists of five pages containing a general genealogy of the community with over 600 entries of masculine names.

Though the poem is dated 1962 and the genealogies 1958, at least four different informants insisted that both had been written before World War II, when the author was still 'a strong man.' The present manuscripts may therefore be only the definitive compilation of texts written over a long period of time.

The most interesting of the two is, of course, the poem, entitled 'Tarikh-e-Ashret,' which contains the oral history of the community. Its text may be divided into four sections. After the preliminary invocations (vv. 1–17), the first part (vv. 18–44) tells of events in Chilas and of Choke's migration to Chitral. Then a long second part (vv. 45–214) describes the war between Choke and the Kalasha who previously inhabited the area, while the following third part (vv. 215–325) relates the wars between Choke's people and the other communities of southern Chitral (Dameli and Gawar) in the time of the Ra'is *mehtar*. Part four (vv. 326–415) synthesizes events from the Kator era to the present, eulogizing some of the more recent prominent members of the community, and closes with the indication of date (5 August 1962), title ('Tarikh-e-Ashret') and author (Guldali Shah). It is followed by a postscriptum (vv. 416–39) in the same verse, containing a list of the *mal'iks* of Ashret over nine generations.

The first question raised by this text is to what extent, especially in the first three parts, did Guldali Shah actually rely on oral traditions reported by elders, and to what extent did he possibly manufacture himself the narration.

We have good reasons to believe that the latter is not the case. In the first place, our informants stated that Mirza Guldali spent a long time questioning all the elders of the valley about their memories of the past, and discussing and comparing the different versions. We have met ourselves several people who remembered him in this activity, and many had

memory of an elder who was one of his main sources, an illiterate man named Hayat Mir of the Baloke lineage, with a prodigious memory and a knack for forecasting weather.

In the second place, the names of ancient settlements and landmarks mentioned in the poem are all well-known to people today, who often have stories about them to integrate and specify the narration of Mirza Guldali. In the last place, versions of parts of this story have been reported to us from other parts of the area, such as Damel (Aug. Cacopardo this volume) and Nuristan.

All this, of course, does not imply that the story is true, but it does indicate that it is not a fantasy of the author, but the content of a tradition transmitted over the centuries by the collective memory of the community.

What Guldali Shah may have done is select among different versions, modify connections and details of different stories to make them compatible, integrate perhaps at times a story for some specific 'ideological' purpose. In other words, his work may have been similar to that of the compiler (or compilers) of the Homeric epics. Even the time span separating Guldali Shah from the events he sings of may be, as we shall see, similar to that between 'Homer' and the war of Troy, that is, four or five centuries. But whereas the compiler of the Greek epic is likely to have worked on the basis of oral texts transmitted by the tradition in a formalized poetic metre, in the time of Mirza Guldali, according to our informants, there were no traditional songs in Palula relating the epic. Since we have found traces of one such song in Damel, it seems likely that the Palula too had poetic compositions on the subject in pre-Islamic times, but these, apparently, have not been preserved. In recent times the transmission of the stories has taken place in prose form, and in non-ritual and informal contexts, such as evening conversations around the fire.

After the preliminaries, the first part of the text tells how, upon the death of Machoke in Chilas, the eldest of his four sons, unnamed in the poem, took over his father's position and entered into a conflict with his younger brothers, who would not accept his authority and finally decided to leave. The poem does not describe their itinerary from Chilas, but states that they came to Chitral and from there to Drosh, where the three brothers separated: one went to Kelas in Shishi Kuh,¹⁰ one to Sau in Kunar, while Choke settled in Ashret.

A comparison of this story with the oral tradition collected by Inayatullah Faizi (1989) in Laspur about the Choke-Machoke migration shows that the two versions differ in names and specific details, which proves that they have been transmitted independently, but are strikingly similar in the narration of events in Chilas.

Though conflicts between brothers are often reported as a standard cause for migrations in this area, they usually refer to small-size feuds involving only a few families. In the case of Choke-Machoke, on the contrary, there seems to have been a large-scale conflict of a political nature, ending with the migration of a considerable number of people in different directions.¹¹ The political nature of the conflict is evident in both versions. In the Ashreti poem, the younger brothers are faced with 'cruelty and oppression,' because the elder brother 'exhibits authority'; they form a party opposing the ruler ('the eldest brother was on one side/ the other three brothers remained on the other side') and finally decide to leave. In Faizi's version, the elder brother, named Bote (meaning 'ruler' in 'the local dialect'), 'installed himself as chieftain of the area,' thus provoking the rebellion of the younger brothers Choke-Machoke.

What may be reflected in this story is an attempt to establish a rulership over a formerly acephalous community, met by the opposition of a part of its members: an episode in the long-standing confrontation between a centralized political model and a decentralized 'tribal' arrangement which, in our view, has characterized the history of this area and dates back to Vedic times (Majumdar et al. 1946: 29). This opposition has been remarked in the area by

various scholars, including Barth (1956: 79–86), Staley (1969), and Ahmed (1976: 73–83). Of course, this specific hypothesis ought to be argued in comparison with other sources on Chilas, including historical ones, which have been widely studied, though maybe not yet with conclusive results (see, e.g., Tucci 1977 and, for a recent assessment, Jettmar 1995): but this is no place for such an analysis.

It seems clear, in any case, that 'Choke' did not bring with him to Ashret a centralized political model, but rather an acephalous one, since Guldali's epic, which is very emphatic in describing the 'kingly' qualities of the local Kalasha rulers, never ascribes to Choke or his descendants any of the attributes of rulership. At any rate, the dialectics between these two models is, as we shall see, somewhat of a leit-motiv in the subsequent events that take place after Choke's arrival in Ashret.

The dating of this arrival is, of course, quite problematic. According to Guldali's manuscript, it took place shortly before the conquest of southern Chitral by the Ra'ise, an event which is itself not easy to date (Holzwarth 1991), apart from the fact that such an indication cannot be considered historically reliable. However, we can get some hints from the genealogies collected by Guldali Shah, which place Choke in the twelfth generation above the poet himself. If the genealogies were correct and complete, then (allowing twenty-five years per generation) Choke's birth should be placed around 1600 AD and the migration in the first half of the seventeenth century. It seems safe to state that it is not likely to have taken place much later than that, but it may have happened at some unspecified earlier time. This is compatible with linguistic evidence (Morgenstierne 1941: 8). Altogether, though the dating of the migration remains uncertain, there can be no doubt that the Palula speakers of Chitral are the descendants of people who emigrated there from the Shina areas a number of centuries ago (see also Buddruss 1967: 11; Decker 1992: 71–72).

According to Saeed (1987: 4), when Choke came to Ashret,

the valley was densely forested with varieties of fruit trees and provided rich pasture for the animals and game for the hunters. It is said that the nullah of Ashret was thickly covered with trees with vines over them and the nullah bed was lush green with small streams of water flowing under them.

This description of ancient Ashret as a kind of primordial Eden, which contrasts sharply with the barren condition of the valley today, is widely repeated by its present inhabitants, though Guldali's poem does not mention it.

According to the poem, at any rate, Choke found the Kalasha inhabiting twelve villages in the valley, the biggest of which was called Majarkot, located, according to our field sources, where Ashret proper (Grom) now stands. Guldali specifies that the Kalasha were idolaters and were subject to Nagar Shah, ruler 'with tyranny and terror' of Nagar and the surrounding area. In what this tyranny exactly consisted Guldali does not say, but Saeed (1987: 5) states that Nagar Shah exacted from the people of Ashret an yearly tribute of twelve goatskins (or bullskins) of wine made from achhu berries. This is the only instance in which we have heard mention of internal tribute being paid among the Kalasha, since, according to our sources in Kalashgum, the so-called Kalasha 'kings' like Rajawai and Bulasing did not receive tribute from their people.

However, according to Mirza Guldali, the Kalasha were not ready to accept such a submission and made an alliance with Choke, arranging to send news to Nagar Shah that the Ashretis were in revolt: when the tyrant left on horseback with his men, he was ambushed on the way. The place where he was killed is still pointed at, not far from Mirkhani up the valley, and some streaks of red minerals on a rock wall above the river are said to be the mark of the

blood of Nagar Shah. His death put an end to the tyranny and 'after him nobody remained on his throne,' as the poem puts it.

What is likely to be true of this story? That the Kalasha occupied the Ashret valley before the Palula seems hard to doubt, since many place names seem to be of Kalasha origin (even Ashret itself has the typical -ret ending of Kalasha toponyms) and their patrilineal descendants still live there.

The figure of Nagar Shah, on the other hand, is quite interesting, especially since it had never been mentioned in the existing literature. Altogether, it is hard to imagine this ruler as the sovereign of an established 'kingdom' comparable to that of the Katore. It is more probable that Choke, arriving in southern Chitral, found a situation similar to the one that, according to our hypothesis, he had left behind in Chilas: the attempt of a leading figure to establish a rulership over previously acephalous 'tribal' communities. Ashret was another example, in other words, of the conflict between the two models mentioned above. What seems to emerge here is an image of the history of southern Chitral prior to the Muslim conquest, quite different from that of an established Kalasha 'kingdom.' The famous Rajawai (like Nagar Shah) may have been only one of a number of chieftains trying to establish their predominance over the Kalasha communities (Wazir Ali Shah 1974: 70), thus creating a situation of generalized conflict and unrest that finally resulted in political submission to the Muslim rulers.

This picture is confirmed by the continuation of the story. In Guldali's narrative, once he had eliminated Nagar Shah, Choke decided to wage a *jihad* against the Kalasha unbelievers, who would not accept the light of Islam, and sought the alliance of a famous saint then living in Dir, Baba Akhund,¹² who joined him at the head of his soldiers and came to Ashret.

Guldali here implies that Choke was converted at the hands of Baba Akhund and then proceeded to spread the word of the faith in his newfound homeland. Saeed (Photo 43.2) (1987: 10), however, cast doubt in his paper about the veridicality of such an early conversion of the Palula, on the basis of the un-Islamic names that prevail in the genealogies until quite recent times. As we have seen, his suspicions have been confirmed by the retrieval of Auguste Court's document. A dating of the conversion between 1840 and the 1880s agrees with the distribution of names in the genealogies, where Muslim names become clearly prevalent only in the third generation above Guldali Shah. It also agrees with the information we collected about the first mosques in the valley. The very first one was said to have been built in Phalosteli, not far from Ashret proper, by one Mast *mullah*, son of Gabarote, who is in the fourth generation above Guldali, like the founder of the second mosque, Mullah Mohammad Said, who had studied somewhere south, beyond the Lowarai Pass, and constructed the building in the area called Khaladi of Ashret proper. Both of these mosques no longer exist.

The conversion must therefore have taken place under Pathan influence from the south much later than Mirza Guldali implied. This is only another example of the general tendency in the area to antedate conversion, on which we have already commented elsewhere. Our informants denied any knowledge about the circumstances of conversion.

Coming back to Guldali's story, we find Choke laying siege with Baba Akhund to the fort of Rahli Kot, the stronghold of another Kalasha chief, who, according to Saeed, had been a tributary of Nagar Shah. In the poem he is hyperbolically described as a great sovereign 'whose fame reached everywhere in the world' and who 'held unlimited honour and dignity.' Here the poem goes into a detailed narration of the capture of Rahli Kot, which is really the transposition of a mythical theme that is widely diffused in Northern Pakistan. We shall call it the story of the Fortress Betrayed: the Ashreti version of it may be thus synthesized.

Photo 43.2 Major (Rtd) Ahmad Saeed of Ashret

The fort was impregnable by force. The attackers decide to keep their siege and wait for supplies to be exhausted. But the fort has a secret underground pipe made with markhor horns (carrying water from the spring of Surmichan, Saeed specifies), that enables it to resist indefinitely. In the fort there is a beautiful princess, daughter of the chief, who falls in love with a soldier of Choke. She discloses the secret to him. To find the underground pipe, horses are kept without water for three days and then left free to roam until they unearth the buried pipe with their hooves. The water supply is cut, the fort surrenders.

Elements of the story of the Fortress Betrayed have been recorded in many places throughout the area (Inayat-ur-Rahman 1968: 8–9; Ghulam Muhammad 1980: 47 and Schomberg 1935: 249; Ghulam Murtaza 1982: 38; Aug. Cacopardo this volume. For some of the historical realities underlying this cliché, see Biddulph 1880: 91–92, Robertson 1896: 479–80).

What historical truth is behind this legend in the case of Ashret, however, is hard to tell: all we can say is that there certainly was a settlement in Rahli Kot in the past, since its ruins are still visible, as we learned through the quick visit we paid to the site in 1993. Though we could not detect with certainty traces of a circle of walls, there are evident remnants of a sizeable settlement, which was naturally fortified by its position on top of the hill that dominates from the south the present Ashret proper.

After the capture of Rahli Kot, Choke goes on to attack and destroy the village of Dir-o-Dand. He then launches a final attack by surprise when all the surviving Kalasha are assembled at the site of Maton Theni (again in the area of Ashret proper) for a funeral celebration. Here Guldali gives some details about Kalasha customs ('the tradition was that they would sing the eulogies of the defunct / all of them would dance and make celebrations'), that, however, may be based on the knowledge of his unconverted contemporaries rather than on transmitted memories. Once again, the story of the massacre of an entire population on the occasion of a large festival or banquet is a recurrent theme in this and other areas. But documented instances of such episodes (Caroe 1958: 174–75) show that it must also have been a recurrent historical event. As we shall see, it occurs more than once in this poem.

What the poem does not relate, somewhat surprisingly, is a story commonly told in Ashret, according to which the massacre of the Kalasha left two survivors, a boy and a girl, who escaped the fall of Rahli Kot and took to the forest, where they lived in a cave for many years (Saeed 1987: 21–22). They were finally discovered by a shepherd who brought them back to the village, where they got married and lived to have children. Their descendants are the members of the Jankhane lineage, who, as we have seen, speak Palula and live mainly in the village of Lotingha. Once more, the theme of a couple (or single) surviving a massacre is a common one and we have recorded variants of it in almost every valley of southern Chitral.

This second part of the poem concludes with the return of Baba Akhund to Dir: from then on, a tribute of an unspecified quantity of *ghee* was paid to Dir 'as a token of gratitude,' a custom, says the poem, which continued until the time of Mohammad Sharif Khan, the first *nawab* of Dir, who, as we have seen, recognized the present boundaries with Chitral. This confirms the former links of the Palula with the Dir *khanate*.

At this point of the poem, suddenly the Ra'ise come in, and it is said:

At that time Katura was not known. In all Chitral Rais was the ruler/He did not have anything like begar [forced labour]/ Nor were our ancestors subject to *qalang*.

This abrupt appearance of the first Muslim rulers of Chitral as some kind of benevolent overlords who did not exact any form of tribute, may reflect a relationship of alliance common in the area between rulers of states and neighbouring chieftains or tribes, involving exemption from taxes and de facto independence, in exchange for military services and political loyalty (see for example Biddulph 1880: 31–32).

What seems clear, at any rate, is that the first establishment of actual Ra'ise power (or influence) over the area south of Drosh was connected with the conflicts between the Ashretis, the Damelis, and the Arandu people, which are the subject of the third part of the poem.

Once in full control of the Ashret valley, Choke establishes an alliance with the neighbouring Dameli people and marries a sister of their *mal'ik*. Some time after that, he goes with all his men to pay a visit to Damel, where he is received with lavish festivities, dances, and 'the roaring sound of trumpets and drums.' At the time of parting, Choke asks for a gift: an arrow for each of his men. The gift is happily granted, and they all return to Ashret. After a year, Choke sends a messenger to announce another visit to Damel. Again he is happily

entertained and again he asks for the same gift as the previous year. The *mal'ik* again shows pleasure in satisfying his request: but 'in his mind,' says the poem, 'he got worried and preoccupied beyond limits,' fearing that 'this custom would keep going on forever.' In other words, as Saeed (1987: 12) explains, that the gift would turn into a permanent tribute, the token of the Palulas' authority over the Damelis.

This episode is particularly interesting because it is an emblematic example of the ambiguity of gift. The *mal'ik* of Damel interprets the gift in terms of 'tribal' ethics, in which the giver of wealth is in a position of superiority: if the gift is not repaid, the giver acquires prestige over the receiver. Choke, on the contrary, interprets it in terms of a hierarchic model in which the giver is subject to the authority of the receiver and the gift becomes compulsory under the form of tribute. This is not in contradiction with the fact that the Palula social organization was, to all appearances, of the acephalous type. In any preliterate society, the ethics applied to relations within the group are not the same as those applied in external relationships with other communities: this is true even today in southern Chitral. What Choke is trying to do is establish an authority over his neighbours, which is probably what every group was trying to do to the others in those turbulent times. That internal relations among the Palula remained of an egalitarian character is shown by the very structure of this tribute, which does not go to the benefit of a leader, but of all the members of the community.

At any rate, in this instance, Choke's attempt does not prove successful. After Choke's departure, the Dameli quickly arrange a punitive expedition. Crossing one of the mountain passes, they reach Katar Gha in the Ashret valley and send some scouts from there to Shayebi, the village where Choke lived. The scouts are received with lavish festivities. When the Ashreti fall asleep in the middle of the night, the Dameli attack them and carry out the usual massacre. The only survivor, this time, is Bota, the son that Choke had begotten from his Dameli wife, who is taken to Damel and there grows up.

As we have seen, there is a Dameli version of this story, which, however, differs in several details: the marriage takes place one generation before the gift; the receiver of the gift has nothing to do with the marriage, but is an unnamed man from Rahli Kot who has made a brotherhood ceremony (*dram*) with a Dameli called Matakim (Mohammad Hakim); the son born from the marriage is Metroy (who appears as son of Bota in Guldali's genealogies); the occasion for the war is slightly different. But the substance of the story is the same: an alliance between the groups, a conflicting interpretation of a gift, a victorious attack of the Dameli against Ashret. Since the differences, however, suffice to show that the two versions have been transmitted independently, the conflict seems likely to be a historical fact.

In Guldali's text, however, the story continues. Once grown up, Bota learns about his people's ill fate and decides to take revenge. He goes back to Ashret and settles there. Then he goes to Chitral to the court of the Ra'is and obtains men and weapons from him, promising to subdue Lower Chitral down to Arandu and Ram (Ramram), land of the Gabar (Gawar). He then proceeds to attack the Dameli at Malod and, as usual, exterminates them at the end of a festival. Having taken full revenge, he continues his campaign to Arandu, where, this time, a full-fledged battle takes place, ending with the defeat of the Gawar. A further attack on Ram also ends in a success and 'from Arandu to the place of Narisat' all the Gawar are subjugated. This third part of the poem ends with Bota receiving 'many robes of honour and clean clothes' from the hands of the grateful Ra'is.

This part of the story seems to be only the Palula version of an epic cycle concerning what may have been the first campaign of a Chitrali ruler in the extreme south, a cycle of which we have found traces in various parts of the area. In Damel there are three different versions of the story of the capture of Malod (or Malu), all considering it a stronghold of the Kalasha and

not of the Dameli, and all mentioning the decisive contribution of a Chitrali ruler to the campaign (Aug. Cacopardo this volume). History may repeat itself, but it may also be multiplied by legend: it is hard to tell whether Malu was captured more than once, or whether the stories all refer to the same events. The same is true of the conquest of Arandu and Ramram: again we have three versions (Palula, Dameli, and Jashi), with different heroes and circumstances, all however involving the intervention of a Chitrali ruler. What we are allowed to conclude is that somebody must have captured Malu, and somebody must have captured Arandu in alliance with some Chitrali ruler. We may infer that these events refer to the first subjugation of the south Chitral peoples by one of the Muslim rulers that held Chitral before the Katore, which the tradition refers to as Ra'is. This 'subjugation,' however, certainly did not bring about the conversion to Islam of these people, who, with the possible exception of the Gawar, remained unconverted for many centuries thereafter.

The fourth part of Guldali Shah's 'Tarikh-e-Ashret' opens with a very dismal picture of the Katore period, beginning with their usurpation of the Rais's throne, then mentioning the continuous conflicts between relatives and emphasizing the oppressive character of their rule ('They stretched their hands to afflict the people / They distressed extremely the poor people'), to quickly come down to the arrival of the British with the following words:

'They were red-faced and resembled Satan (Iblis) in complexion, / To the hands of Katura, as in the past times / They gave this whole country of Chitral, / The autocratic rule kept going on, / Due to fear and terror everyone kept silent, / at the time when Pakistan was created / It was a great relief to the poor people.

These verses reflect pretty effectively the feelings of the majority of the people of southern Chitral about the Katore's rule and the support given to them by the British.

The rest of the poem is dedicated to the eulogy of three recent prominent figures from Ashret, all belonging to the Brambaroke, or Mullah Khel lineage: Pir Shah, a famous saint better known as Mullah Sahib Ashreti (Ghulam Murtaza 1982: 380), who was a pupil of Abdul Ghafur, the great Akhund of Swat (Caroe 1958: 362-63; *Imperial Gazetteer of India* 1991: 218); his nephew Abdul Karim who was appointed *qazi* of Gabarong (the area south of Mirkhani) by Shuja-ul-Mulk and cooperated with Guldali Shah in recording the genealogies; and finally Saeed Mohammad, father of Major Ahmad Saeed, who received the same appointment from Nasir-ul-Mulk.

At this point, as we have seen, after the closing with date, title, and author, the poem continues with a list of all the *maliks* of Ashret from the 'first Malik,' Mir Phagul, 'who had full control over the masses,' to the last one, Abdul Hakim, son of the above-mentioned Abdul Karim, after which 'this title came to its end,' suppressed by government. If we compare this list with Guldali's genealogies, we find that the first two *maliks* appear in the ninth generation above our informants, which shows that the title must have been introduced in late pre-Islamic times. We also find that the office was at times transmitted hereditarily for two or three generations, but has shifted both lineage and 'moiety' more than once.

That this was a monocratic position is clearly emphasized in the poem with expressions such as

One after the other they functioned as such / Some times this one, the other time another one',

But it is interesting to note that the *mal'ik* is never described as either appointed or elected, but seems to emerge of his own out of the will of God or the force of fate. Thus, Zamin Shah 'emerged in that lineage,' his son Mohammad Shah 'became famous,' then 'the course of fate

turned in a way that Bami Mohammad emerged as memorable,' while later Nayab Shah 'came on the scene' and 'it so happened' that Abbas Khan 'emerged as *mal'ik*.' Finally, how did Abdul Karim (who earlier in the poem had been 'appointed Qazi of Gabarong') become a *mal'ik*? Because 'it thus happened with the grace of God.'

Thus goes the poem. Altogether, this text provides of course a lot of precious information, but, as we have seen, it seems to have little to say about the nature of the pre-Islamic society and culture of the Palula. This is clearly due to the fact that, though the present population does not show any form of embarrassment about the past, in the early decades of Islam there must have been (like in other areas of southern Chitral) a conscious effort on the part of the community to do away with the pre-Islamic heritage and remove all traces of their 'pagan' past from the collective memory of the society.

But if we put together the indications we have from our fieldwork with those from the written sources available, we do have some elements to describe that culture.

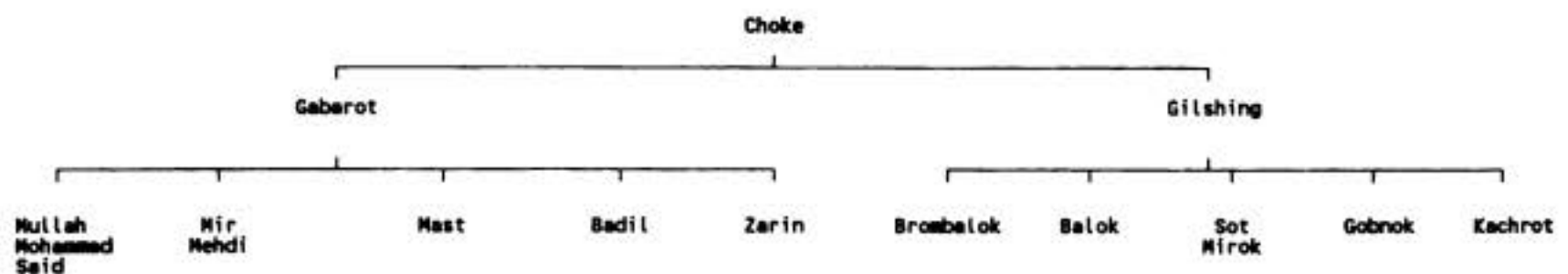
Its economic and strictly political aspects have already been dealt with, but a few remarks are necessary about some further aspects of the society.

1. The existence of small, subordinate lineages of 'servants' is documented in Ashret and probable in Biyori. Since they were said not to be specialized craftsmen, they would resemble the *bhaira* of the Kalasha more than the Nuristani *bāri* (Edelberg & Jones 1974: 102-03) or the Dom and Kamin of the Shina (Biddulph 1880: 39; Jettmar 1975: 236). There are clear indications that these groups did not freely intermarry with the regular lineages, but we do not know whether they had hypergamic relations with them or were strictly endogamous. Altogether, our Palula data does not confirm Biddulph's (1880: 65) information about the 'meaner castes' of southern Chitral, but this subject is still a very touchy one, and reliable notions about it are hard to obtain.
2. At any rate, such 'castes' were certainly a minority within a society that was largely egalitarian from the point of view of social status and distribution of wealth. The generality of the population belonged, like in the rest of southern Chitral, to what may be viewed as a large middle class with equal social status from the point of view of the communities, but was part of the *faqir-miskin* class from the point of view of the *mehtar's* state (Biddulph 1880: 62, 65). Families of emergent elders could probably gain a *yuft* (Scott 1937: 6; Schomberg 1938: 213, 216) status, though we have no clear data on that.
3. The structure of pre-Islamic lineages was probably quite different from the present one, as is the case in the surrounding areas, where it was based on an exogamic rule barring marriage with agnates (Robertson 1[1896] 974: 86; Jones 1974: 144; Loude & Lièvre 1984: 87). Exogamous kinship groups formerly existed among the Shina as well (Jettmar 1975: 229-30). A trace of exogamy is found in the fact that almost half of the marriages in the higher generations of the genealogies collected in Biyori are with women from different valleys, as opposed to the much smaller percentage in recent times. This fact, which is common to most of the south Chitral communities, probably reflects a time when population scarcity made it difficult to comply with the exogamic rule when marrying within the valley. On the other hand, we have seen that lineage exogamy is still the prevailing, though not exclusive, practice in Biyori.
4. A further indication about the pre-Islamic kinship structure can possibly be seen in the traces of a moiety-like dichotomic division found, as we have seen, in both valleys. In Ashret, we may recall, the two 'moieties' are defined through a simplification of the actual genealogies (as represented by Guldali Shah), which we have recorded from our informants on the field (see Fig. 43.6). The relation between this simplified image and the more

complete representation is strikingly similar to that observed in Ramboor for the same phenomenon (Parkes 1983: 374, 382, 388). Unlike classical moieties, at any rate, the existence of these halves as exogamic units is, among the Kalasha, only a temporary phase in the dynamic development of a structure which is destined to produce a plurality of exogamic groups. Kalasha 'moieties,' however, survive their exogamic function to maintain ritual and social relevance in various contexts. Their persistence among the Palula may indicate that this unit was of considerable significance in their pre-Islamic culture.

5. Another pre-Islamic custom may be reflected in the institution of *matiza*, the Palula equivalent of the Kalasha *alas'ing* (Parkes 1987: 641–42). According to our informants, this was a frequent event in their youth, but has become rare nowadays, and the last instance in Ashret occurred in 1984, ending with the exile of the couple. Among the Palula, if a woman elopes with a man, her husband has the right to kill the couple without being subject to the sanction of blood price (*nek*), which is the most frequent case, but he is free to accept an atonement through a payment, also called *nek*, which, according to one informant, was fixed once at 100 goats and 100 rupees, when forty goats and 100 rupees were a normal bridewealth payment (*mahr*). If the elopement takes place before any marriage agreement (*khekh'i*) for the woman has taken place, then the matter can be settled even today with the payment of a bull and other gifts to the father, followed by the wedding. This payment is not counted in the *mahr*.

Fig. 43.6 The Simplified Image of Choke's Genealogy



The simplified image of Choke's genealogy as recorded from Mohammad Tazim in Ashret, 25 Jul. 1993.

As far as the religious aspects of pre-Islamic Palula culture are concerned, some clues are given by Biddulph and the Court document. Talking about the impurity of cows among the Shina, Biddulph (1880: 113) states: 'This feeling regarding the cow and domestic fowls is not shared by any other tribe in the Hindu Kush, except by a small one in Chitral, to whom the name of Dangarik is also applied by their neighbours, and by the Kalash Kafirs, who dwell close to them.' In our fieldwork we have found no trace of this concept, which confirms that conversion was still recent in Biddulph's time, despite his statement to the contrary (1880: 64).

More details can be found in the Court document, through the words of Tak and Shamlar. Their idea about the Palula is thus synthesized:

There is one section (*firqa*) in Chitral practising idol worship. They have fabricated twelve idols and prostrate themselves before them. And they do call these idols God. And women and men do assemble in one place and go to the idol temple and there they amuse themselves and there they drink wine. And this section is called Dangarik. (Holzwarth 1993: 7)

If these notions are true, they would establish the following points: 1) the Palula had anthropomorphic effigies of divinities; 2) some of these effigies were kept in a covered temple; 3) these temples were used for rituals involving men and women; 4) ritual use of wine was common.

To our knowledge, neither temples nor 'idols' are mentioned in the literature on the Shina; anthropomorphic representations of deities do not exist among the Kalasha, but did among the pre-Islamic Nuristani; covered temples ritually used by men and women are present in both cases, but, apparently, only in Presungul were idols kept in them (Robertson 1896: 496); ritual use of wine was a practice everywhere in the region.

Our field data adds something, though not much, to this information. In Ashret, we were told that *naš'eli* was the Palula word for the women's confinement house. People remembered the site of two of these, one inside a cave in the valley of Kotgha and the other close to a canal below Dir-o-dand. Traces of this institution, well-known among the Kalasha and Nuristani, have been found among the Shina (Jettmar 1975: 228).

Further data from our fieldwork provides indications about some of the supernatural beings of pre-Islamic times. We have already mentioned the belief in the *peirein'i* and the *rui*, which we have also found in Ashret, where another word used for witch-like beings was *tath'eki*. Though the *rui* complex is well-known among the Shina, this word is known also to the Kalasha (Morgenstierne 1973: 158, *r'uži*; Lièvre & Loude 1990: 541), who however, in our experience, use more frequently the term *gorw'au* (known also in Chitral and Bashgal).

Finally, an unusually cute category is that of the *deu puš'ok* ('kitten spirits') of Ashret. These are tiny, harmless gnomes dressed in a goat-wool coat (*kočeri*), who steal food at night from the houses and hair from the goats for their coats. If they are caught and stripped of their garment, they will be bound to serve their captor.

Our conclusions on the pre-Islamic culture of the Palula may be summed up as follows. The division of labour between genders, the impurity of women testified by the *naš'eli*, the impurity of cows and of domestic fowl mentioned by Biddulph, the belief in fairy-spirit lords of high mountains and summer pastures, and the existence of moiety-like kinship units are all expressions of the basic dichotomic division between pure and impure which is at the root of the religious system of the Kalasha. This dichotomy, however, is part of that core of basic conceptions about the world that is common to all the documented pre-Islamic cultures of the area, including the Shina (Jettmar 1975: 215–20). As we may have expected, the Palula are no exception.

If we look for elements to distinguish them or to associate them to any one of the other known cultures, what we find is not very much. We have some elements in the culture that seem typically Nuristani, like the dairy production or the 'idols' of the Court document (which, of course, may be a fantasy of Tak and Shamlar). 'Moieties' seem to us typical of the Kalasha, but their presence elsewhere may have escaped our attention. The unspecialized subordinate lineages are another typically Kalasha element, while the impurity of cows is common to Kalasha and Shina, and we have found traces of it in Damel (Aug. Cacopardo this volume). The only element that seems typically Shina at first sight is the belief in *rui*, but even this boils down to a matter of names, since the *gorw'au* are commonly identified with the *rui* in cross-cultural conversation, and the belief in witches is widely spread in the surrounding area (Tucci 1977: 68–69).

Altogether, we may suppose that the Palula came to Chitral with a Shina culture that, being easily translatable in the terms of the local cultures of southern Chitral, underwent an evolution through mutual influences. We must keep in mind that the Palula bordered directly with at least three different pre-Islamic cultures: the Bashgali Jashi, who, probably since the eighteenth century, lived in Badugal, between Ashret and Biyori; the Kalasha, who coexisted with them

in their valleys; and the Dameli to the southwest. And to these we must add the pre-Islamic culture of Dir Kohistan, about which almost nothing is known. The Palula may have brought an influence of their own on the surrounding peoples, especially the Kalasha and the Dameli, but they may very well have absorbed many influences from their neighbours. The dynamics of intercultural relations in such a closely knit fabric of different and similar traditions must have been something fascinating at the time: unfortunately, they remain a mystery to us.

NOTES

1. This article deals with part of the results of an ethnographic field research on the peoples of southern Chitral carried out between 1989 and 1995 in cooperation with Augusto Cacopardo, author of the parallel article on Damel in the present volume. The research has been funded by the National Council for Research of Italy and supported by the former Istituto per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente (Is.M.E.O.), now the Istituto per l'Africa e l'Oriente (Is.I.A.O.), Rome.

Our work on the Palula, and indeed on the whole of southern Chitral, has taken great advantage of the help of two prominent leaders of the community, Qazi Saeed Ahmad of Ashret and his brother Major (Rtd.) Ahmad Saeed, who, as we shall see further, had himself investigated the traditions of his people and took great interest in our activities. His contribution to this research has been invaluable, through lengthy discussions, arrangements for fieldwork, travel, translations, and so on. We are also in debt to all the people who helped us and generously hosted us in their villages, and particularly to Fazl-i Rahim of Biyori proper, Attir Ullah of Damaret, Seif-ur Rahman and Ghazi Khan of Mingal.

Our fieldwork in Palula territory took place through three visits in September 1990 (Biyori) and July 1993 (Biyori and Ashret), during which we questioned some thirty different informants. Information concerning the Palula, however, was collected from various sources during our whole fieldwork in southern Chitral in the summers of 1989, 1990, 1993, and 1995.

2. Gurdon (Morgenstierne 1941: 6) used the correct form, as well as Morgenstierne himself in his preliminary report (Morgenstierne 1932: 54). The reason why he switched to the other form in his 1941 monograph is not clear. The only variant we have found on the field was the use of pawul'a for the language by some speakers in Biyori, who used, however, the standard form pal'ula for the people.
3. The results of our inquiries on the Kalasha of Kalkatak are in Alb. Cacopardo 1991: 289–91, 307. See also Biddulph 1880: 64, Morgenstierne 1941: 6, and Decker 1992: 75 and *passim*.
4. The origin and meaning of this term have been discussed since Biddulph's time (see Decker 1992: 69). For our part, we can only confirm that the term is often used by the Palula themselves, though many consider it derogatory and tend to avoid it.
5. Compare with Fussman 1988: 60 on Nuristan: 'Il existe des groupements de gens qui ont conscience de parler la même langue (Kati, Waigali...); ces groupements sont théoriques et réellement subdivisés en tribus définies... par un habitat commun, généralement une vallée.'
6. The reader will forgive us if we apply this and other controversial terms without a precise definition: the discussion would take us too far.
7. The revised published version of this paper (Holzwarth 1994) does not include the passage on the Dangarik.
8. The Palula may be the 'Dangini' (Dangarik?) mentioned in the 'Davies' Trade Report' quoted by Leitner (1894: 61), which states: 'The ruler of Chitral is in the habit of enslaving all persons from the tribes of Kalash, Dangini and Bashgali, idolaters living in the Chitral territory.'
9. The work has been translated into English for us by Mr Badal Khan of the Istituto Orientale of Naples. We hope to make it entirely available in a future publication. We wish to thank Dr Paola Orsatti, of the Università La Sapienza of Rome, for a preliminary analysis of the manuscript.
10. We could not visit Kelas during our fieldwork in Shishi Kuh, but it was occasionally indicated by some as a formerly Kalasha village (Alb. Cacopardo 1991: 279), while nobody had mentioned to us a Palula connection for this settlement.
11. Mass abandonments of an area as the outcome of a political conflict have long been common in the subcontinent, and we have recorded two recent episodes of this kind in Langurbat and Ramram, which we shall relate in a future publication. See also Augusto Cacopardo's article in this volume for a similar event in Damel.
12. This may refer to Akhund Ilyas, the founder of the ruling family of Dir (Ghulam Murtaza 1982: 376).

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SHAIKH 'ABDULLĀH KHĀN: A MOST REMARKABLE MAN FROM BUMBORET SHAIKHANANDEH

*Knut Kristiansen**

The military conquest of what is now called Nuristan in 1895/6 is fairly well-known from historical documents. It was followed by a period of forced Islamization. The old tribal religions were vehemently suppressed. A large part of the male population and many children were deported to Kabul. This was the beginning of a long and painful process. Kafiristan, the pagan land, soon transformed in to Nuristan, the land of the light.

Georg Buddruss has written about the Islamization as it is mirrored in oral traditions in Nuristan, in tales told by family members of the conquered. Schuyler Jones has also reported memories of what happened. Hasan Kakar did the same. But very few—almost nonexistent—are the records by eyewitnesses to these events.

There is at least one exception. A young boy, a chief's son from Bragromatal in the upper Bashgal valley witnessed the conquest, the rebellion which followed, and most important: he wrote a book in Urdu, a fine description of the old traditions of Bragromatal to which he added his own biography. His Kafir name was Āzar. As a Muslim he took the name 'Abdullāh Khān, Shaikh Muhammad 'Abdullāh Khān Sāhib.

Georg Morgenstierne met him in Bumboret, in Brumbutul, as his village was called at that time. Georg Morgenstierne was in a hurry. Exhausted after a summer of intensive fieldwork he was on the point of leaving Chitral to go back to Norway. He had heard about Āzar and his manuscript, but paid little attention to the man. There is no photograph of him in our archives. Fortunately he bought his book for The Norwegian Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture. Later he regretted very much that he had had no time to read it with the author, get it explained, and have an authentic commentary. He realized too late that he had come across a treasure.

In 1933 he started publishing part of a translation: 'A Káfir on Káfir Law: and Customs.' As my contribution to the first Hindu Kush cultural conference I continued with 'A Káfir on Káfir History and Festivals' and later sent out 'A Káfir on Káfir Life Cycle.' The whole book is now ready for publication. The text in Urdu will be photographed, this being necessary because ink in different colours has been used. There will also be a transliteration in Roman letters, necessary because of difficult geographical names and words in the Kati language of Bragromatal, and of course an English translation with my own notes. I hope to have the whole work published as soon as the budgetary situation of the institute permits. For full contents the reader will have to wait for this publication. The present study gives a little more of the background of 'Āzar's Book,' which is the title I will give it.

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Not all Kafirs in Bragromatal were subdued during the conquest in 1895. Some of them fled from the Bashgal valley. Āzar's father Kashimīr settled with some 600 followers in Brumbutul in Chitral. He was a well-known chief, a *sardar*. His paternal uncle was Mārū, identical with the Kan Mara mentioned by Robertson as being the autocratic chief of all the Bragromatal Katis. Āzar is very short on this:

My family is known by the name of The Royal Jāndārān Branch upon which other branches of the Kattees are dependent. My genealogical tree is as follows;

Sardār Marū

Sardār Šit

Sardār Jānū

Sardār Kun

Sardār Kashimīr

This humble sinner Shaikh 'Abdullāh Khān [note in purple ink:]

Sardār Āzar.

In celebration of the centenary I would like to add to the family tree: Three sons of Āzar: 'Abdul Samad, 'Abdul Wāhid, and 'Abdul Majīd Khān, who is the only son surviving. His son, Khalīlul Rahmān is my good friend with sons: Azīz and Jamīl. His sister's son is Hamīdullāh. In all, eight generations of an influential family.

Schuyler Jones (in a letter to Georg Morgenstierne, dated 2 April 1969) checked the genealogy in 1967 and added a more detailed list of the Jāndārān Branch, which was said to be twenty-two houses in Brumbutul today. From old men in Lutdeh (Bragromatal) he was at that time able to get two genealogies: one oral (total forty-four generations) and one written (total: forty generations). Āzar's book, the 'secret reports' used by Schuyler Jones, and genealogies from many informants make it in other words possible to reconstruct the story of an influential family from remote times in Afghanistan till the present day in Bumboret Shaikhanandeh (Brumbutul). And let us not forget the valley of Ramboor with the village of Ramboor Shaikhanandeh (Kuneisht) where Georg Morgenstierne studied pre-Islamic traditions in 1929 and took pictures, many of which will be included in my edition of 'Āzar's Book.'

Where did Āzar get his information from?

He grew up in a family with old cultural traditions. As the son of a mighty *sardar* he was able to follow the daily routines of his tribe. He was expected to take over one day. Tribal law would be his responsibility. It would be his duty to arrange countless festivals. When 1895 came, although a young boy, he seemed to be capable of mastering a whole culture. But what happened? The family was split. The main division staying in Afghanistan had become Muslims. But at least 600 followers of Kashimīr settled in new villages in Chitral. One day there came a message from Kabul. The *amīr* summoned him saying (I quote from the manuscript): 'Embrace Islam, come back to your own country and settle in peace.' And Āzar goes on:

When this order arrived, through the mercy of God Most High, he became illuminated by the Muhammedan light, broke the chains of idolatry, became participating of the faith of Islam and left for Kabul. Fate, however, did not allot him the food and drink of Kabul. But he enjoyed the intercession of The Prophet. Accordingly, before he arrived at his place of destination, he became on the road a martyr by the hand of his family's enemies, and he was buried in Kafiristan.

More than fifty pages of the manuscript give the main events of Āzar's life. It begins with Āzar's meeting with the white sahibs. This took place in 1897, at Brun in Bumboret, where a

doctor of the 25th Punjabis and another officer from a Gurkha regiment were fishing trout in the river. They wanted help from some boys. One of them was Āzar who got the job as a servant for Dr Harris and went with him to India. He stayed with him for a couple of years and later with his sister who wanted him to accompany her to England. He refused to go. He said that 'being separated from my home and family was just as to have the bandage taken away from my wounds and to have salt sprinkled.' Instead he got a new job with one Captain James and stayed with him. I do not know how long, but at least till 1908, which is the last date in the manuscript.

Most interesting is the story about his conversion to Islam. Away from his village and its social life and old religion, Āzar went through what I would call a religious crisis and a clash of two different cultures. It was at this time he wanted to describe and analyse his own background in his ancestral Bragromatal. Ill as he was, he was taken care of by his British masters who helped him when he decided he would become a Muslim. It is remarkable they never tried to make a Christian of him. He got no Bible. Perhaps they saw that what he needed, alone as he was, would be to join a new brotherhood. The conversion took place in the regiment's mosque in Peshawar. After this he was on leave at Drosh and later accompanied Captain James to Waziristan and passed vacations in hill-stations. Once he stayed at home and tried to convert his own village. 'Three months passed with reasoning and discussions.' It was all in vain. His leave was over, and he went back to Peshawar where '—the heat was so fierce that in the course of one day and night eight pairs of clothes got wet from transpiration and the time was passed in great distress.'

Distress is also what he feels when he thinks of his village:

One day it happened when I was sitting alone that the love of my country became so strong that it captivated my soul, and I was plunged into a sea of anxiety.—The more I reflected upon the future circumstances of my family—, the more my temper was upset. In the end, when I looked at all previous affairs of my family, comparing its former situation with its present condition, I burst out in exasperation: 'Woe to that chieftainship now gone with the power it brought us! What is the use of telling this story of oppression?' In short, when I surveyed the present state of my family comparing it with the former position, its sad plight gnawed at my liver and inflamed my brain—'

When the thoughts became unbearable he described the condition of his family to Captain James, who helped him to write a request through the medium of the Government of India to the *amīr* of Kabul, who was about to visit Lahore. Āzar got leave and was granted admission to the *amīr* who listened to his story and received his request. This was in 1907. A long correspondence with British authorities right up to the chief commissioner of the North-Western Frontier Provinces followed, but from Kabul no help came.

The manuscript gives through often stereotypical Islamic phrases from a new convert a very sympathetic picture of a remarkable man. He is glad to have found peace in Islam, but never says a harsh word about Hindus and Sikhs. He seems to have had friends only, and persons he comes into contact with are mentioned with gratitude and devotion. The picture he gives of the sahibs is touching. They treated him as their friend, helped him when he was sick and paid interested attention when he tried to help his village on the right way.

I have tried to follow Āzar's life after 1908. Fortunately his son has taken care of a few documents from later years: correspondence with Captain James who sends a last letter dated 2 June 1914, and a statement from one Captain Graham who writes from Chakdara in October 1913:

Bearer Abdulla Khan has been with me for the last 2 J excellent man in every way. Honest and reliable, and careful of one's kit. Quite a good man in camp and on the march. He has been with me over practically every valley in Chitral and once or twice on the journey from Drosh to Chakdara and has invariably done me well on all occasions. He is also an excellent Linguist in several languages and always gets on well with other servants.

Other memories may still be alive in Shaikhanandeh.

Georg Morgenstierne visited Brumbutul and Kuneisht in 1929 when the old religion still had some very few followers, twenty-five in Brumbutul. Six years later when Schomberg visited the place, he found only three non-Muslims: the old chief Bagishai, his wife, and another woman. The graves and the ancestor statues had fallen down, the old priest who had sung his hymns for Georg Morgenstierne was dead. A beautiful mosque had been built. Allah was praised, not Imro and Gish.

Āzar must have witnessed this process and found satisfaction in it. As far as I know he lived on till the late 1940s, probably till 1948. His son Abdul Majīd has told me that his grave no longer exists. It was engulfed by one of the many floods that have ravaged Bumboret in recent years. Among photographs in the archives in Oslo, I have not been able to trace his portrait. His family has only got a much damaged one, attached to an official document. But the memory of Āzar or (let me now call him by his Muslim name) 'Abdullāh is very much alive in the precious manuscript he has left behind.

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WAZIR ALI SHAH: LIFE AND WORKS

Ghulam Sarwar Baig*

'He wrote well, in fact with elegance and style. Even the ordinary notes scattered in numerous files testify to his ability as a writer. This quality he developed over decades of works in writing about the affairs of Chitral, preparing reports for newspapers and journals round the world' (Qureshi 1990). Thus goes a homage paid to an erstwhile writer from Chitral known as Wazir Ali Shah, by a person not less than a top bureaucrat, who also happened to be a seasoned writer. Wazir Ali Shah deserved these remarks because his life-long career in writing had earned him this fame and popularity. Moreover, in grateful recognition of his pioneering contributions to Hindu Kush studies and his continuing support and encouragement to the younger generation of researchers, the participants of the second International Hindu Kush Cultural Conference (1990), under the chairmanship of Professor Karl Jettmar, resolved to dedicate the proceedings of the conference to the memory of (late) Wazir Ali Shah.

Wazir Ali Shah was born in Chitral in 1923. His ancestors belonged to the Roshte tribe of Chitral. In spite of their small number, the Roshte have had considerable influence on the social and political life of the ex-state. The posts of *asakāl* and *atalique* were held by the Roshte tribe during the later period of Aman-ul-Mulk's (1856–92) reign, which they retained till 1954, when the state administration was reorganized. Wazir Ali Shah's father, Captain Mir Gulab Shah, was a favourite of His Highness Shuja-ul-Mulk and served in his court holding various posts starting with his ancestral title *asakāl* and rising to the post of Revenue Officer by 1936. Wazir Ali Shah received his education at Colonel Brown's Cambridge School at Dehradun (UP, India) in the 1930s. In 1938, for a short while he served as a personal assistant to His Highness Nasir-ul-Mulk, which he soon left to join the British army as a clerk and served in Poona and Feroz Pur, during the war. In 1942, he gave up his service in the army and returned to Chitral, where he worked as a press reporter for different papers and started his career in service as assistant to the private secretary of His Highness Muzaffar-ul-Mulk, the *mehtar* of Chitral (1943–49). He joined government service as treasurer in 1948 and was posted in the state administration as secretary finance in 1965, with additional charge of the post of secretary information and tourism. In 1970, after the integration of the ex-state, Wazir Ali Shah joined the service of the Government of NWFP and served in Chitral, Kohat, Nowshera, Dir, and Peshawar as extra assistant commissioner, section officer, deputy secretary, and assistant chief, Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA). He retired from the service in 1982 and later joined UNICEF as a monitoring officer. He performed *haj* at Makkah in 1987 and fell ill, suffering from diabetes the same year. He died on 15 September 1990, at the age of 70 after a prolonged illness which had also affected his eyesight.

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Career in Writing

Wazir Ali Shah started his career (Faizi 1991) in writing with an assignment of monitoring radio programmes in 1938–39. At that time there was only one radio-set in Chitral and that was in the possession of the *mehtar*. In 1938, Pir Jamal-ud-Din Gilani visited Chitral and remained there as state guest for many weeks. It was during his stay in Chitral that World War-II broke out. The only radio-set was requisitioned by the *pir* and there was no means of listening to news or gaining information for the *mehtar*. The *mehtar* deputed Wazir Ali Shah to monitor news and news commentaries from the radio and write them down to present them to his highness. It was a tiresome but interesting assignment, which was to play an important role in guiding his future career as a journalist and writer (Faizi 1970).

In 1948, he had a chance to accompany Professor Siiger, the famous Danish anthropologist, to the Kalash valley and work with him as an interpreter and guide. This association with a reputed scholar gave him further inspiration in the field of art and literature.

In 1955 he had another opportunity of working in the Kalash valleys as an interpreter and guide, this time with Professor Fredrik Barth, leader of the Danish Central Asian Expedition. Then he remained in contact with Professor Georg Morgenstierne of Oslo University, Professor Georg Buddruss of Mainz University, and Professor Karl Jettmar of Heidelberg. In 1962, he published an Urdu translation of the *History of Chitral*, written by Mirza Mohammad Ghufraan and his son Ghulam Murtaza, and compiled a book on Khowar songs in collaboration with Georg Morgenstierne. In 1970, he participated in the First International Hindu Kush Cultural Conference held in Moesgaard, Denmark, and contributed three papers on different aspects of the culture of Chitral.

On his return journey from Copenhagen he visited London and Paris, then touching Frankfurt he reached Jedda, to perform *umra* at Mekkah, and visited the mausoleum of the Holy Prophet Muhammad at Madina. This journey abroad gave him an opportunity to see a good part of the world and the places he liked so much. In a biographical sketch of Wazir Ali Shah, Inayatullah Faizi, after mentioning his association with the world-renowned scholars discussed above, pays him homage in the following words,

Hailing from the remote and backward mountainous region of Chitral and belonging to a middle class family he made his way to high ranks in the Civil Service and gained recognition from his contemporaries for his works on the culture and literature of Chitral. This was due to his dedication for the cause of his people and sincerity of purpose combined with tireless and continuous hard work. (Faizi 1990)

Apart from his other assignments, Wazir Ali Shah also held the honorary and voluntary office of the secretary of Anjuman-e-Chitral and the Chitral Polo Association, two cultural bodies working in Chitral from 1957 to 1969 and 1964 to 1969, respectively. In these capacities he came in close contact with the cultural and literary circles of Chitral and worked for the promotion of the Khowar language and culture. He became a close associate of Prince Hussam-ul-Mulk, the ex-governor of Dosh in the state administration. His other associates in Chitral included Ghulam Umar, Israr-ud-Din, and Inayatullah Faizi.

Reputation as a Writer

Basically a journalist, Wazir Ali Shah had established himself as a writer in three languages, that is, English, Urdu, and Khowar. His writing in English and Urdu mostly included articles

on different socio-cultural and historical aspects of Chitral, meant for readers and scholars outside Chitral. It was these contributions which made him, as well the remote area of Chitral, known to the outside world. Through his Khowar writings he seems to be mostly concerned about developing Khowar literature by translating Persian sources and also by writing original articles on simple day-to-day topics addressed to readers in Chitral. His Khowar articles appeared in the *Jamhoor-e-Islam* (Khowar), published by the Government of Pakistan. Wazir Ali Shah was such a keen writer that he contributed articles to almost all the issues of the magazine from its inception till the last days of his life when he lost his eyesight because of diabetes.

His Urdu articles were published in different national Urdu dailies and weeklies including *Anjam*, *Alfalah*, and *Bang-e-Haram*. His English articles are scattered in different foreign journals, conference proceedings, and English dailies in Pakistan. He also contributed a number of articles to the English section of the *Terich Mir* (Peshawar University). He was a coauthor of *Chitral Ek Taaruf*, published by the Anjuman-e-Taraqqi Khowar. Lastly he had translated the *History of Chitral* into English for publication by Lok Virsa, Islamabad.

In brief, Wazir Ali Shah was a prolific writer. He loved writing and never got tired of writing on diverse topics such as history, culture, geography, literature, and anthropology. all mostly focused on Chitral. He, through his hard work, had gained a vast knowledge on these different aspects of Chitral, which he was always ready to share with anyone who was interested in the affairs of his beloved home district.

Above all he was a thorough gentleman with an exemplary qualities of soul and mind. Paying rich tribute to his personal qualities one of his colleagues in the civil service wrote the following obituary note about him in a national daily:

He exemplified those qualities of mind and temperament which are too rare these days and which are rooted in grace and culture.... He showed the utmost forbearance at moments of personal crisis. He showed the same fortitude, the same grace, the same self-denial and consideration for others during the extended period of his illness whether in the Institute of Medical Services, Islamabad or at his home in Chitral. (Qureshi 1990)

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BALTISTAN AS A 'CONTACT ZONE': THE USE OF SPACE IN THE NEGOTIATION OF IDENTITY

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Introduction

The linkage of individual identity and occupational status was naturalized in the West following the industrial revolution and the spatial and economic separation of labour from the domestic sphere. European colonialism also attempted to institute similar structures of identity generation—that is, relating identity directly to one's role in the production process—in non-European contexts. Under colonialism, the identity of the subject was to be aligned with the subject's role in helping to achieve imperial interests. This process involved the essentialization and naturalization of ethnic groups, commonly described in the ubiquitous imperial gazetteers, on the basis of behavioural characteristics and occupational status. But it was a process that did not go uncontested.

In what is now Northern Pakistan, the colonization of Baltistan, both historically in relation to Indian and British imperialism and currently, in relation to the adventure tourism industry reserve, has involved a struggle over identity. Within a set of power relations that has typically found Balti people locked into servile occupations, European discursive formations have, in the act of colonizing the place of Baltistan, attempted to equate the ethnic identity of local peoples with the occupational identity of 'coolie' (more recently the less derogatory, but still status laden term, porter), and have equated the label 'coolie,' and anyone working under such a designation, with subhuman characteristics. This attempt to impose an identity has not gone unchallenged from within, and Balti men who have worked as porters have actively resisted attempts to subsume their ethnic and communally based identity within that of an occupational status.¹ Ironically, however, outsiders have used such acts of resistance, which have become more open through time, to generate a negative notoriety of Balti villagers. In this paper, I examine this struggle over identity, and more specifically, the strategic use of space by both the colonizers and the colonized in the struggle. Physical and symbolic control over space was an important element in the ability of the colonizers to control the supply of labour required to achieve imperial ambitions in the colonial frontier and to expand the frontier. Similarly a detailed knowledge of both local space and the limited capacity of outsiders to function in it has been an important element in the ability of local peoples to resist the conditions under which their labour, and identity, was appropriated and reassigned.

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Baltistan as a Contact Zone and Adopting a Contact Perspective

Indirectly, I am suggesting here that 'the colonized,' in this case people labelled as Baltis, have expressed an autonomy in resisting the appropriation of their labour. And that an understanding of the autonomy of indigenous utterances and strategies is crucial to disempowering the lingering material effects of colonial discourses. It is here, then, that we need a theoretical perspective which yields more importance to the competence of the colonial subject 'without lapsing into an uncritical, subject-centred humanism' (Thomas 1994: 58). In an analysis of colonialist travel writing, Mary Louise Pratt (1992) introduces two interwoven concepts which provide such a theoretical perspective and inform the approach adopted in this paper: contact zone and contact perspective. Pratt used the term *contact zone* to designate and describe 'the space of colonial encounters, the space in which peoples, geographically and historically separated came into contact with each other and established ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality and intractable conflict' (1992: 6). Contact zones, then, are often marginal places where the lives of disparate cultural subjects intersect; places where representations of self and other are produced and reproduced, contested and confirmed. Accepting the notion of a contact zone allows us to take a *contact perspective* that 'emphasizes how subjects are constituted in and by their relations to each other. It treats the relations among the colonizers and colonized, in terms of copresence, interaction, interlocking understandings and practices, often within radically asymmetrical relations of power' (Pratt 1992: 7).

Applying these concepts in this paper, I discuss the process of the continual negotiation of indigenous identity within the contact zone of Baltistan, in the Karakoram Range of Northern Pakistan. Here, the struggle over identity, the representation of self and other, has centred on the occupation of portering—the servile occupation of carrying baggage for others. In it I address how indigenous identity has been negotiated both within and in response to the material effects of a European discourse of travel, created within a set of power relations, which attempted to legitimate the appropriation of the labour and material goods of Balti villagers. It does so, however, from an interpretive position which does not reduce the subject to a passive audience. Rather, I try to describe a process in which the subject has an active voice and through which representation is mediated or negotiated, albeit from a relative position of limited power. However, when we understand subjects as occupying strategic positions from which they can express identity in subtle ways, we can interpret representations of identity generated within the colonial discourse, not only as a strategic ploy of the colonizer, but also as an expression of resistance from within. From a contact perspective, then, we must recognize colonial representations of identity, as being hybrid; as much an expression of indigenous accommodation and resistance as external domination. We must see representations of identity as products of negotiation which represent not 'reality' but expressions of the social forces and relations of power involved in their creation. It is such a contact perspective that allows us to 'deal more adequately with the presence of "the colonized" in colonialism' (Thomas 1994) and to attach more importance to indigenous agency and competence. To understand indigenous agency in relation to colonialism, however, it is first necessary to examine the interests of the colonizers in Baltistan and their perception of the role of Balti villagers in helping to achieve those goals. As transcultural (insider/outsider) interaction, and, thus, the imposition of identity, has largely been structured through portering relations in Baltistan, it is necessary to understand the evolution of portering in relation to imperial interests.

Colonial Interests and the Process of Place Colonization

From the mid-1800s Baltistan has been subject to much European 'exploration' and adventure travel. It is primarily through the discursive formations resulting from this 'exploration' and travel that Baltistan and the Balti people have been represented to the rest of the world. Of course, the role of 'exploration' in Baltistan was much the same as in most other colonial regions. Within the imperial paradigm of discovery, exploration, and settlement, exploration validated discovery by fixing and cataloguing points in space and preparing the ground for some form of colonial control. Such 'exploration,' however, particularly in the difficult terrain of the Karakoram Range, could not proceed without the use of local labour for guidance and in the carriage of baggage.

It is clear that a system of obligatory labour existed in Baltistan prior to direct British involvement in the region. Indeed, Balti villagers seem to have been of interest to the wider colonial (and regional) society primarily for their labour.² This changed little with the arrival in Baltistan of European 'explorers,' subalterns, and adventurers. The annexation of Baltistan by the Dogra *maharaja* of Jammu in 1841 resulted in the corruption of an apparently legitimate form of public work known as *ress* into the more familiar Indian system of forced labour—*begār*. Arriving in Kashmir to find an established system of forced labour procurement, the British and other European travellers proceeded to make good use of it.³

At a minimum, the British had three specific reasons for maintaining the existing system of *begār* or instituting some modified form of compulsory labour. First, pressures to secure the frontier of British India against possible Russian invasion led to frequent conflicts with local rulers in Kohistan, Gilgit, Chitral, and Hunza.⁴ Dealing with these parallel threats (local and Russian) meant that a sizable, well-supplied garrison had to be maintained in the frontier. Consequently, 'coolie' labour had to be available to transport supplies and munitions from various parts of Kashmir to the outposts and to travel with the troops during regular campaigns. Second, state and Indian government officials travelling on business in the mountains required a normalized transport—corps to carry their baggage and supplies. In order to satisfy this irregular demand, men were taken from their villages and stationed at regular intervals on district roads for extended periods (Chohan 1983; Haji Sana Ullah, deputy commissioner Skardu, personal communication). Third, imperial institutions such as the Survey of India and, indirectly, the Royal Geographical Society were actively involved in creating an ordered geography of the Karakoram Range (Burrard & Hayden 1907). Surveyors undertaking the Kashmir section of the Great Trigonometrical Survey, and 'explorers' engaged in combined scientific and mountaineering expeditions demanded a regular supply of transport labour. As the volume of travellers to Kashmir increased through the late 1800s a regularized system of travel was institutionalized throughout Kashmir whereby travellers could be expected to be provided with labour, supplies, and accommodation at government-fixed rates throughout the state. This process of place colonization relied directly on the physical control of space and the Dogra regime, under British direction, maintained an extensive surveillance system throughout the region in the form of state officers who ensured that villagers complied with government regulations requiring that labour and materials be available for Europeans and Indian travellers operating under state sanction.⁵

The Creation of a Regulated System of Travel

With the introduction of standardized *begār* in Kashmir toward the end of the nineteenth century, a distinct system of administration was established to regulate the activities of European travel. Even though conditions placed on travel were just as, if not more, restrictive as they had previously been, they began to be couched in terms of convenience for the traveller. Indeed, a bourgeois attitude which understood state surveillance as service seems to have taken hold among visitors.⁶ State officers, along with commercial facilities, were appointed in Srinagar to oversee visitors' needs. But more salient for the issue of portering, a sanctioned set of rules and conditions emerged which dictated the terms under which men were to be employed. These were updated periodically and published in district and agency gazettes. They were also attached as appendices to an ever-increasing number of travel guides to Kashmir ensuring a wide circulation among travellers (e.g., Collett 1884; Duke 1910; Neve 1913).

A major function of this regulation of travel was the administrative division and organization of space. Not only was travel made to follow specific routes by prohibiting others, but for the purpose of European travel, space was divided into marches or 'stages.' The distance of a stage varied but was generally considered to be the distance that could be covered in a day of travel. Fixed stages were marked on official routes and were meant to both regulate and monitor the travel of Europeans. In order to accomplish this, both informal and codified rules made it difficult for travellers to operate outside of sanctioned routes. The 1884 version of the *Rules for the Guidance of Travellers Visiting Jammu [sic] and Kashmir*, for example, state, 'Unless travellers camp at the fixed stages and encamping grounds, there is no certainty that supplies will be available' (Collett 1884: 158). It also informs travellers that a 'book... will be presented at each stage, in which every traveller is required to write legibly his [sic] name, rank, and station, the date of his arrival and departure, and the amount of carriage taken by him...'

Just as 'the rule book' governed the activities of Europeans, it also dictated the terms of engagement through which villagers were to officially support those activities.

In villages, the onus fell upon headmen to ensure that labour and supplies were available to any traveller who might need them. Support for travellers was provided by decree of the state government. *Parwannas*, or permits, were issued to them assuring that porter and animal transport would be provided on demand at rates set by the government.⁷ Most European travellers seem to have approved of this system.⁸ Indeed many saw it as advantageous not only to travellers but also to villagers. An early guide book, for example, notes,

The traveller must remember that in British territory labour is free, and that, therefore, there may be some trouble in finding ponies or mules, though coolies are usually abundant. In the Maharajah's territory labour is partly compulsory, that is to say, a fine is imposed unless ponies and coolies are forthcoming; there is on that account no difficulty in finding coolies or ponies; but the pay for the hire of coolies is double what each man usually earns working independently, so that they have little reason to complain. (Collett 1884: 24)

With the exception of exclusion zones and restricted routes, the administration of travel for Europeans in Kashmir was not unique. In many states, revenue officers had standing orders to publish rates of carriage and supplies and to provide all possible assistance to travellers in procuring supplies and transport. These orders also applied to village headmen (e.g., Government of India 1920: 255–361). This codification of relations between travellers and

porters in the form of rule books or standing orders is not insignificant. Marglin (1990: 224), for example, in a discussion of the evolution of capitalist relations of production, addresses how colonialists established their dominance over production only very gradually, and only in certain areas of production. The basis of dominance lay in breaking, or at least attempting to break, the solidarity of villagers, and in restructuring 'production so as to minimize the worker's knowledge and skill.' In the restructuring of work, key steps were the development of technical and bureaucratic control—symbolized in the case of porter labour, for example, by the linearity of movement through space, state regulations and informal 'rules' of expedition travel, and the transmission of these rules from expedition to expedition intergenerationally—with the intention of creating and fostering the impression of a transcendent authority. For Kashmiri villager and European travellers alike, this transcendent authority emerged in the form of 'the rule book.' Not only were the duties and expectations of both established through these 'rule books,' but both could appeal to the text to justify their actions or sanction the actions of the other. While the 'rule book' effectively entrenched the dominant position of the European, the existence of codified rules permitted the individual traveller to escape any responsibility for his or her position in those relations. The 'rule book,' then, aided in the naturalization of the subordinate position of 'the porter' throughout Kashmir.

In sum, this regulated system of travel also contributed directly to the process of transforming local communities. It prioritized the concerns of those employing porters over local village interests; it created a market mechanism through which portage was regulated, one which, not incidentally, assured the availability of cheap labour; and it codified the political and legal status of villagers. To a large degree, it was able to do this with minimal resistance because of a policy of 'effecting colonial rule through an indigenous hegemonic class' (Mason 1978: 57) and due to the classificatory schemes of society at large which operated to naturalize the distinction between European colonizer and native subordinate (cf. Cornell 1990). It is these classificatory and discursive schemes that operated to impose an identity on Balti villagers by contributing to the construction of an essentialized 'coolie.' These classificatory schemes continue, at least partially, to inform transcultural interaction today.

Material and Symbolic Effect of Travel/Exploration

In material terms, the regulation of travel in Kashmir brought severe hardship on the Balti people. Preliminary efforts to access discursive formations suggest that villagers consider the Dogra/British period to have been the most repressive in their history of subjugation.⁹ But the material effects of regulated and systematized travel, and standardized *begār*, were facilitated and perpetuated by schemes of representation which essentialized the situation of Balti villagers as 'coolies,' as 'born carriers of loads,' as natural beasts of burden. This essentialization then fixed the role of the Balti villager in the project of colonizing Baltistan. Although Balti villagers may not have had access to this European discourse prior to partition, they certainly suffered its material effects. This included being physically treated like the natural beasts of burden that they were represented as.

It was against the material effects of this representation and, thus, against external representations of themselves, that resistance was expressed. This struggle, then, characterizes Baltistan as a contact zone, but more importantly, defines it as a local space of colonial politics—'a space of practical resistance, acceptance, and appropriation.' A starting point in the understanding of this struggle is to understand the process of constructing, essentializing, and naturalizing the condition of Balti villagers as 'coolies.'¹⁰

Identifying the Coolie

The phrase 'coolie' existed long before the British arrived in Kashmir, or Baltistan, as did typical representations of 'the coolie' as childish, feminine, and bestial (Breman 1989; Breman & Daniel 1992). The process of constructing 'the Balti coolie,' then, presupposed the existence of a social category or class—'the coolie.'¹¹ Porterage brought Baltis into a colonial society in which the overwhelming organizing factors were race and class (during both the Dogra and British periods). It is not surprising, then, that we find evidence of the construction of the social category 'coolie' on the basis of race, class, and ethnicity, the threads of which are all, of course, woven into an Orientalist tapestry. It was along these lines that the dominant terms used to mark collective identity were drawn. In Kashmir, the ethnic label Balti became synonymous with the class label 'coolie.'¹² It is this conflation that allowed Dainelli (1934), for example, on crossing a pass in Baltistan and finding a birth in progress, to pronounce that a new 'coolie' had been brought into the world. The fate of the child, at least in Dainelli's mind, was sealed by virtue of his ethnicity. Dainelli's consignment of the child to the social category of 'coolie' carried with it certain characteristics that would be used to distinguish, or more to the point, to prevent the distinction of this individual, at least for many Europeans, for the rest of his life.

The construction of the 'coolie' as Other was, of course, interwoven with the process of constructing a representation of the European self. What Said (1978, 1993) and Pratt (1992) among others teach us is that even as Europeans construct a set of subordinated others, they also construct themselves in opposition to those others. In our case, the Balti becomes amoral in opposition to the European's morality; insincere in opposition to the European's sincerity; unintelligent in opposition to the European's intellect. For the exploits of Europeans to be prioritized, the abilities and capacities of the Baltis had to be either demeaned or left in the shadows, in the background of the narrative. This occurred in a variety of ways most of which denied the 'coolie' the benefit of any human agency. The most pernicious and violent of these representations, however, was that which facilitated the denial of agency, the categorization of porters as subhuman (cf. Breman 1990).

To avoid any moral dilemma with using fellow human beings as beasts of burden 'the coolie' was constructed as something other than civilized, other than fully human. The work of Michele Taussig in South America and Jan Breman in Southeast Asia, for example, reveals that the attitude adopted by employers toward local residents was one of abomination 'negating the human value of the other by attributing him [*sic*] with bestial behaviour' (Taussig 1987). Not surprisingly, we find the same attributes applied to Balti porters. Treating human beings as beasts of burden demands that one construct them as a category of beast, or at least as subhuman. Evidence of this pervades colonial and neo-colonial travel literature describing Balti people and their way of life.¹³ Expedition and travel narratives are rife with statements and depictions of scenes which naturalize the condition of 'coolie' as beast. In the report of the Expedition française à l'Himalaya (1938: 41), for example: 'one could not help feeling pity for these *creatures*, who were more like *beasts* than human beings. Their misery was terrible to behold, but they did not appear to feel this in the slightest; it seemed to *fit them naturally*—as naturally as the rags in which they were clothed' (emphasis added). In the minds of 'civilized,' hence non-bestial, Europeans, not only were these '*creatures*' like '*beasts*' but this was a '*natural*' condition.

Similarly Fanny Bullock Workman, a leader of the American suffragette movement, was party to this construction of 'the coolie' as subhuman and in a revealing statement suggests that 'the Himalayan shepherd is the personification of primitive and unintelligent man, scarcely

higher in his habits than the animals under his care' (Workman & Workman 1908). Ultimately, by labelling porters as beasts, and by denying them human, or civilized, qualities, their treatment as beasts could pass as legitimate. And violent treatment, or the threat of it, was certainly made clear. Fanny Bullock Workman, for example, had her Swiss guide physically beat and kick porters to induce them to proceed. Aleister Crowley publicly whipped porters as examples to the others. William McCormick threatened porters with his pistol promising that the first of them to desert would be shot in the back. This is not merely something confined to a more brutal colonial time. Though the frequency of violent acts has likely lessened, as recently as 1975 a member of the American K2 expedition wrote in his diary: 'If the expedition is stranded the Baltis should be punished. They should be stripped naked, and marched home in shame. They'll get out alive but they'll have a lesson. I don't want to kill them outright' (Rowell 1986). In 1986, another climber stood by and watched while the expedition liaison officer beat a porter with a whip (Barry 1987).

The violence exercised on men employed as porters suggests that the traveller's dependence on this constructed alien was aggravating to at least some. Comments from contemporary guidebooks which characterize porters as 'difficult,' or 'expensive' on the basis of their ethnicity, continue to expose this aggravation (Shaw & Shaw 1993; King & St Vincent 1993). And it is this aggravation, combined with the typification of the 'coolie' that has resulted in the generation of notoriety (cf., Taussig 1987: 302). In Baltistan, this notoriety has assumed a negative form. That is, porters have been assigned a notoriety for particular disreputable acts (e.g., complaints, theft, lies, cowardice)¹⁴ It is important to recognize, however, that notoriety implies not only the generation of knowledge but its extension. For this to occur, there must be a system of procedures not only for the production of knowledge, but also its regulation, circulation, and reproduction; and for notoriety to develop, this system has to be linked in a spiralling relation with systems of power which not only produce but sustain it (Foucault 1986).

It is this process of the production of a knowledge of 'the coolie' and the system for sustaining and extending that knowledge that concerns us here. For it is this notoriety that is transmitted intergenerationally through travel accounts both written and oral. And through this intergenerational transmission the traits that constitute a particular notoriety become essentialized and naturalized. They become recognized not as 'a truth' derived from the generation of knowledge within a particular system of power, but as 'the truth'; they become, for at least some, facts which one *expects* to encounter (Butz forthcoming^b). It is this intergenerational transmission of expectation and advised behaviour that represents the imposition of identity, the representation of an Other.

The words used to typify the Balti porter in the travel, exploration, and mountaineering literature include garrulous, belligerent, greedy, unreliable, cowardly. Regardless of the individual experiences that generate this image, the power system that sustains and extends it has produced a representation of Balti porters as unreliable. As each expedition encounters its own problems, it relies on descriptions of previous expeditions to dispel the notion that its problems are anything out of the ordinary and turn an individual experience into a common experience between generations of travellers. This experience is projected—transmitted—to subsequent expeditions who, based on the ritual repetition of expedition organization and travel style, become predisposed to expect problems with porters.¹⁵ In this way a reputation—notoriety—is developed. The notoriety of the Balti porter has spread far and wide within a group of people who travel or read about travel in mountain environs—the reputation of Balti porter as problem. Much of the colonial literature, reflecting the superior moral tones of the time, simply attributed this notoriety to racial characteristics of 'the Balti'—cowardly, timid,

stupid (i.e., lacking the capacity and knowledge required to survive in a 'harsh mountain environment'), lacking the economic motivation common to the European; meaning that 'the Asian coolie' did not 'respond spontaneously and willingly to "normal" economic incentives, and was insensitive to the [moral] self-compulsion which resulted in an adequate labour performance' (Breman 1989).¹⁶ These representations are not insignificant. The colonizers' hegemonical control of space both physically and symbolically was bulwarked by a process of representing local peoples as ignorant of both history and geography—by a process of deterritorialization. The control of space, then, is an important constituent in the generation of a hegemony which attempts to control the representation of the subject; which attempts to create and impose an identity. It is this European discourse which dehistoricizes and deterritorializes subject peoples and it is such deterritorialization and dehistoricization that is a characteristic outcome of interaction in the contact zone. This discourse 'obliterates the conquered inhabitants of the contact zone as historical agents who have living continuities with pre-European pasts and historically based aspirations and claims on the present' (Pratt 1992: 135). Of course, outside of the material effects of the representations that emerge from such a discourse, the discourse itself is unimportant to local peoples. Despite outsider attempts to demean indigenous agency, local spaces continue to be perceived as lived places with specific and dynamic meanings, uses, histories, and symbolic functions which continue to contribute to indigenous knowledge and identity.

The paradox here is that despite attempts to deny the humanity of 'the coolie,' it is through the human agency of those who were made to porter that their notoriety emerged. The actions that contribute to the development of notoriety are not simply imagined, they are precipitated by an event. The characterization of 'the coolie' as a stubborn animal who refuses to budge unless kicked directly implies the assertion of a will; the enactment of a decision to refuse to move implies the exercise of agency. It is an agency aimed at maintaining some autonomy over the conditions under which they labour that has brought violence on men employed as porters. Presumably it is the same agency which has allowed people to retain a degree of dignity and self-respect. The test of these statements, however, lies in the indigenous discursive formations, which have yet to, and may never, be fully accessed by outsiders, by the very people who generate the discourses which have served to perpetuate and legitimate the relations of power and conditions of production central to the existing political economy of portering.

Space, Resistance, and the Maintenance of Identity

Given the primacy that deterritorialization and the belittling of local knowledge play in the European discourse of travel in Baltistan, it is ironic that when one adopts a contact perspective—one which accepts the reality of copresence and the efficacy of native agency—that the manipulation of space, enacted through a detailed local knowledge, is exposed as an important component of resistance against attempts to control space. If resistance can be interpreted as a process of self-affirmation and self-representation—that is, as a means of asserting a conception of self, then it is an important component of identity and the strategic use of space in acts of resistance can similarly be considered constitutive of identity. Within the asymmetrical power relations that typify the contact zone, resistance is an important means of self-representation. In Baltistan, as in many colonial situations, self-knowledge and historical consciousness have been two principal ingredients of resistance movements.

Haynes and Prakash (1991: 3) define resistance as 'those behaviours and cultural practices by subordinate groups that contest hegemonic social formations, that threaten to unravel the

strategies of domination; "consciousness" need not be essential to its constitution.' Ironically, then, it is the very behaviours and practices that have been used to generate a negative notoriety for Balti porters that we can examine to partially understand how Baltis have challenged or accommodated the conditions of production responsible for appropriating their labour. It is through the same texts that reproduce notoriety that we can gain access to descriptions of resistance directed against this inequity.

Each form of oppressed labour sets in motion its own opposition—its own resistance. Students of slavery have outlined the passive and overt means by which powerless slaves resisted the demands of their masters. In a recent work, however, Scott (1990) suggests that there are two apparent faces to this resistance. The process of domination, he argues, 'generates a hegemonic public conduct and a backstage discourse consisting of what cannot be spoken in the face of power' (p. xii). In other words, the subordinated group behaves one way in public, essentially behaving in accordance with the perceptions and expectations of the dominant group,—this is the 'public transcript.' Every subordinate group, however, also creates, out of its ordeal, a 'hidden transcript'—an account, both oral and dramaturgic, that represents a critique of power spoken out of sight and sound of the dominant group. It is the 'public transcript' that we as researchers and as outsiders are most frequently exposed to simply because the narratives—the historical and archival accounts—that we rely on for insight present a hegemonic account of power relations. Yet, the 'hidden transcript' is also available for scrutiny, typically expressed openly but in a disguised form. Scott (1990) suggests that the theatre of the powerless (jokes, gossip, folktales, songs, gestures, etc.) can be interpreted as a critique of power which hides behind the anonymity or innocuous understandings of their conduct.

In relation to the dominant group of foreigners in Baltistan, I suggest that this theatre of the powerless was and is played out on the mountain trails and glaciers that past and present travellers have followed. Read from a contact perspective, their accounts, while contributing to the development and perpetuation of a negative notoriety, also expose very specific acts of resistance meant as forms of self-representation, as attempts to define one's own identity. They also reveal that power relations have not remained static or unchanging over time. In fact, one important revelation that comes from a close reading of the accounts of mountaineering expeditions and colonial literature is that the patterns by which porters have expressed resistance have changed through time. Particularly, following the partition of India and Pakistan, expressions of resistance began to cautiously move from the covert to the overt, from passive to active. One can almost collate a chronology of resistance through which changes in techniques of resistance have emerged to more openly challenge oppressive conditions. These shifts in techniques of resistance likely exist in a reciprocal relationship with changes in the conditions of production, but that work is yet to be done (cf., Tilly 1993). Nonetheless, this appears to be an important element in the exercise, and success, of resistance; the gradual attempt to gain increasing control over the conditions of production while simultaneously minimizing the retribution that such resistance entails. Accordingly, an examination of the techniques of resistance employed by porters can achieve several aims: i) it can contribute to an understanding of indigenous discursive formations; ii) it can help to undermine the power of European discursive formations; and iii) it can contribute to an understanding of indigenous forms of self-representation in Baltistan.

Techniques of Resistance

Images from travel and mountaineering narratives often suggest that men are willing participants in the adventure tourism industry in Baltistan and that they derive significant benefits from that participation. Indeed, there is some truth in this statement. Certainly today, men are not pressed into service other than by a need for cash imposed by the penetration of market-oriented capitalism. Porterage does provide some men with access to a supply of cash without having to leave home for extensive periods of time.¹⁷ But representations of both the willingness with which men participate and the benefits they derive are belied by the reality of the porter's apparent propensity to cause difficulties for expeditions. They are also belied by current porters who speak of a desire to escape the necessity to work as porters in order to earn cash. Alternate opportunities, such as shopkeeping and government positions are quickly grasped as they present themselves. Men openly state that they would not work as porters if other paid work were available (cf. Fisher 1990).¹⁸ There is abundant evidence that Baltis did not suffer their subjugation and exploitation passively and travellers reports are full of descriptions of both subtle and blatant expressions of resistance—although the tone in which these incidents are usually reported clearly reveal anti-porter sentiments.

The responses of Balti porters to the conditions under which they have been made to provide their labour have varied through time and in relation to different circumstances. This is evidenced in the accounts of a variety of travellers who attest to having had no 'trouble' with their porters. Kick (1954: 164), for example describes his experience as trouble-free but went on to note that 'nearly all other expeditions did not get on well with them [Baltis] and describe them as the dirtiest and most inferior race in Asia.' Kick's experience, and that of others, illustrates the complex and inconsistent character of such responses. While types of resistance varied from silence to strikes, these cannot be seen as contained events. In the course of serving an expedition acts of resistance might proceed from grumbling through to desertion (e.g., 1936 French Himalayan Expedition). If the duration of the expedition to the point of desertion is considered a resistance event, then the character of that event is mixed and transcends any typology that might be presented here. Similarly a single episode of resistance, characterized, say, as a refusal to proceed, might also include a refusal to communicate with expedition members when they try to find the source of the resistance or to identify the 'ringleaders.'

A preliminary survey of travel, mountaineering, and 'exploration' literature covering the period 1835–1986 reveals that travellers frequently encountered a variety of obstacles to their progress, seemingly caused by some action on the part of their porters. It is these techniques that I wish to discuss next, but more specifically, how these techniques rely on a detailed knowledge and manipulation of topography and space in conjunction with an indigenous understanding of the limited ability of foreigners to function without local support in a mountain environment. In his conceptual formulation, Scott (1990) discusses the importance of space in the constitution of the hidden transcript—the idea that the transcript is formed and transmitted in out-of-the-way places to which power does not have ready access—so-called safe places. But he stops short of considering or at least of discussing the importance of exploiting space and topography and the deployment of local knowledge in acts of resistance. And it is these qualities that seem particularly relevant and salient when considering acts of resistance by porters.

Almost by definition, all acts of resistance are acts of sabotage. By expressing resistance in any way, then, porters are attempting to thwart the immediate goals of an expedition; whether that goal be to climb a peak, to reach a pass, or simply to take a few pictures. Understood as sabotage, resistance, or what Tilly (1993) has called the repertoire of contention, can include

such hindrances as theft, deception, a refusal to understand, silence, sickness, and accident, among others.¹⁹ Whatever the means, the objective of resistance is the same, to thwart the goals for which labour has been appropriated to help achieve. In the case of travel then, any act which hindered the progress of an expedition effectively contributed to thwarting these goals. Accordingly, such acts rely heavily on the manipulation of space. For example, numerous expeditions report having received poor information from Baltis, or of porters seeming unable to comprehend their requests. This seems to occur most frequently when the questions relate to topography and routes. Outsiders have typically relied on the racial stereotype, generated through colonial typification, of the Balti as unintelligent to explain these encounters. But, as others have pointed out, a refusal to understand is itself a form of resistance and in playing dumb, the powerless exploit the very stereotypes that are used to stigmatize them. Again this amounts to a systematic use of ignorance to thwart the goals and objectives of the dominant group. Moreover, if the strategic use of space is an essential component of more overt acts of resistance, such as desertion or withdrawal, then ignorance is actually part of an active and intelligent strategy of passive resistance. When the one tool that you can use to your advantage is topography, why draw a map of it for those who would use it to exploit you?

While these acts certainly hindered the progress of expeditions, certain acts of resistance relate more directly to the exercise of local knowledge in the use of space and the exploitation of topography than others. Task bargaining is one such act. It has become customary in Baltistan to pay porters by the stage or *pharo* (a designated distance rather than a set time) rather than by the day and to agree to the stages that will be completed each day before the journey is begun. Expeditions, however, have often complained that porters only complete a half-day's work before trying to stop for the day. They often attribute this action again to a racial stereotype of laziness. The porters, in return, state that they are only stopping at the traditional camp for that stage, citing as precedent previous expeditions that had stopped at that particular campsite. By task bargaining, then, I mean attempts by porters to reduce their exploitation by manipulating definitions of stages (definitions of distance) in order to confound the progress of the expedition. An intentional misinterpretation of stages could always be invoked as the basis for an act of resistance.

Expeditions also frequently complain of the slow progress or foot-dragging of porters again attributing this to an inherent laziness. Interpreted from the standpoint of resistance, this is a means of time bargaining which enables a group of porters to avoid fatigue by allowing them to work at a comfortable pace, and consequently to establish a degree of control over their own work. It reduces competition among the group and protects slower members who might otherwise be singled out for harassment. In essence, 'foot-dragging' acts to protect the solidarity of the group. At the same time it tends to reinforce the perceived power hierarchy by allowing 'sahibs' to reach camps long before the porters 'straggle in.' This seems to satiate egos sufficiently that punishment is rarely meted out for progressing slowly through the day.

Another type of resistance, perhaps that most frequently cited by contemporary expeditions, is work stoppage. This has typically taken three forms. The first is outright desertion. Again, this act was more frequent in the early days of expedition travel than it is today. When desertion was not meant as an act of open defiance, it tended to occur during the night in order to avoid confrontation with the dominant group. The degree of desertion seems to have varied with the degree of control exercised and also with the continued viability on the agricultural economy. When portering for an expedition meant that field crops might suffer from a lack of attention, the degree of desertion seems to have increased. The colonial government and expedition organizers responded to frequent desertion by attempts to control and regulate the recruitment of labour. The names of porters were recorded, work cards were

issued, and in later years, porters were made to agree to 'contracts' stipulating the conditions of employment. Currently, for example, porters working for expeditions continue to be bound by contract, and under threat of prosecution, *must promise* to neither desert nor insist on an increase of wages during the march, and 'to serve the party diligently and faithfully' (Ministry of Culture Sports and Tourism 1983). In effect, the historical response to porter resistance was to criminalize the mobility of porters.

In response to this criminalization of mobility, we encounter another form of work stoppage—a simple refusal to work with no explanation given for the stoppage. Porters neither deserted nor made any demands, a mixture of the refusal to move with silence avoiding the charge of desertion while allowing porters to assert some control over their labour power. Early expeditions tended to respond to such acts violently, threatening porters with firearms or publicly lashing individuals as 'an example to the others.' Often, after refusing to work for a certain period of time, porters would return to work with no apparent explanation, but significantly, at a time of their own choosing. In some cases where work stoppage occurred, some porters—perhaps half of the contingent—would return to their villages, while others would continue with the expedition. I expect that an investigation into indigenous discourses of portering might reveal that this relates to a kind of work sharing agreement, whereby those returning to the village agree to tend the crops of those continuing with the expedition.

The last form of work stoppage is a formal strike with stated demands and identifiable negotiators. Particularly after partition, porter strikes became more frequent. The distinction between these latter two forms of work stoppage is extremely important because it represents the beginnings of the public expression of a 'hidden transcript.' Simple refusals to pick up loads and proceed, as described in colonial narratives and accounts of mountaineering expeditions are just that—an anonymous mass defiance. The element of anonymity is crucial here. The strategy is developed out of sight of the dominant group. Strictly speaking, protesters are not anonymous but they achieve a kind of anonymity because of their numbers. Demands are not made, so no clear leaders stand out. It is next to impossible to single out individuals for retaliation. It is this element of anonymity that increases the potential for open defiance. Resistance can be expressed with a virtual guarantee of minimal retaliation. Strikes, however, as acts of resistance, differ from a simple refusal to work in a fundamental way. They expose the 'hidden transcript' to public view and openly defy the authority of the dominant group. They have identifiable leaders and those leaders make specific demands, primarily aimed at improving wages and working conditions.

It is notable that the transition to strikes as a strategy of resistance on the part of porters is coincident with partition because independence and partition meant the removal of a local, identifiable structure of domination which could administer its own idea of justice in a swift and brutal way—a structure that operated in support of travellers and mountaineers. Although foreigners still represent a structure of domination in the post-partition period, the reinforcement of that structure has been significantly diminished and, particularly with a growing appreciation of the notion of human rights (though these still seem vague notions in relation to the travel industry), the success rates of strikes have improved markedly with real success occurring after 1974. For example in the seventy-seven years between 1877 and 1954 porter wages increased from 1/4 rupee per stage to 1 rupee per stage. In the thirty-five years between 1954 and 1990—those years with an increased frequency of strikes—wages increased from 1 rupee per stage to 90 rupees per stage (MacDonald forthcoming^b).

Space and the Assertion of Identity

In the central Karakoram, what appears significant about the issue of work stoppage is the locations where these stoppages most frequently occurred. What emerges from a careful reading of numerous expedition accounts is that these were not random. In fact the same settings for work stoppages tend to be used time and time again suggesting that there is a strategic element to the selection of these locations. I have not been able to conduct primary research into this observation so what follows is largely an interpretation based on my knowledge of the area, of the aspirations of expeditions, and my conversations with a number of porters. The most frequent trips to the area have been to the Baltoro Glacier—to K2 or another peak along its margins—and it is along this route that work stoppages have most frequently occurred. Below are three sites of work stoppages that show up consistently in the literature:

☐ Bardumal

This is the first camp after crossing the Dumordo River. The crossing is accomplished either by fording the river while it is low, or by detouring up the Dumordo valley and shunting loads across a pulley bridge, a job that consumes the better part of a day for many expeditions. A work stoppage beyond this point threatens the expedition not only with the prospect of desertion and the abandonment of the expedition, but also with having to shunt all of its loads back across the river without the assistance of porters. Its trip is literally stalled before it has even reached the glacier.

☐ Rdokas

Rdokas is the last off-ice camp along the Baltoro Glacier. In many mountaineering expedition accounts, team members express a feeling that they have committed themselves to the climb once they have passed beyond Rdokas, the last site of greenery along the Baltoro; once they have reached 'permanent' snow and ice. It is when they are just beginning to steel themselves for the next several weeks on snow and ice that a work stoppage is psychologically effective in threatening their entire venture.

☐ Godwin-Austen Glacier

The third popular site for a work stoppage in the case of K2 is just prior to K2 Base camp. This is also true for many other peaks; porters refuse to continue just as the group is approaching the end of their initial journey. Again, expedition members are hit at a vulnerable point. They are literally within sight of their immediate objective when they are confronted with another work stoppage. They know that they cannot proceed without the assistance of porters and they have to either coerce them into proceeding or, in the case of a strike, negotiate with them. Here, when the complement of porters is at a minimum, the chances of dividing the group into factions and convincing some to go on, or of acquiring replacements from down-valley are poor. The porters are also far out of the immediate reach of any government authority that might be able to exercise immediate retribution.

In all of these cases, porters are not only making strategic use of space and topography but also just as directly exploiting the limited ability of the dominant group to survive in that environment without assistance. They are aware that expeditions have a limited time to

achieve their objectives, and that they can rarely afford to lose a day's progress in their advance march. Not only does this resistance challenge the material conditions of the appropriation of their labour, but it also challenges the material effects of a European representation which have relied on belittling the agency of the Balti villager. In the negotiation of power relations and the struggle over identity, then, space has played an important role in both the exercise of domination and internal expressions of resistance and identity.

Conclusion

Over the past 150 years, portering in Northern Pakistan has emerged from a form of codified forced labour into a legitimate part-time occupation that men participate in out of economic necessity. It is rooted in an institutional system that maintained a hierarchy of power which instrumentally and ideologically produced a subservient class of people whose purpose was to carry the baggage of a superordinate group. This occurred not only materially but symbolically in the form of a repressive discourse which perpetuated inequitable relations of production. Part of its ability to do this was a function of the reproduction of a typification of local peoples which equated individual and cultural identity with occupational status.

It would be erroneous, however, to classify contemporary portering as forced labour. Changes have occurred in the conditions under which men provide their labour to expeditions and travellers. These changes, however, have largely arisen from a refusal to passively accept the conditions under which their labour was appropriated. Through time, men have employed various means to gain a measure of control over their own labour power. These actions, however, were interpreted by the superordinate group through an institutionally controlled discursive filter which encouraged them to represent such actions as characteristic features of conflated categories of class, ethnicity, and 'race.' In Baltistan the labels 'coolie,' Balti, and 'Oriental' were all essentialized through European discursive schemes and used to generate a Balti identity within the European discourse. This discourse had material ramifications for Balti villagers which included the standardization of the means of labour recruitment and control, often exercised violently, and it was against these that resistance was enacted. Ironically, this resistance acted to further entrench the derogatory representations characteristic of the European discourse of travel in Baltistan.

I do not want to overstate the effectiveness of resistance in the generation of a cohesive 'Balti' identity. It is clear in Baltistan, for example, that despite a long history of apparently collective action against expeditions, there are notable divisions within and between the communities that provide men for portering. Some of the sources of these divisions are related to the dynamics of indigenous political systems (cf., Butz forthcoming^b). Others are related to the response of dominant power structures to acts of resistance; the push back against the indigenous shove. Yet resistance against expeditions has prevented the emergence in Baltistan of an indigenous identity based solely on occupational status.

Scott (1990) suggests that specific forms of domination within occupations having a set of similar working conditions promote the formation of a cohesive occupational group who act with solidarity; who form 'communities of fate.' Their *labour* is marked by a high level of physical danger that is minimized by a high degree of camaraderie and cooperation. And their *occupation* is marked by the homogeneity and isolation of their community and work experience; a close mutual dependence; and a relative lack of differentiation within and mobility out of their trade. According to Scott, these conditions tend to maximize the cohesion

and unity of a worker subculture: 'They are nearly a race apart. They are all under the same authority, run the same risks, mix nearly exclusively with one another, and rely on a high degree of mutuality.'

This notion of a community of fate effectively frames the occupation of portering and the conditions that porters work under. What is notable in Baltistan, however, is the degree to which this community of fate is grounded in the village origins of porters, rather than to an awareness of the common interests of the occupational group. Occupational solidarity seems to be absent (as demonstrated in the lack of any formal union or association of porters) and village-or valley-based allegiances persist in relation to the organization of portering. While speculative, I suggest that the absence of occupational solidarity, at least in part, is an effect of European discursive formations that emerged in response to acts of resistance by porters. Whereas the dominant group understood a social category of 'coolie' and continues to understand one of 'porter,' subjects still hold to roots of identity that are grounded in their household and village. Collective identity, then stems from the village, rather than from the occupation and acts of resistance are most fully coordinated when their organization is predicated by village or kin membership. This fact did not go unnoticed by the organizers of early expeditions. When travelling in populated areas, porters were changed frequently, thus preventing the opportunity to develop even a temporary group consciousness centred on an occupational status. It is in less-populated areas, not surprisingly, that the frequency of porter resistance increased. Not only were working conditions more harsh, but men were together for a longer period of time allowing the formation of a group identity that transcended village origins. Further research is needed to determine the extent to which dominant group members actively attempted to prevent the formation of group consciousness, but the comments of a contemporary Pakistani traveller, recognizing the discursive schemes of his colonial predecessors, are revealing: 'I didn't want to hire all three men from the same area because Afridi [coordination officer between the Ministry of Tourism and mountaineering expeditions] had warned me that in a delicate situation they usually ganged up and struck work' (Rashid 1995).

What Rashid indirectly alludes to here is that resistance is grounded in community identity more than occupational status. This relation of community and collective action is not surprising. Group formation is provided through opportunity structures—that is, the recognition of the existence of a community of fate arises within certain economic, political, and conceptual circumstances that 'foster or discourage particular bases of collective identity and action' (Cornell 1990). It is within such opportunity structures that subordinate groups express and assert their own notions of who they are. The apparent absence of an occupational group consciousness in Baltistan, then, can be taken as an assertion that men who work as porters do not see themselves simply as porters, any more than, say, European travel writers see themselves simply as that—travel writers. Identity is, of course, complex and multi-faceted, and while occupational status certainly plays a role in the generation of identity, identity cannot simply be reduced to occupational status - despite our tendency to do this in the West. Portering takes men away from their communities for a relatively short period of time compared to other forms of migrant labour. Consequently, individual identity is still directly informed by village norms and social bounds. As portering is largely a seasonal and part-time occupation (and viewed primarily as a means of earning cash income), any collective identity that emerges within a group of men who are employed as porters for a short period of time is secondary to identity based on household and community.

If recognition of the occupational grouping of porter as a part of a broader identity is to emerge in Baltistan, it will, as in the past be the result of a negotiated and contested process, both indigenously and transculturally. By presenting Baltistan as a contact zone, and applying

a contact perspective, I have attempted to describe the origins of that process in this paper. However, any such understanding of the negotiation of identity, any history of portering as an occupation and basis for group formation, is incomplete without tapping into indigenous discursive formations. This is necessary so that contrasting accounts of this negotiation may appear, but it is this work that remains to be done. In the interim, by questioning the dominant narratives of history in Northern Pakistan, and by understanding the genealogy of European discursive foundations regarding porters and portering, we can begin to expose the origins of our assumptions concerning historical events in Baltistan, and to disrupt the continuation of the power effects stemming from that genealogy.

NOTES

1. By speaking of a resistance against the imposition of identity, I do not presuppose an indigenous exposure to the European discursive formations that went about typifying the Balti and 'creating' a Balti identity. Indeed, it is not at all clear that Balti people had access to the 'colonial discourse' which was aimed at a colonial audience. I do suggest, however, that this resistance reflects a reaction against the material effects of such symbolic formations of identity.
2. Balti villagers were not only to be found serving the state, but also working in the fields of nearby Gilgit district and further afield in India. It is unclear whether these Baltis were voluntary migrant workers or the victims of bonded labour schemes or a more direct form of slavery. Certainly, oral tradition in Askole records tales of village men being captured and forced to work in the fields of Gilgit. It also, however, records a history of voluntary migrant labour to the district of Yarkand.
3. Through the Treaty of Amritsar in 1846 Baltistan became part of the new State of Jammu and Kashmir, the control of which is currently disputed by India, Pakistan, and separatist factions within Indian-held Kashmir.
4. Or at least the British used the spectre of Russian invasion to extend their sphere of interest in the frontier districts, incurring minimal cost to the government by manipulating the *raja* of Kashmir and his Dogra troops.
5. Just as important, in terms of material effect, however was the symbolic appropriation of space in the form of both textual and cartographic discursive representations which deterritorialized the landscape and left it open for textual inscription. I have discussed the political process of representing the space of Baltistan elsewhere (MacDonald 1995, in prep.).
6. In the words of one traveller,

there are two good English agencies, both managed by retired officers, where all camp outfit can be hired or bought, and thus the great cost of transport into the country is saved. (Doughty 1902: xii) ...A reliable list of rates for the purchase of all daily requirements, from the hiring of coolies to the price of bread, can be obtained from Sahib Rao Amarnath, an official appointed by the Maharajah to look after the interests of visitors. He represents in his fat, comfortable person paternal Government carried to the furthest limit, and is equally ready to order condign punishment for your servants if they overcharge in any particular, or to insist on the re-loading of your ponies if overweighted. He is exactly the right man in the right place, and the threat of 'referring the matter to him' will influence coolies on strike even away in far-off valleys! It is a system, the adoption of which in so-called more civilised countries would greatly assist the helpless foreigner. (p. xvii)

7. An examination of porter rates reveals the emerging capitalist nature of production relations in the travel industry of late 19th century Kashmir. These gradually assumed the vernacular of modern management whereby the term 'coolie' became synonymous with 'labour unit' or 'production input' (cf., Kelly 1992, Murray 1992). In 1884, for example the standard rate for a coolie per stage was 4 *anas*. A baggage pony, however, was charged out at a sanctioned rate of 8 *anas* per stage. This cost ratio persisted even as rates increased through time. 'Abolitionists' used these figures to argue that in Kashmir, a horse was 'worth twice as much as a man.' However, when interpreted in terms of the cost of production, the argument breaks down. The sanctioned load of a coolie was 25 *seers*, whereas a baggage pony could be loaded to 60 *seers*. Effectively, a baggage pony could, under 'the rules,' carry over twice the load of a 'coolie.' When both the 'coolie' and the pony are considered as labour units, then, the economics of the day dictated that the pony should be charged out at twice the rate of the man. Humanist concerns rarely found their way into the economics of production.
8. Jane Duncan (1906: 16), for example, found travel within Kashmir '...thoroughly organized and at each village, it is the duty of the *lumbardar*, or headman, who is paid by the state, to supply at fixed rates any food and wood

available and also transport in the shape of coolies or ponies and to show an official list of prices if required.'

9. It was during this period for example that older villagers took to referring to the former feudal rulers as *ati cho* (father king), and to generate nostalgic stories of feudal rule.
10. There exists an alternative tale of mountain travel in the Karakoram that serves to counter that portrayed in European discursive formations. It, however, exists in the form of indigenous discursive formations (largely oral traditions) which we are only beginning to access. Elsewhere I have discussed the process of 'othering' the Balti porter (MacDonald 1995). A summary will suffice here.
11. Edward Balfour (1871: 334-c) in his *Cyclopedia of India* offers the following definition (cf., Daniel & Breman 1992):

COOLEE, a name used in British India to designate any labouring man, working for hire; also the hire itself. The word is a corruption of the Tamil word Woleeya or Wozheeya Karen, a servant. Under this designation great numbers of the labouring classes of India have emigrated to Ceylon the Mauritius Bourbon, and the West Indies. The mortality on the voyage was so considerable, ranging up to 19 per cent that emigration agents were appointed at the Indian ports under acts of the council to control the emigration.

12. Because they are such good carriers, and because the roads through their own and the adjoining countries are so bad, it has fallen out that they are employed more and more for carrying purposes, till the patient, long-suffering Balti coolie has become a well-known feature in the valleys of this frontier. (Younghusband 1887: 179)

Here, Younghusband, the archetypal European explorer-hero, naturalizes the Balti as coolie. Baltis have a natural proclivity for carrying baggage and their exploitation as coolies is a function of this proclivity and the lack of a physical infrastructure. Nowhere is there a mention of force, *corvée*, or the class structure which demanded the servility of load carriers. Their subordinate position has not been constructed, it has simply 'fallen out,' through an unfortunate combination of circumstances.

13. Such descriptions also applied to Balti villages. Specifically, the village of Askole was described in 1920 as representing 'primitive man at the edge of a primitive half-formed world' (Bruce 1920). These are by no means attitudes of the past. In 1975, for example, Galen Rowell (1986) described Askole as 'pleasantly uncivilized, as representing that beautiful in between point at which the human race had hovered for most of its development up until the past two centuries.' The words are much the same—both the place and its inhabitants are constructed as primitive and uncivilized—as somehow subhuman from the vantage point of Western 'civilization.'
14. Notably, equally legitimate synonyms for notoriety are disrepute and eminence. There is valuable comparative work to be done in examining the discursive configurations that bestow eminence on, say, 'Sherpas,' and disrepute on 'Baltis.'
15. The problems mentioned in narratives reflect, the 'importance of class struggle in determining the organization of work' (Marglin 1990). Ironically, the documentation of this struggle in travel narratives, even as it was creating a negative notoriety for porters, was helping them to increase their control over the organization of work. A common theme of adventure travel narratives is a demonstration of an ability to overcome logistical problems as they are encountered. Thus, even as expeditions report on their porter problems and their culturally informed reasons for those problems, they usually also report on the steps taken to deal with those problems. When those steps include attempts to circumvent the problem through appeasement, through say higher wages or the provision of a rest day, this reporting of this solution acts, at least instrumentally, to benefit the porter. In terms of the struggle, it becomes a 'gain,' and every 'gain' that porters make through some act of resistance or overt challenge potentially minimizes the effort needed to achieve that gain with future expeditions. Through its insertion into the genealogy of travel knowledge it becomes part of an authoritative tradition.
16. Despite the existence of a dominant view, there are exceptions. A recent traveller to the region who did not have a bad experience was 'puzzled how the men from this area had earned such a reputation for recalcitrance, strikes and bloody mindedness' (Barry 1984: 156). As in many cases of domination, however, the reputation is taken as concrete, the victim is blamed, it is the men who *earned* the reputation, not the reputation that was strategically assigned. Regardless, the reputation sticks. Ironically, three years later the same writer describes a scene, reminiscent of the writings of his 19th century predecessors, of selecting porters for an expedition:

Our sirdar knew... most of the cohort paraded before him.... He selected the best two hundred. This was survival of the fittest unstrained: the lame were sent packing without ceremony or sympathy; midgets and idiots too (and there was a share of both) and then the crooks, cheats, troublemakers and whingers [*sic*]. (Barry 1987: 74)

17. The actual benefits of adventure tourism to men who work as porters has yet to be fully examined in Baltistan (but see MacDonald 1994, forthcomingd). There is some evidence, for example, that the vast majority of the material benefits of the adventure tourism industry are flowing to foreign, local, and imported elites who are capitalizing on their positions as 'mediators.'
18. I avoid any discussing the gendered aspects of portering relations in this paper as I have had limited access to women's perspectives in Baltistan. This is an important dimension of transcultural discourse that we hope to investigate in the immediate future.
19. During the Dogra period, state control and surveillance was so thorough, that feigning illness was the only way for poor villagers to escape *begār* (Kachuripa Haji Mohammed, personal communication).

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USE OF PHOTOGRAPHS IN AN ANALYSIS OF SOCIO-CULTURAL CHANGE FOR THE BURUSHO OF HUNZA: 1930s–90s

*Julie Flowerday**

Although photography and film have been developed as a part of the anthropological method, the historical perspective is just beginning to receive renewed direct attention. When these two interests, photography and history, are brought together they provide another approach for analysing and understanding socio-cultural change.

The purpose of this paper is to provide background and to describe some of the techniques which were used with photographs to develop a study of socio-cultural change among the Burusho of Hunza during my field experience for 1993–95. The study is based on photographs taken from glass lantern slides made by the late Lieutenant Colonel David L. R. Lorimer during his posting as political agent, Gilgit, in 1923–24 and during his fifteen month residence in Hunza as a civilian in 1934–35. The difference in time between Lorimer's work and the present study is more than sixty years. The intention of this study is not to reconstruct the time *between* the 1920–30s and the 1990s, but to document the difference *since* that earlier time.

Background

By region, Hunza is located in the Northern Areas of northeast Pakistan. The term Hunza, which now applies to a valley and to a political subdistrict of Gilgit, earlier referred to a petit-state of British colonial India. To the Burusho, the principal inhabitants who held the majority power of the state of that time, Hunza was restricted to an enclave of settlements in the south of the valley. This concentration of settlements was further distinguished by its immediate juxtaposition to those settlements of Burusho living just across the Hunza River in the petit state of Nager.

For Lorimer, Burusho referred to those people whose first language was Burushaski. Besides the population of Burushaski speakers in Hunza and another which dominated the independent state of Nager, a third population lived within a Khowar-dominated area of Yasin. The people of this latter area knew their language as Werchikwar. According to Lorimer, it, like Burushaski, was a dialect of a mother tongue no longer in existence and the mother tongue was not philologically related to the other great language families of the region—Sanskrit, Persian, Chinese, Turkic, Tibeto-Burman. Of these three populations, Lorimer, already a proven linguistic scholar, chose to work with the Burusho of Hunza because that area, it was thought, was least affected by outside influences.

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Photographic Materials

The photographic materials used for the present study are taken from Lorimer's collection of black and white glass lantern slides, the Hunza Slide Collection (HSC). The HSC, of which there are 236 slides, was compiled by Lorimer in 1936, soon after his return to England. The slides contain nine photographs from 1923–24, the remainder are from 1934–35.

The HSC

The significance of the HSC rests on three considerations. First, Lorimer's photographs were made some forty years after the Burusho of Hunza were defeated by British-led forces. The Burusho had unsuccessfully resisted the British demand to build a safe military road through their territory to the Wakhan Corridor and the Taghdumbash mountains. In the words of the Burusho, 'Hunzo was lost'; yet, in the loss of Hunzo the petit state of Hunza was created.

The forty years following the creation of Hunza as a valley state are equivalent to about a generation-and-a-half in duration. This means that the population with whom Lorimer worked was comprised of those who were actively a part of the pre-conquest period as well as those who were living through its immediate transitions.

Second, for the period following the conquest of Hunza, including the time during which Lorimer worked and lived there, the area was to some degree effectively isolated from outside influences. There were many reasons for the imposed isolation, among them a duplicity of political designs between the imperial powers of Britain and China, strategic and surveillance priorities for the road which demanded constant monitoring and repair; and, a covert denial by the British authorities to the government of the *maharaja* of Kashmir for political access and representation in Hunza.

In all, this means that the HSC is valuable not only for its closeness in time to a pre-colonial situation, but, also because influences from the outside were closely mediated.

Third, and lastly, the HSC is itself the product of an ethnographic design. Following a successful and highly lauded publication of *The Burushaski Language*, which appeared in three volumes between 1935 and 1938, Lorimer applied for and won one of the first Leverhulme Research Fellowships. The award allowed Lorimer to continue his linguistic research and to give an account of the life and the life ways of the Burusho of Hunza.

In preparation for this work, Lorimer studied briefly under Bronislaw Malinowski. Under the influence of this anthropologist, a change in priorities was signalled. In response to a notion of 'history' which appropriated unusual cultural devices, even languages, as relics or survivals of a distant past and excluded simple societies as inconsequential in the accounts by the 'history makers' of civilized societies, British social anthropology developed different foci. Among these was the attention directed to a present account of a given people.

The *ethnographic present*, a concept given in hindsight to the preoccupation of the structural functional school to a *state of existence*, was useful as a global staging device of uniformity to mediate the immense diversity of materials being documented for peoples around the world. This focus, in turn, led to centring on social organization.

Accordingly, with a Leverhulme Research Fellowship in hand, Lorimer was a representative of a new professional institutionally based social anthropology which fostered individual fieldwork as its central practice. His use of photography was one of several techniques—including cinefilm, maps, tables of activities, and possibly language recordings—which he developed while in Hunza.

The results of Lorimer's fieldwork were never published by him though, it appears, the design of his work may be embedded in the HSC. Well before his death at age 85 in 1962, Lorimer had arranged the slides and had made up a catalogue in which he assigned a brief caption to each of the slides. These slides along with an inventory of related research materials were by chance alone saved by Mr D.N. MacKenzie of the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London, from a secondhand book dealer appointed to clear Lorimer's estate. All these materials are now held, according to Lorimer's bequest, by the library at the university.

The HSC, then, is valuable because of its location in time to other major historical events, its portrayal of a pattern of existence which was not undergoing a barrage of outside influences, and its link to a larger research design.

The latter design is, regrettably, not spelled out by Lorimer. Lorimer's notes to writings which are remaindered in the larger collection of Hunza materials were never finished. The catalogue, the HSC, a Hunza cinefilm, and a linguistic study of *Dumaki* (1939), the language of the musicians and blacksmiths living in the larger Burusho community of Hunza, were completed on Lorimer's return to England. During the Second World War, Lorimer worked in postal censorship and following the death of his wife, Emily, in 1949, devoted his remaining years to organizing his Hunza materials and to publishing the results of his work on *Wakhi* (1958), a Persian tongue found in the Hunza valley, and the results of his work on *Werchikwar* (1962), a sister dialect of Burushaski.

The catalogue and the HSC are, like other sections of the unpublished Hunza collection, increasingly fragmented from Lorimer's larger effort. Sections of Lorimer's research have been published independently by Professor Müller-Stellrecht as *Feste in Dardistan* (1973) and *Hunza Materialien zur Ethnographie von Dardistan* (1979). At the library of the University of London, the collection has been split for storage purposes, and public use of these materials has led to wear of these fragile materials.

The Catalogue

The catalogue can be divided into two sections. The first section, which lists almost fifty slides, provides geographical and political references to Hunza and accounts for the stages on route from Srinagar via Gilgit to Hunza.

The first slide listed in this section is a map of British colonial India which locates Hunza within British colonial India at the border of China and the Afghan Wakhan. In a second map, Hunza is identified within the Gilgit Agency, a political division of which it was a district and ranked as a state. The latter with its headquarters in the town of Gilgit was the administrative centre of British India. A third slide, which again uses the map of the Gilgit Agency, is colour-coded to identify the various dialects of the different languages found in the area—Burushaski, Werchikwar, Shina, Lahnda, Galshah, Wakhi, Khowar, Pashto, Sariqoli, Balti, Turki—for which reason Lorimer referred to the area as a 'hotbed of languages.'

The remaining captions to the slides for this first section cover the route from Srinagar to Hunza, which is a distance of approximately 260 miles by the Gilgit Transport Road (GTR) and took the Lorimers three weeks by horse and foot to complete. In 1949, two years after partition, this route was closed. As a result of a cease-fire line, the GTR has fallen into disuse and obsolescence.

The second section of the catalogue concerns Hunza but focuses only on the concentration of Burusho settlements in the south of the valley. The special topics developed in the catalogue

are: *the landscape*, which includes natural features, traditional stately architecture, as well as views of the principal settlements; *members of the ruling family*—Sir Mir Muhammad Nazim Khan, KCIE (the official ruler of Hunza), Mir Ghazan Khan, (from a painting of the ruler's father), Ghuspar or Prince Jamal Khan (grandson of the ruler), and others; *a generic view of the household economy* which accounts for a system of irrigation and those activities of agriculture, herding, and arboriculture connected to it and includes crafts such as wine-making, spinning and weaving of wool and goats' hair, house building, woodturning, basketmaking, and blacksmithing; and, finally, *some random topics*, such as activities of women and children and a few of the annual festivals at which special musicians performed.

Techniques Developed for the Study

The techniques developed for an analysis of socio-cultural change since the 1920–30s had two thrusts. On the one hand, there were those techniques which were used to setup immediate and direct contrasts to Lorimer's photographs. On the other were techniques used to tap the meanings of the differences as understood by the Burusho themselves.

A central question which underlay the broader issue of determining differences since Lorimer's work was: How do people understand themselves in terms of their environment? If their environment is changing does that mean that their understanding of themselves is also changing? To explore both concerns—differences which could be documented since Lorimer's work and the way such differences are understood by the resident population—I devised a central field tool from the HSC.

With the permission of the University of London, 17.5 x 12.5 centimetre photographs were made of each entry in the HSC. Each of these was researched to Lorimer's unpublished field notes and to other published and unpublished sources for the period up to but not later than partition. Photocopies were made of the original photographs and annotations appended to each of the entries.

Of the original 236 slides in the HSC, I used 175 of them. Those which I chose not to use were, in the main, out of the scope of this study as, for example, the route from Srinagar to Gilgit. The annotated photocopies were, finally, arranged in an album.

For the purpose of my study I developed alternate points of view: one for myself and another for the individuals who were consulted on the project.

The First View

The view I used for myself reflected the directives of academic training, that is, an accountability for measuring and mapping, coding and quantifying. My knowledge and awareness of life in Hunza were superficial and the techniques I used were similitudes of meaning. For me the photographs from the HSC were *markers* of locations and events in the geography of the community where time and space intersected.

A primary technique I used was photography. I purposefully sought out the locations Lorimer had used and made new photographs. I documented activities recorded in the HSC and made notes of those practices discontinued and of locations which had been altered. As a result I found it necessary to create a supplementary book of photographs, one which documented some of the new features of the landscape as well as new activities and practices.

Another technique was the physical mapping of key sections of the six settlements and of the traditional house, topics which were included in Lorimer's HSC. There are many possible 'keys' but I was looking for particular ways in which the settlement and settlement living patterns had been physically altered since Lorimer's work. I settled on mapping the main road of each of the six settlements, a feature that did not exist at Lorimer's time, and on mapping the social practices and the linguistic spaces that now characterized the traditional house. Both topics offered contrasts to Lorimer's work.

The Second View

The alternate point of view, the consultants' view, was designed to be sensitive to the ways people perceived what was happening around them. Some of the techniques used for this approach were borrowed directly from psychoanalytic interview-strategies. Psychoanalytic strategies were used because they maximize sensitivity and minimize intrusiveness. Such strategies were, by far, the most difficult and the most rewarding.

I purposefully asked individuals of both genders with further differences for age, social background, settlement location, and experience in the larger community to be consultants in open-ended, taped sessions. Initially I used only the album based on Lorimer's HSC; but, after a few months I composed a second album of photographs of some practices and some things which were nonexistent in the earlier period. The second album, which was a response to the HSC album's incompleteness, came into being through my increasing awareness of community life. Both of these albums were used as the primary source in an interview session.

During a session, which commonly lasted several hours, background data on the consultant was collected and then he or she was asked to look at the albums of photographs. The initial directives were simple. The consultants were told that one album was based on photographs which were originally taken by Mr Lorimer in the 1930s and the other was composed in 1993. My main direction was simply that their comments about the changes since the earlier time (the 1930s) would be interesting.

The purpose of this approach was to allow consultants to develop their own standards for comparing and evaluating the photographs in terms of what was happening around and within themselves. It was also a way of informing myself of what was happening. Among the questions I asked myself were: How closely do Lorimer's photographs represent the landscape and social activities of the 1990s? Where there are differences, how are they understood or perceived by the people living at this time? What memories are connected to the photographs by the members of the current population? What do different people see in the photographs? Are there factors which influence differences in individual perception? Are there particular topics which recur? Who do people talk to when they are looking at the photographs? How do photographs and photography fit into their lives?

When Burushaski was the language of the session, I worked with an assistant. The assistant was an intermediary who was as much a translator of my intentions as he was an interpreter of the thoughts of those taking part in the study.

It was critical that the intermediary understood the role of silence. Silence on my part was meant to create a space. The space was intentionally given to the consultant to use as he or she pleased. Empty spaces, which can be awkward in a new social situation, are instructive by the social constructions used to fill them. The space of silence is also a means by which the leadership of the interview session is passed to the consultant.

The silence on the part of the consultant can signal the action of going into deep thought and contemplation. It can signal befuddlement, awkwardness, or simply interest. In all cases, silence is valuable. It allows a situation to be developed and to be steered. That is, although the consultant is encouraged to lead the discussion, the listener can passively interject comments by simply repeating a word-concept so that the speaker focuses again on that idea, or by asking, 'What do you mean by...?' This technique, however, must not be abused. For my purposes, the tape recorder was always visible and the option of turning it off at any time was in the hands of the consultant.

If there is a single individual acting as a consultant, the sense of the situation is to encourage a monologue to develop. If there are two or more people, which was quite typical of many of the situations I worked in, then the scenario or vignette becomes valuable. There may be sharing of experiences and memories between the individuals or an instructive mode where one is informing another of other times.

An especially valuable feature of the photographs as a research device and of the open-ended interview-session is that the outsider, the initiator of the interview, can become relatively inconsequential.

Conclusion

Importantly, photographs can be used as primary data and as anthropological documents. The above discussion gives an example of a study which brings together history and photography for the purpose of analysing socio-cultural change. The photographs from the HSC played a central position in determining the temporal and spatial limits of the study and for developing techniques which would be useful in applying the skills which I learned for dealing with similitudes and in collecting the knowledge of people who were themselves interpreters of what was happening.

In using Lorimer's material from another period it was necessary to locate the temporal and spatial frame to which he and his materials belonged. The HSC is especially ideal because it was originated by a single individual at an identifiable time and provided sequences of information. The construction of the HSC is a relevant object of study. Without such preparation, photographic transparencies can be unintelligible, easy to see through but not into.

The objective is to consciously enter a temporal and spatial context of engagement. By doing this, the researcher is creating reflections which may be used in a variety of ways, and which, in turn, invite those who follow to make new reflections. Such efforts may contribute to discovering how the way we see and understand is itself learned.

VERBAL PLURALITY AND THE NOTION OF MULTIPLE-EVENT IN YASIN BURUSHASKI¹

Étienne Tiffou & Richard Patry*

Introduction

In Burushaski, there is morphological agreement of the verb with a noun according to person, class, and number (of the latter). Some verbs moreover have a special marker which appears to be a plural marker. This does not occur in all verbs. Out of a corpus of 278 verbal roots, thirty-eight have it.¹ This population represents a percentage of 13.7 per cent, which, although limited, is significant enough to show that this morpheme is still in current use. Is this morpheme simply a redundant noun-verb agreement marker? Before answering this question, we will give a brief description of this morpheme from the phonological and morphological point of view.

Phonological and Morphological Characteristics of the Plurality Verbal Marker

This suffix precedes the agreement marker or, in the case of periphrastic forms, the non-finite form (e.g., *hurúčaien* 'sit down'; *hurúčačum ban* 'they are sitting'). The verbs of our corpus² present five different forms: *-ča-* (which occurs with eleven verbs³), *-ja-* (which occurs with seven verbs⁴), *-ša-* (which occurs with six verbs⁵), *-ia-* (which occurs with six verbs⁶), and *-a-* (which occurs with five verbs⁷). According to our analysis, there is a fundamental morpheme *-a-* which combines with a further element *-š-*; *-ča-* and *-ja-* represent modifications of *-ša-* which can be accounted for in purely phonological terms: we find *-ča-* after a voiceless dental or retroflex and after a dorsal or an affricate, if preceded by a [r]. *-ja-* is found after [l] and [n] if not preceded by one [i]. The simple suffix *-a-* is not problematic. Finally, a transitional [i] appears in intervocalic position. This form *-ia-* can be extended by analogy.

Conditions of Use of the Plurality Marker

The Situation in Burushaski

This suffix appears in the verbal forms of our population when these agree with a noun which is itself simultaneously marked for both the absolutive case as well as plural. Let us point out that Burushaski possesses an ergative construction. In other words—and this is an oversimplification—, we have an unmarked form, namely, the absolutive, which marks a noun serving as the grammatical subject of an intransitive verb or the grammatical object of a transitive verb.⁸ Let us take an example:

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- (1) samandáre jaház yórci
 sea.GEN boat.ABS it sank
 the boat sank.
- but (2) samandáre jaházišu yórčai-en
 sea.GEN boats.ABS they sank
 the boats sank.

In these two examples, the verb (*yórc-i*, *yórčai-en*) agrees with its grammatical subject which, in both cases, is a noun marked by the absolutive case. When the subject noun is additionally marked for plural, the morpheme *-ča-* (which we are taking to be a marker of verbal plurality) appears within the verbal form. Compare the following two sentences:

- (3) ne híre samandáre jaház ésqorci⁹
 the man.ERG sea.GEN boat.ABS it he sank
 the man caused the boat to sink
- but (4) ne híre samandáre jaházišu ósqorčai
 the man.ERG sea.GEN boats.ABS them he sank
 the man caused the boats to sink

These facts could well lead to the conclusion that *-ča-* is no more than a redundant marker of agreement between a verb and a plural noun (within the ergative construction). In example 2, *-en* (*yórčai-en*) is sufficient to show that the verb is related to a plural subject. Why then is *-ča-* used? In example 4, *ó-* (*ó-sqorčai*) is related to a plural object. Why *-ča-* again? Of course, it happens from time to time that there is no object marker in the verb, nevertheless the problem of redundancy remains.

Is the Verbal Plurality Suffix a Suffix of Agreement?

The problem of redundancy disappears if we consider the element *-ča-* to be a marker not of noun-verb agreement but rather of verbal plurality, and, in fact, several factors would appear to support this interpretation. First, the marker of agreement between a verb and a plural noun must always be expressed and this for all verbs. That, however, is not the case with respect to the morpheme *-ča-*. Second, the interpretation of the latter as no more than a marker of noun-verb agreement is problematic in that it gives no indication as to the person or class of the noun with which it is said to agree. Third, and this is an even stronger argument in favour of our position, the element *-ča-* is used with the collective. It must be pointed out that in Burushaski we have four nominal classes. The first two include all nouns referring to male (hm) and female (hf) human beings, respectively. The third class includes all nouns referring to animals and many which refer to concrete, inanimate objects (x). The fourth class groups together nouns for certain concrete, inanimate objects (including all non-countable ones) and those which express abstract notions (y).¹⁰ The first three classes have a plural form, the fourth, a collective. In this sense, the situation in Burushaski can be compared to that in Ancient Greek, where a verb in the singular agrees with a neuter plural (or collective) subject (*τῶ ζῴῳ τρέχει* 'the animals run,' lit. '*the animals runs'). For instance, in Burushaski, we have the following constructions:

- (5) gaí bálce dícikini
 watch.ABS wall.on is hanging
 the watch is hanging on the wall

as well as

- (6) ek bálce dícikini;
 knife.ABS wall.on is hanging
 the knife is hanging on the wall

however, if there is more than one watch (i.e., x-class), one says:

- (7) gaímu bálce díकिनen,
 watches.ABS wall.on are hanging
 the watches are hanging on the wall

In the case of 'knife', however, which belongs to the y-class, one cannot say:

- (8) *ekán bálce díकिनen,
 knives.ABS wall.on are hanging
 the knives are hanging on the wall

In the correct construction, the singular form of the verb must be used:

- (9) ekán bálce dícikini.
 knives.ABS wall.on is hanging
 the knives are hanging on the wall

This being the case, if the morpheme *-ča-* were in fact a marker indicating the agreement of a verb with a *plural* noun, it ought then never to appear in an intransitive verb whose subject, or in a transitive verb whose object, is a y-class noun in the absolutive case. This, however, is not the case. We have, for instance:

- (10) mo gúse ba múruu
 the woman.ERG skin.ABS massaged
 the woman massaged the skin

and

- (11) mo gúse baón múručayu
 the woman.ERG skins.ABS massaged
 the woman massaged the skins.

The compulsory use of *múručayu* with *baón* provides a decisive argument against the notion that the element *-ča-* is an agreement marker. So what is its function? Before answering this question, let us give a brief description of the use of this morpheme with the thirty-eight verbs in question.

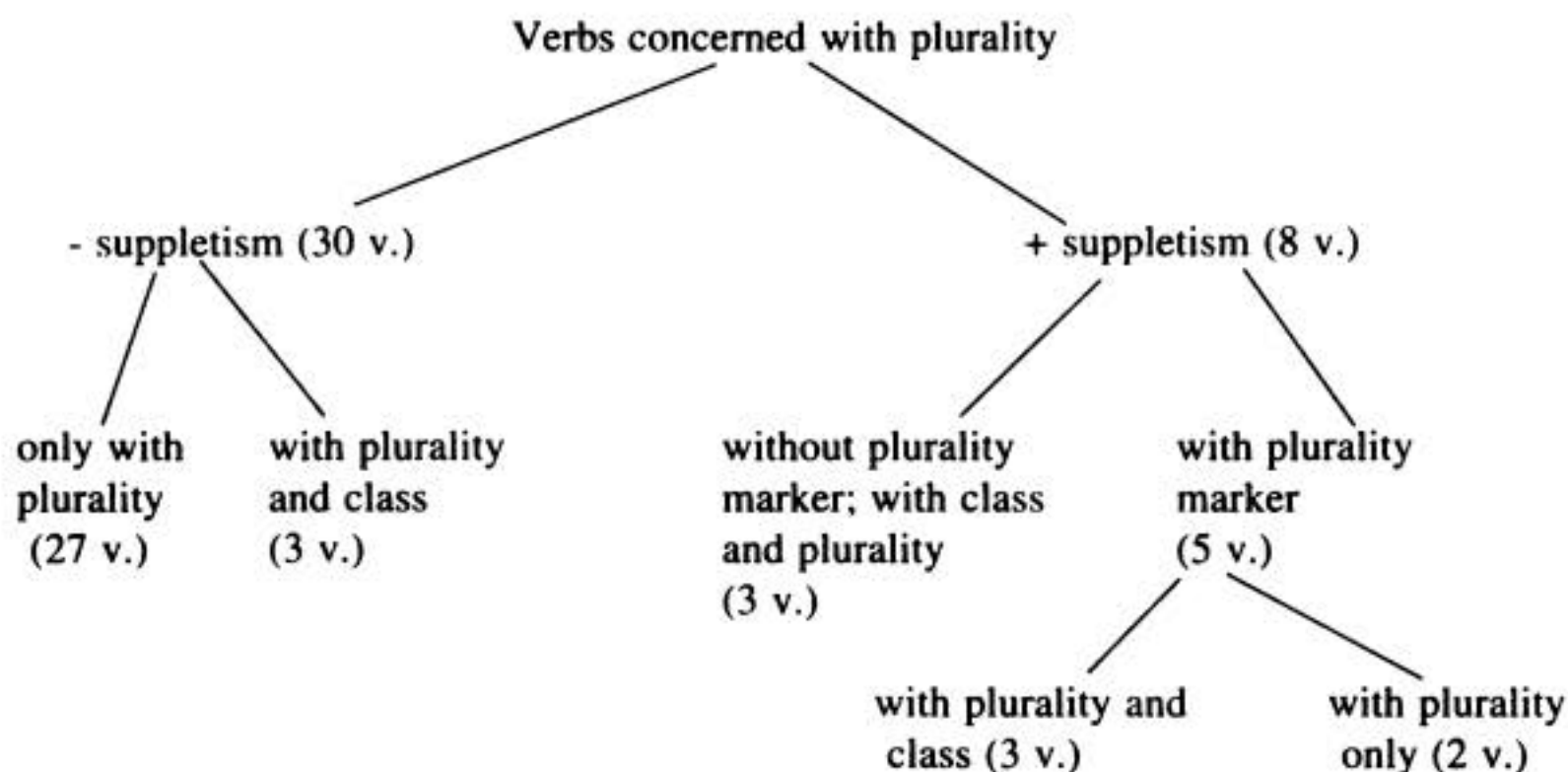
Burushaski Verbs Concerned with Plurality: A Description

Constraints and Classification

First of all, where the morpheme *-ča-* is admissible, there is no constraint on its use. This is not the case in all languages with a similar morpheme. In Georgian, for instance, the plurality

marker was possible only with aorist or perfective. In Burushaski, the marker, when used, is never limited by the aspect of the verb. Nevertheless, this language presents an interesting feature; some verbs can express at one and the same time both verbal plurality and the class of the noun marked with the absolutive. This is the case for nine verbs: *bal*, *balū*, *bišá-*, *-γón-* (*-čf-*, *-ú-*), *híl-*, *du-khát-*, *de-phérc-*, *šé-* (*í-*, *ú-*), *du-wás-*. This is worthy of attention, for neither Mithun (1988) nor Tuite (1992) mention verbs which show this feature.

Moreover, the thirty-eight verbs which express verbal plurality can be divided into two groups in function of an important morphological distinction: whereas the majority of these verbs (i.e., thirty) are morphologically regular, eight of them show suppletive forms. Of the latter group, three never show the morpheme *-ča-*, despite the fact that they can express verbal plurality. According to these parameters, to which one must also add the possibility of the simultaneous expression within a verbal form of verbal plurality and the class of the noun in the absolutive case (standing as subject or object of the verb in question), the repartition of the verbs which express verbal plurality is drawn up as follows:



This chart shows clearly that the pertinent verbs are distributed over two broad groups: those with and those without suppletism, the latter representing the more important population (thirty verbs). Among them, three¹¹ distinguish the class of the noun with absolutive. The other group (eight verbs) resorts to suppletism. Of the suppletive forms, five show the morpheme *-ča-*, three do not.¹² Of the former group, three express both nominal class and verbal plurality,¹³ two express only plurality.¹⁴ All members of the latter group express both nominal class and verbal plurality. This population is weak but it does represent a category of verbs which, as Mithun notes in her article (1988: 213), although infrequent and always small in number, does appear in many of the languages of the world.

Plurality and Class of the Absolutive Marked in the Burushaski Verb

A distinction must be drawn between the expression of verbal plurality on the one hand and the expression of agreement between a verbal form and its subject/object noun in the absolutive case on the other. There do exist in Burushaski certain verbs which manifest the latter but not the former. Although the formal properties of such verbs are beyond the scope of the present

study, they must be taken into consideration insofar as they contribute to our understanding of the intricacies involved in the expression of verbal plurality. In this respect, we generally find a clear opposition between hx-class and y-class. We find precisely this opposition expressed in eight of the nine verbs which also express verbal plurality (see notes 7, 11, and 13). example:

- (12) Huniṇ čárule dukháčaien
 wood ABS mountain in became entangled.
 The wood became entangled in the mountains.
- (13) Ciu júyate dúkhačaien
 birds. ABS apricot tree on become entangled
 The birds became entangled on the apricot tree.

It is to these verbs that we now turn our attention.

The three non-suppletive verbs in which a distinction of class has to be made are consistent. All of them present the opposition hx/y. The situation with the suppletive verbs is more complex. Of the five verbs which show the plurality marker, those two which express verbal plurality exclusively present no difficulty. In the remaining three, the distribution of plurality according to the class is slightly different. In two of them the distribution is the same as that seen in the three non-suppletive verbs; we again find the opposition hx/y in the morphological marking. The last one (-*híl-*) shows a triple opposition h/x/y, but only when plurality is expressed. Where the verbal action is singular, hx contrasts with y. Where the verbal action is plural, the x-class membership of the absolutive noun is indicated by the use of the suppletive form (-*húlja-*).

The situation is far more complex in the case of the suppletive verbs which express plurality in the absence of the -*ča-* marker. The first one (-*waš-*) has a distribution not unlike that of -*híl-*. However, the opposition, when plurality is expressed, between h and x is not so strongly marked. With the h class it is possible to use the plural form (*gú-*) or the singular one (-*wás-*), but with the x class the use of *gú-* is compulsory; otherwise the opposition between h/x and y is clearly expressed. The opposition between h and x seems secondary. The final two verbs offer a remarkable peculiarity. In all verbs concerned at the same time with verbal plurality and the class of the absolutive noun, the former is always marked, regardless of the class membership of the latter. This is not the case with *i-* and -*ú-*, a fact which could serve as an argument in favour of their disqualification from the class of verbs which express verbal plurality. In fact, -*ú-* shows no plurality marker when construed with a noun of the hx-class; *i-* shows no such marker when construed with a y-class noun. Thus, these two suppletive forms have an inverse distribution. The distribution of -*ú-* is of particular note insofar as it is the only verbal form which marks verbal plurality when construed with a y-class absolutive but not with an hx-class absolutive.

Verbal Plurality: Its Values, Its Functions

Agreement and Verbal Plurality

Let us now attempt to determine the value of the plurality suffix. In order to do so, we must first discuss the notion of agreement. In the sentence 'the man sings,' the suffix -s- indicates

unambiguously that the grammatical subject of the verb 'to sing' is a third person, singular nominal. In the sentence 'the men sing,' the Ø suffix marks the verb negatively, indicating that its grammatical subject is something other than a third person, singular nominal. In both cases, the suffix is a marker of agreement; in neither case does it offer any information whatsoever as to the number of times the action of the verb is performed. In other words, in neither this case, nor in any other, is the English verb marked morphologically for singularity vs. plurality of the action. As Nichols (1985: 274) notes, agreement has to be considered as an indication of 'coincidence in grammatical categories, feature, or feature values on two different words in a sentence, where one word has the category or feature for a principal reason and the other merely acquires it from the first.' Verbal plurality, on the contrary, gives no indication as to the number of the grammatical subject of the verb, rather, it is concerned exclusively with the nature of the process itself.

The intricacy of the distinction between these two notions can be illustrated by the fact that, from a diachronic point of view, the two may become confounded in languages that express both. This is precisely the case in Georgian. According to K. Tuite's analysis (1992), the morpheme *-en*, which, in the time of Zan-Georgian, provided for the derivation of verbal plural forms, has evolved into a marker of agreement between a verb and its plural grammatical subject. But, even in the absence of the possibility of confusion, the notion of verbal plurality is itself ambiguous. It can have several values such as iterativity, collective or distributive action, multiple process, and so on. Mithun (1988: 217) writes that in Central Pomo, an Amerindian language, the verb 'exhibits extensive verb stem alternation according to the number of participants affected and it also contains a multiple event suffix...a multiple displacement suffix and a collective-agent suffix, among others.'

The Notion of Multiple-Event

Among these various notions, which is to be considered as the genuine value of verbal plurality? Iterativity and multiple-event process offer themselves as the most likely candidates, but it is clear that a distinction needs to be drawn between the two. In Burushaski itself, the two were at one time expressed by distinct morphological means: the function of *-ča-* was to express multiple-event process; for iterativity, a different process was observed (see Berger 1975: 41 and Tiffou & Pesot 1989: 35). In Yasin Burushaski there were two marks of the imperfect, both periphrastic. *Éčam ba* marked the simple imperfect whereas *ét et bam* (a reduplicated form) marked the iterative past. In the language as it is currently spoken, the opposition has vanished and speakers use only the reduplicated form. This opposition, seen in the earlier form of the language, clearly indicates that iterativity is to be treated as foreign to the true value of the *-ča-* suffix. As noted by Tiffou and Patry (1996), an iterative process can be represented as a vector with dotted parts: 'iterativity implies the process is repeatedly developing without precise segmentation.' As it is, the verbal plural marked with *-ča-* found in Burushaski seems to represent something quite different. It corresponds to what Mithun (1988) characterizes as a multiple-event. It concerns the multiproduction of the process at one moment. However the term 'multiproduction' does not adequately explicate the notion in question, which is that of the 'multiple-event'.

- (14) *Ciu báša báša júyate dúkh ať dúkhať biém*
 (birds. ABS often apricot tree on became entangled)
 the birds were often entangled on the apricot tree

and (13) Cíu júyate dúkhačaien 'The birds become entangled in the apricot tree.

In the first sentence the iterative meaning appears clearly; in the second one the form *dúkhačaien* shows that the verbal action happens to be produced several times at one moment.

For example, as it is legitimate to detect a multiple-event in a sentence like 'the wind causes the ducks to fly,' one might be tempted to detect the same nuance in a sentence like 'the men build a boat.' Such an interpretation must, however, be rejected. For, whereas in the first sentence, many ducks are subjected to, or better, *affected by*, the verbal process, in the second sentence it is a question of several persons *acting* at once. Thus, we take the concept of 'multiple-event' to be related to that of affectedness. In fact, in all languages where there exists a notion of multiple-event, the latter concerns only those actants (according to Tesnière's terminology) which are *affected* by the verbal process. It is for this reason that ergative languages distinguish morphologically the affected subject from the agentive subject. It is in precisely this light that the affinity which we have noted between verbal plurality and absolute nouns is to be understood. As writes Mithun (1988: 214):

for intransitive verbs, the selection of a stem reflects the number of subjects involved, whether they are agents (walkers, runners, flyers) or patients (fallers, sitters, corpses). For transitive verbs, it reflects the number of objects involved: how many people are killed, how many objects are picked up, thrown, given, dropped and so on. The pattern remains the same regardless of whether other parts of the grammar operate on an active, accusative, or ergative basis. This is no accident. The subjects of intransitives and patients of transitives share an important role: They are the participants more directly affected by an action. The primary function of stem alternation is not to enumerate entities, but to quantify the effect of actions, states and events. (See Dressler 1968, who also detects a strong link between multiple-event and affectedness).

This discussion can be summed up by saying that the agentive subject of a transitive verb, although responsible for the performance of the verbal action, is in no way affected by it. Quite different is the case of the grammatical object of a transitive verb or the subject of an intransitive verb.¹⁵ Here the realization of the verbal process brings about a more or less significant modification of the actant involved. Although it is well beyond our present purpose, it would be quite interesting to establish a hierarchy of the intensity of affectedness. Let us note simply that in Burushaski (as in certain other languages) plurality is expressed in the verb where the action of that verb can be described as multiple in the sense that it affects more than one actant, be they animate or inanimate.

Conclusion

It is clear that, in the light of this interpretation, a much more detailed study of Burushaski verbs which express plurality is warranted. In general, however, let us state that, at least in one clearly defined set of verbs, Burushaski marks verbal plurality as distinct from verbal agreement with a plural subject; this is a feature which is ignored, for example, by the Indo-European languages. More precisely, we draw attention to the following facts: 1) In Burushaski verbal plurality is univocal. Unlike the Pomo language, for example, which assigns several values to the notion of verbal plurality (see Mithun 1988), in Burushaski verbal plurality involves exclusively the notion of multiple-event, as this is related to that of affectedness. 2) In Burushaski, there are certain clear cases where verbal plurality is intricately linked with the class of the absolute noun. In this respect, there remains considerable work to be

done in particular to determine whether this intrication is simply accidental or is conditioned more deeply by semantic or syntactic factors. We will leave the problem open.

Acknowledgements

A more extensive study of the above subject has been published in French in the *Journal Asiatique* (Tiffou & Patry 1995). We would like to thank David Hart for proofreading and commenting upon the English version of this paper.

NOTES

1. In fact, only thirty-five verbs present the plural marker; in the three other verbs which are included in the corpus, the plural is marked by suppletism.
2. Our corpus is based on Lorimer 1962, Berger 1974, Tiffou & Morin 1989, Tiffou & Pesot 1989, and on a list of sentences collected by Morin and Tiffou in 1979 and 1980.
3. gárc- -rč- sg., gárča- -č- pl. 'to leave'; girát- -ráš- sg., giráča- -č- pl. 'to dance'; -yárc- -rč- sg., -yárča- -č- pl. 'to catch'; -yórc- -yurc- -_- sg., -yórcča- -č- pl. 'to sink'; hurú- -ruš- sg., hurúča- -č- pl. 'to sit down'; khúrut- -š- sg., khúruča- -_- pl. 'to open (a can)'; hált- /bahált- -č- sg., hálča- /bahálča- -č- pl. 'to wash'; du-khá- -š- y sg., dkha- /dkha- -š- hx sg., du-kháča- -_- y pl., dkhača- /dkhačša- -š- hx pl., 'to tangle'; dkhu- /dšku- -š- sg., dkhuča- -š- pl. 'to lose weight'; -múru- -š- sg., -múruča- -č- pl. 'to massage'; de-phérc- -č- y sg., dphérc- -č- x sg., de-phérča- -č- y pl., dphérča- -č- x pl. 'to uproot.'
4. balū- -č- y sg., -wālu- -č- hx sg., -wālja- hx pl. 'to be wated'; gāl- -č- sg., gálja- -č- pl. 'to be broken'; hīl- xy sg., -hīl- h sg., hīlja- y pl., -hīlja- h pl., hūlja- x pl. 'to soak'; hunjá- -č- pl. only 'to plait'; -lja- -č- pl. only 'to thread'; phán- /phái- sg., phánja- -č- pl. 'to swell up'; du-wál- -č- sg., du-wālja- -č- pl. 'to fly'.
5. yás- -š- sg., yáša- pl. 'to be rotten'; du-yát- -yáš- sg., du-yáša- -č- pl. 'to be shared'; -xés- -š- sg., -xéša- -č- pl. 'to tear up'; -phús- -š- sg., -phúša- -č- pl. 'to tie up'; du-ús- -š- sg., di-áša- /di-éša- -č- pl. 'to climb'; du-wás- -š- y sg., dwas- -š- hx sg., du-wša- -č- y pl., dwaša- -č- hx pl. 'to stay, to be late.'
6. bú- -c- sg., búya- -č- pl. 'to dry'; dórgin- -gi- sg., dórgia- -č- pl. 'to quarrel'; do-hór- -č- sg., do-hória- pl. 'to collapse'; du-húk- -č- /du-húki- -č- sg., du-húkia- -č- pl. 'to melt'; du-pháq- -í č- sg., du-pháqia- -- pl. 'to card'; do-sók- -í č- sg., do-sókia- -č- pl. 'to go down.'
7. gí- -c- sg., gía- -č- pl. 'to go in'; d-ši- -č- sg., dša- -č- pl. 'to stop, to refrain from'; -wál- -č- sg. hx., bal -č- y sg., -wál- /gía- -č- h pl., gía- -č- x y pl. 'to fall'; yancar- -č- sg., yancara- -č- pl. 'to take somebody for a walk'; dé-yáš- /d-yaš-š č- sg., dé-yáša- /dyaša- -š ča č- pl. 'to stand up.'
8. Among the many books devoted to the problem of ergativity, see especially Dixon 1979; Plank 1979; Comrie 1981.
9. *ésqorci* is the causative form of *yórc-* marked with the -s- prefix. On this prefix, see Bashir 1985 and Tiffou & Morin 1993.
10. For the classes in Burushaski, see Benveniste 1947–48.
11. As there is no suppletism for these verbs, the class opposition is marked by the prefix: du-khá- -š- y sg., dkha- /dkha- -š- hx sg., du-kháča- -č- y pl., dkhača- /dkhačša- -č- hx pl., 'to tangle'; de-phérc- -č- y sg., dphérc- -č- x sg., de-phérča- -č- y pl., dphérča- -č- x pl. 'to uproot'; du-ws- -š- y sg., dwas- -š- hx sg., du-wša- -č- y pl., dwaša- -č- hx pl. 'to be late.'
12. í- -c- hx sg., sú- -- hx pl., šé- -č- y sg. and pl. 'to eat'; -ú- -č- hx sg., -_í- -č- y sg., -yón- -yói- y pl. 'to give'; -wáš- -č- hx sg., bišá- -č- y sg., gú- /-wáš- -č- h pl., gú- -č- x pl., gí- -č- y pl. 'to throw.'
13. -hīl- -č- hx sg., hīl- -č- y sg., -hīlja- -č- h pl., -hūlja- -č- x pl., hīlja- -č- y pl. 'to soak'; -wál- -č- hx sg., bal -í č- y sg., -wál- -č- /gía- -č- h pl., gía- -č- x pl., gía- -č- y pl. 'to fall'; -wlu- -č- hx sg., bal- -č- y sg. and pl., -wlja- -č- hx pl. 'to be wasted.'
14. du-ús- -š- sg., di-áša- /di-éša- -č- pl. 'to climb' and dši- -č- sg., dša- -č- pl. 'to stop, to refrain from.'
15. Given the functional similarity between the object of a transitive verb and the subject of an intransitive verb, one ought to unify the two under one common term. For two different such attempts, see Tiffou 1977 and Tuite 1992.

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PHOTOGRAPHING KALASHA CULTURE: REALITY—CONCEALED OR REVEALED

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Introduction

To mark the United Nations Year of the Family in 1994, Moesgaard Museum in Denmark presented a display of 160 large-scale photographs on the family life of the Kalasha. This photo display, which now forms part of the museum's permanent exhibition on 'The Mountain People of the Hindu Kush,' was based on several months of research in the Kalasha valleys begun in 1993 by the anthropologist Mytte Fentz and the photographer Torben Stroyer. A grant in 1995 by His Royal Highness Crown Prince Frederik of Denmark's Fund made it possible to fulfil this research.

At the Third International Hindu Kush Cultural Conference, Chitral, 26–30 August 1995, a similar but larger pictorial essay on daily life in the Kalasha valleys was presented. This collection of culturally relevant pictures has been warmly recommended as an educational resource for Kalasha school children by, for example, Saifullah Jan, advocate for the Kalasha people during the last twenty years, the two Kalasha school teachers Engineer Khan and Deen Mamat, and Elena Bashir, Ph.D., secretary for the conference organizing committee. This approval stressed that the photos, historical as well as topical, are valuable also for the Kalasha ethnic self-esteem.

The Project

The author and photographer Torben Stroyer wished to combine their two different professions, writing and imagery, into a pictorial essay on the traditional Kalasha culture during spring and autumn. It was the drama bound to the physical as the mental deliberation, rooted in the daily life of the Kalasha people that they wished to catch. That account would be based on the interaction between the photographer's pictures and the anthropologist's knowledge. But we knew that only by close contact and mutual confidence in the people who were to appear in the pictures would it be possible to break down the distance which by definition exists between the observer and the observed.

Social Experience and Anthropological Knowledge

One cannot live the lives of others, but one can try to identify with them. In order to achieve a result which is not only different, but also more than a simple narrative of events, the

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anthropologist has to have an objective and comprehensive approach towards the life of his or her subject. However, this objectification of academic knowledge can only come about through subjective involvement, and with the assistance of one's own humanity and capacity for sympathetic insight and understanding.

The objective and the subjective are as such, both aspects of the scientific process. Nowadays the subjective experience, or the perception of the senses, is given far greater credence in anthropological practice (Hastrup & Hervick 1994). This implies that the perception of the non-verbal social and practical knowledge which the anthropologist acquires has become of increasing significance in recent observations and realization. But how does one get from the social experience and the spontaneous *understanding* of the lives of others to academic objectivity and a text? And are there ways in which impression and experience can be retained, developed, and refined?

Photography as a Form of Expression

The strength of photography lies in its connection to reality, but this link is also its greatest weakness; it seeks to capture and retain reality, which is of an abstract proportion, and this makes it paradoxical. The idea that reality consists of multiple layers which can conceal reality is, as such, not an alien one. One is almost forced to pass straight through apparent reality in order to reach that which is authentic and real. But, and without putting too fine a point on it, is it not precisely here the photographic challenge is to be found to photograph more than what is at first sight apparent; by being present, by seeing, by living it, by capturing the rhythm and drama of daily life on one's film and by looking inwards make an attempt to draw this and the surrounding world into harmony with one another. Despite this, it has to be acknowledged that setting the stage in this subjective manner can impede one in attaining a total grasp of the ever-elusive truth. Then will the ensuing picture show the revealed or the concealed reality?

The Local Society

The 'Kalasha Kafirs' or the 'Infidel Kalash,' as the local Muslim population calls this minority, inhabit an area southwest of Chitral in three very inaccessible valleys. Here, they continue to live according to a traditional way of life that is inextricably bound to their religion, which has been linked to an ancient form of Hinduism. This religion contains an apparently unambiguous set of rules which the Kalasha describe as being fundamental to the internal structure and daily life of their society. In accordance with this, tending the goat herds in the mountain pastures, which is the responsibility of the men and boys, is considered *ōmjesta*, pure in a religious sense, while farming the irrigated fields in the valleys, which falls to the women and girls, is unclean or *prāghata*. For the Kalasha people there are recognized, but invisible borders dividing clean from unclean, both in nature and in the home. Men are not allowed to enter areas which are designated as *prāghata*. This also applies to the *Bashalia*, or women's houses where they stay during their menstruation and when giving birth, all under protection of the goddess Dezalik. Women on the other hand are not allowed to accompany the men to the upper pastures, which are *ōmjesta*, nor are they to enter the Mahandeo or Sajigor holy places—areas which are found outside or above the village and which thus can only be visited by the men. All members of the family can, however, visit the kinship shrine of the *jeSTakhan* in the centre of the village.

If one turns one's attention for a moment from the official version of Kalasha society—in which everyone lives in harmony according to the same values, and all respond in a similar manner to various given situations—the picture is actually quite different. In the practical aspects of daily life it appears that these notions of religious values manifest themselves in quite a variety of ways. In one of the Kalasha families with which we stayed, which on the surface appeared ideal on the microstructural level, the mother and the now deceased father of the house had converted to Islam. In this case, both religions were practised within the same family structure. The asymmetry between the 'official' Kalasha society and this family is a good example of how each individual unit acts on the basis of its own experience and in relation to the situation it finds itself in. The family, which had more than twenty members, had chosen to continue to be Kalasha. The incorporation of a completely different set of practical rules into its official values had a significant effect on its view of these values in its day-to-day life.

From Idea to Action

It was the drama of the daily life of the Kalasha people that the author and the photographer wished to document. The account was to be based on the interaction between the photographer's pictures and the anthropologist's knowledge. But without the anthropologist's local knowledge and close contact with the people who were to appear in the pictures it would have been very difficult to break down the distance which by definition exists between the observer and the observed. It is a simple fact that overcoming this distance provides one of the greatest rewards.

The picture maker must work in the same way as the anthropologist, in a constant alternation between presence and absence, between being among the subjects being studied and being able to distance himself or herself from the object in a processing treatment of a cultural sequence (Crawford & Turton 1992). In the same way that informants are players in the anthropologist's final results, the picture-story will also be based upon the combined efforts of both subject and picture maker. This of course always occurs with significant variations due to the culture and the picture maker's narrative talents. In some cases this can be strong enough to capture situations on the photos in which new, unexpected knowledge comes to light.

Visual Reality

Ethnography and ethnographic pictures both attempt to examine the reality of life in creative ways. Most of life's experiences, however, can never be captured. And while academic knowledge appears not to concede the fact, people actually only grasp small fragments of reality. Vision is one of people's most important tools for perceiving the world around them and visual impressions absorb it in a way that is much more holistic than any of their other senses are capable of.

Visual impressions captured photographically in the right ways and at the right time convey far more than a large number of words. At the same time it is, however, a fact that the practice of photography and the finished product are the result of the social, cultural, and historical process of which the photographer is a part. There are, in other words, different angles from which the same world can be approached and registered. And 'if our eyes can

think,' as Cezanne puts it, then one ought to consider the ideal of culturally different ways of seeing. One has learnt, quite simply, how to see and the resulting culture—the specific view is again evident in the resulting photograph; which photographic reproduction is then the true one?

If the physical world which people perceive around them is not the world itself, but a culturally modified image of it, then there is hardly any great perceptive difference in looking at the physical world and its pictorial representation. It is quite natural therefore for the anthropologist to have an ambivalent attitude towards visual representation. However, seeing and hearing the physical world around them gives people a knowledge which, when combined with a positive approach, brings what they see or hear into existence. The fact that photographic representation can be drawn from both older and more recent photographic material to support, document, and verify ethnographic statements, demonstrates that this material is also of significant academic value.

Writing and Images

Photography is a subject new to anthropology and is still not accepted by everyone as being on an equal footing with the semantic capacity of a written text. The potential difference between the textual and the visual is discussed and defined by Kirsten Hastrup (1992) without considering the fact that the human senses intercommunicate, so that the perceived becomes textual and the textual in return is recreated as image recollection. It seems pointless therefore to adhere rigidly to a sharp dichotomy between 'word' and 'picture,' since neither of these values exist as completely independent phenomena. Thoughts are based on the human senses and are perceived as holistic. The senses constitute a complexity and are mutually dependent on one another in terms of being understood. Umberto Eco refuses to accept the opinion that the written is good and the image is bad; that one is culture and the other is emptiness. Since photography is pure coincidence, it instantly delivers all the details it has captured—in contrast to the written text—which, by the alternation of a single word can change the sentence from descriptive to reflective.

Photography is not necessarily only that which no longer exists, but simply, and with certitude, that which has been. In this way we can assert that the whole essence of photography is to ratify that which it represents. According to Barthes (1983), no written testimony can provide us with this insight. And it is the drawbacks of language which prevent it from becoming authentic. Photography is undiluted by any form of mediator: it does not invent but is endorsement in itself. Every photograph is evidence as such of being present. The anthropologist will, equipped with notebook and camera, always define reality in the very moment he or she discovers it, says Hastrup (1992). But this would already have been too late for a photographer to have taken his or her picture. A counter argument to this is that the ethnographer is 'standing in the way of himself.' But a successful cooperation between an anthropologist and a photographer can be greatly helpful in education.

The 'Static' Society

Moesgaard Museum's permanent exhibition 'The Mountain People of the Hindu Kush' has acquired renewed topicality with the great awareness which surrounds ethnic and national minorities today. The exhibition is constructed in such a way as to note focus entirely on one

short period in the history of the mountain peoples, and also looks at what went before, without actually engaging itself in the immediate present of the society. While the exhibition includes both historical objects as well as present-day ones, the exhibition's ambience provides the visitor, by means of its tableau construction, a series of frozen images of a contemporary people and their past: a presentation that relates an unambiguous impression of the reality of that society, while not dragging the visitor into the complexity dictated by the process of change and problems of more immediate relevance. The Kalash society, one of the smallest minorities in the Federal Republic of Pakistan, is engaged in a day-to-day struggle for its ethnicity. By creating an illusion of reconstructed environments the exhibition thus depicts a minority living in an ideological reserve and not its real life. The reinforcement of the permanent exhibition by the addition of the picture essay on Kalasha daily life has created a dialogue between two complementary aspects, the past and the present, resulting in a more realistic impression of a living and developing society.

The Visual Supplement

It is through the structures of society and social activity that one understands the arrangement and coherence of the world. Nowadays, when people, goods, and information move freely back and forth across all borders, all societies are in the process of changing much faster than before. It is therefore one of the duties of ethnographic museums to expand the knowledge and understanding of people from different cultural backgrounds. At the same time it has become much more relevant not only to register the traditional cultures, but also to seek to understand the effect of exchange between these and the surrounding world and subsequently to pass on this knowledge.

The greatest significance of Moesgaard's exhibition, 'The Mountain People of the Hindu Kush,' with its impressive arrangements of the objects on display, is its ability to communicate. But this can only be achieved if the viewers, as receivers, grasp some degree of the local society's codes. In spite of the fact that the objects refer to a people who are very much alive, they appear only as an aesthetic form providing a static picture of the culture of which they are part. Visitors will perceive and comprehend these objects or 'pictures' on the basis of their different sense of reality; as a result of various patterns of experience, which again consequently give rise to different degrees of understanding, despite the fact that all of them are equally valid.

To give the visitor a meaningful and comprehensible insight into an unfamiliar culture, the objects collected in Hindu Kush in 1948 must, as far as is possible, be related to the visitor's social, religious, or economic background. This can be achieved through the use of written text, but can to a much higher degree be attained through pictures. Umberto Eco quite plainly states that the synergy between the visual and the written is both powerful and continuous and he stresses that a current reaction to the visual media even suggests that it encourages increased curiosity and interest in the written word.

Photographs, historical ones as well as the more contemporary, can tell us about the daily routine in a foreign culture and are thus able to provide a wide range of information. The photograph may provide an overview and orientation of geographic and topographic conditions related to agricultural systems as well as the layout of the village. But photographs can in a constructive dialogue with the material objects of the static exhibition tell of their use in the daily life of the community. Thus the photograph can capture public and private behavioural patterns.

Local Society as Coauthor

Two families, whose structures and expression of human energy are completely different from one another, formed the firm starting point for the author and photographer's work. By using both text and images the latter tried to capture their daily activities and rituals associated with that particular season of the year.

Since it is precisely the collaboration between the anthropologist, the photographer, and the interpreter/informant which creates the final textual and visual product, this in turn means that all the informants are in effect 'co-producers' of the end result (Crawford & Simonsen 1992). Along with this it has to be acknowledged that the photographer, far from being anonymous, affects the situation, and in turn experiences a keener sense of his or her own presence, thus becoming a part of his or her own reality; a position analogous to that of the anthropologist. Together they immerse themselves in another reality and catch fragments of something whose depth and breadth is unknown. They each raise their own consciousness as well as that of each other. This cannot in any way be described as a staging of the event. All social gatherings involve a kind of staging which refers back to the raising of awareness.

The difficult question is: how far should the people who take the initiative, write the text, and take the photographs integrate the 'native voice'—if they are not simply to be reduced to quotations, subjugated beneath the voices of the anthropologist and the photographer?

A New Reality and Loyalty

How can one be sure that one truly shares an experience of a particular situation with others, and especially how can one be certain that one's representation, whether in the form of text or pictures, is loyal to the culturally determined reality of the community?

Anthropological texts are put through a process of editing which, through a theorizing and authenticating analysis, seeks to account for other societies. A similar process takes place after the camera has captured episodes from the real world—any attempt to edit the various fragments and pieces of photographic material will be based on a choice of motive, technique, lighting, and mood. The result now forms a new and comprehensive universe, which has been described by the apt expression 'aesthetic ambiguity' (Crawford & Simonsen 1992). Even though the final editing of the research process is done with sensitivity and appears as metaphors in the final report, Fentz and Stroyer's work in the field, like their published results, is all the result of social and cultural processes triggered by the contact between anthropologist and a particular group of people. Elements of a reality, which is already in the past, are stuck together and, in a surrealistic fashion, a new reality arises. But to recognize and respect the informant as coauthor also means that he/she is part of this new reality as it implies that his or her 'voice' will be heard on an equal footing with the ethnographer's, regardless of whether it is the informant's interpretation of events in the society, local folktales, or another form of a given culture that prevails.

Since one can never, despite a good grasp of local language, truly share the experience of others completely one must rely on some other tool. The human talents of imagination, and the ability to identify with people, which are invaluable assets in anthropological practice, must be the means by which one can approach the most loyal account, both in terms of 'the word' and 'the picture.' Or, in Crawford's words: 'documentary photos, like anthropology, is a creative exploration of reality.'



Photo 49.1 Kalasha School Teacher Surrounded by His Pupils Examining the 'Photo-Essay Book' on Kalasha Daily Life Anish, Bumboret.

Photo: Torben Stroyer, 1994.



Photo 49.2 Kalasha School in Krakal: The Teacher and His Pupils during a Lesson
Bumboret.

Photo: Torben Stroyer, 1993.



Photo 49.3 The *Quasi* of Grom and His Son Examining Photos of Kalasha People Taken by H. Siiger during the Danish Expedition in 1948.

Ramboor.

Photo: Torben Stroyer, 1993.

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THE EXPLOITERS

*Maureen Lines**

Over the centuries, the Kalasha people of northwestern Pakistan have been pushed farther and farther back into the remote valleys of the Hindu Kush mountains. By the end of the 1940s, there were only three valleys left: still the Kalasha were vulnerable.

First came the hunters: then came the merchants. In the 1960s, the first jeep road was built. Now new horizons were opened up for the woodcutters and the entrepreneur. The Kalasha, although wily and resilient, were uneducated and they were easy prey for the unscrupulous. Walnut trees were mortgaged: land was lost to outsiders, who wanted to open up the valleys to tourism, and the great cedar forests plundered.

By the 1980s, Bumboret was on the tourist map, the hillsides became vulnerable with the increase in soil erosion, and the fields were constantly in danger of being washed away.

The 1970s and 1980s also saw the advent of three new invasions. With the outbreak of the Afghan war, small numbers of refugees from Nuristan migrated to Bumboret and Ramboor. Aid agencies, through ignorance, brought in fertilizers and pesticides, endangering the natural organic farming methods and posing dangers to the unsophisticated inhabitants. There were those who saw the naïveté and vulnerability of the Kalasha as a viable front for organizations with self-interested and dubious aims. During the 1980s and early 1990s, tour groups proliferated and so did the arrival of anthropologists to study the unique culture and life-style of the Kalasha.

Anthropology, along with tourism, can be a double-edged sword. Those whose natures were sensitive to the vulnerability of the people they studied, and to the delicate nature of cultures suddenly exposed to the twentieth century, did no harm and served science well. Knowledge leads to understanding and understanding leads to compassion if problems arise or human rights are violated.

But there are others who have wished only to further their careers and have given little thought or care to their actions, minding not that they might break ancient taboos. This has led to resentment, not only among the Kalasha, but also among the Chitralis, if for different reasons.

It is offensive to the Chitralis that their culture, in spite of centuries before being Kalasha, and habitat is so often passed over by the tourists, and that most visitors to the area give scant attention to Chitral and make haste to travel to the valleys of the Kalasha.

In 1980, I spent two months in Chitral and enjoyed the beauty of the surrounding countryside and friendliness of the then sleepy bazaar town.

Now, fifteen years on, Chitral is a very different place. The Chitralis, too have been exploited and cheated, but few realize it; some have been exploited by their own people, others by outsiders.

Major tour companies in Islamabad send their own jeeps with their tour groups, thereby depriving Chitrali drivers of much-needed income during their short tourist season.

* British freelance journalist and writer.

Chitral has now become a little boom town, but scant attention has been paid to the negative aspects of rural development. Some Chitralis may have a few more rupees in their pockets now, but for many the quality of life has deteriorated.

The bazaar has now become crowded with traffic and very dangerous for pedestrians. It is also polluted with garbage, offal from the slaughter of animals, and belching black smoke clouds from the exhausts of vehicles. Little do the shopkeepers realize that the fumes they are constantly breathing in will give them respiratory diseases and cancer. How many realize their once lovely river, from which animals and people still drink, is a dangerous cocktail of pollutants? Those who do understand, what are they doing about it?

Seven or eight years ago, I first mentioned the word environment to those working for the government for the benefit of Chitral. One economist laughed at me and remarked that the environment was a luxury and that only the West could afford to dwell on such issues.

Wrong. Protecting your environment means survival.

In 1990, I presented a paper to the second International Hindu Kush Cultural Conference, also held in Chitral. My subject was the environment, dealing mostly with the destruction of the forest and the desirability of halting the logging. Many of those present saw only the loss of revenue from the lumber if the logging were stopped. Soil erosion, flooding, loss of good arable land, loss of property and life were not problems to be taken seriously. Since then, however, Chitralis, along with people downcountry and the Afghans, have seen the result of severe flooding, which stemmed directly from the continuous plundering of the forest.

Reforestation and very careful harvesting are needed to save Chitral's forests. If it loses its forests, it will not only be floods that Chitralis will suffer from. There will be climatic changes: springs will dry up and fields will lie barren. A trip to Shishi Kuh or Gawardesh in Nuristan would provide ample evidence of this.

Chitralis with forests are afraid of losing money should plant fast-growing broadleaf trees for harvesting. Those who are contractors should look towards development. With the coming of the high road to Central Asia, the field will be wide open to every contractor with ability and vision. Only those who are crooked and unscrupulous will go on raping Chitral's forests. It is up to the people to stop them.

From here to Swat and Nuristan, mosques and houses are under threat by the unscrupulous middleman. Mosques with ancient carved façades or houses adorned with beautifully carved pillars in Swat and Nuristan have been desecrated. The carvings from these buildings end up in the bazaars of Peshawar and Islamabad, later to adorn someone's home unless some discerning individual rescues it for posterity and gives it to a foreign museum. A people who cannot remember their history and lose their heritage also lose their identity.

Chitral's culture, environment, and heritage are under attack. Instead of deriding one another, Kalasha and Chitralis should unite and join forces in peace and watch over and protect this beautiful land they inhabit. Tourists come here and are spellbound by the mountains and fertile valleys. They see the beauty of Chitral's rivers and meadows, its fields of ripening wheat and corn, the spectacular flower gardens that nestle behind mud walls. They whisper, 'This is God's land.'

In five or ten years' time, will they still be saving this? The future of this land lies in its people's hands.

THE TRADITIONAL POLO OF THE NORTHERN AREAS: A CULTURAL HERITAGE

*Waltraud Torossian-Brigasky**

The modern world owes to Central Asia for much of its cultural richness including arts and sports.

Times have changed but some of that ancient civilization and unique culture still remains fossilized in certain pockets of Central Asia, such as in Northern Pakistan. Polo is one such great sport which had originated in antiquity among the tribes of Central Asia and is still played in its most original form in these areas. For more than twenty centuries, polo remained a favourite of the rulers of Asia who both played the game and were its patrons. As the great eastern empires collapsed, the glittering court life of which polo had played such an important part disappeared; and the game itself was preserved only in remote places such as the Himalayas, the Karakorams, and the Hindu Kush, especially the areas around Gilgit, Skardu, and Chitral.

No one knows where and when the stick met the ball after the horse was domesticated by the tribes of Central Asia, but it seems likely that as the use of light cavalry spread throughout Asia Minor, China, and the Indian subcontinent, so did this rugged game on horseback.

The most spectacular tribute to polo in antiquity is a city laid around a king's polo ground. Towards the end of the sixteenth century, Isfahan became the capital of the Safavid kingdom of Persia and Shah Abbas the Great decided to make Isfahan the most beautiful city in the orient. He planned his city around a vast central square, the Maidan-e-Shah, which served as the royal polo ground.

In Gilgit, polo was 'discovered' by the English cavalry officers of the British Raj during the 1850s.

As far as human memory goes, the people of Gilgit, Skardu, and Chitral have always played polo and only there is it played closest to its original form. 'Let other people play at other things, the King of Games is still the Game of Kings,' so reads a panel at the entrance of the Aga Khan Shahi Polo Ground in Gilgit. But polo here is not the 'Game of Kings' but obviously the polo players are the 'polo kings,' for it is played by ordinary village folk whose keenness for the sport far outweighs their economic capacity to maintain horses and equipment.

For many centuries polo has remained the most popular sport in the tiny kingdoms of the Himalayas, Karakorams, and Hindu Kush. Each mountain state encouraged its athletic men to develop and perfect this skill as a matter of prestige. The local *rajahs*, *mirs*, and *mehtars* were the guardians of polo. They provided royal patronage and the necessary financial help and support to their players to keep this inspiring game alive. At times more than 50 per cent of the annual budget of their principalities would be spent on supporting the game of polo. Inter-village matches and regional tournaments received further support from the British colonial administration. Once these institutions were abolished, neither the government nor civil society

* Vienna, Austria.

could think of polo as a priority. As a result serious efforts to organize and promote the game have been made so far.

At present there are no permanent arrangements to provide ongoing support and encouragement for this sport. But despite this fact, still, nowadays, one can find a lot of people in the Northern Areas who are passionately fond of polo. There are even those who look upon playing it as one of the chief occupations for which they were sent into this world. Good players and great matches are remembered and talked about for generations. Unfortunately, polo, as it is played in the Northern Areas of Pakistan, has been hiding its light under a bushel. But this is not the players' fault. Unfavourable circumstances, ignorance, indifference, and lack of understanding on the part of authorities are the main reason for this stagnation and as the social and economic composition of the area changes, this ancestral sport is increasingly moving beyond the reach of the native people.

Polo is an important part—if not the most important—of these people's living culture. One only has to watch a game of polo in Gilgit, Skardu, or Chitral, and this becomes obvious. Neither football, hockey, cricket, nor any other sport attract larger masses than polo. It is on the polo ground where people discover their identity: there they feel united and strong. Here one has to realize that polo is a life-style, a passion, a powerful demonstration of the living culture. In a society which is experiencing a period of social fragmentation and disintegration of values and institutions, these aspects should not be underestimated.

Like no other sport today, polo is not only an important regional game but also part of the national cultural heritage. As with other desirable things that the people living here want to preserve as a common human heritage, the continuity of polo requires sustainable arrangements. This could be achieved by creating a permanent institution with enough financial backing for the promotion of polo as a unique sport and cultural heritage. Unless continued attention and encouragement is provided, this unique sport will soon become history in these areas.

Pakistan is now the only country in the world where the original game is still played. It would be a pity if we were to allow this game to die because with it would die a part of the culture here. The loss would leave us all poorer.

APPENDIX A

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APPENDIX B

CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

Friday, 26 August

08:00–17:00 Registration at Conference Office, AKRSP Compound, Shahi Bagh (near Fort), Chitral

Saturday, 26 August 1995

07:00–09:00 Registration (Govt. High School Chitral-Hall),
09:00–10:30 Inaugural Session (High School Hall), Moderator, M. Yousaf Shahzad
Opening, M. Yousaf Shahzad
Recitation from Holy Quran, Maulana Israr ud Din al Hilal
Welcome Address, Professor Israr-ud-Din
Keynote Address, Professor Schuyler Jones, Conference General President Inaugural Address, Mr. Zainul Abidin, M.P.A.
Vote of Thanks, Dr. Inayatullah Faizi, President, Anjuman-e-Taraqqi Khovar, Chitral
10:30–11:00 Reception Tea (High School Lawn)

11:00–13:00 SESSION I. ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES (High School Hall)

11:00–11:25 President: Prof. Israr-ud-Din, Secretary: Syed Taufiq Jan: Change of Climate in the Hindu Kush Region—Facts, Trends and Necessary Observations of the Environment. *K. Haserodt*, Technical University, Berlin, Germany.
11:25–11:50 Mountain Protected Areas in Pakistan: The Case of the National Parks. *John Mock*, University of California, Berkeley
11:50–12:15 Juniper: An Endangered Plant of the Hindu Kush Range. *Mumtaz Hussain Shah*, Government Intermediate College, Booni
12:15–12:40 The Sarhad Provincial Conservation Strategy and Sustainable Development Planning In Chitral District. *Stephan Fuller, Mohammad Rafiq*, IUCN, Peshawar
12:40–13:00 A LOW-COST SOLAR WATER HEATER. *Habib-ur-Rahman Mian*, Professor (Rtd.), NWFP Agricultural University.

15:00–17:00 SESSION II. ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL GEOGRAPHY (High School Hall)
President: Prof. Dr. K. Haserodt
Secretary: Prof. S. Taufiq Jan

15:00–15:25 Animal Husbandry and Utilization of Alpine Pastures in the Nanga Parbat Region of Northern Pakistan: The Raikot and Rupal Valleys Compared. *Juergen Clemens, and Marcus Nüsser*, University of Bonn.
15:25–15:50 Role of Agriculture And Agricultural Potentialities of Malakand Division. *Mohammad Yaqub Alizai*, Peshawar University
15:50–16:15 Pattern, Structure, and Organization of Settlements in The Afghan Hinduskush. *Erwin Groetzbach*, Catholic University of Eichstaett.
16:15–16:40 The Impact of The KKH on the Land Use of The Northern Areas. *Parveen Daud Kamal*, University of Peshawar.
16:40–17:00 Land Use in the High Mountain Areas of Northern Pakistan: Comparative Aspects of Spatial Orgnization. *Eckart Ehlers*, Bonn University.
17:00–17:30 Tea break
17:30–19:30 Meeting of Working Committee for Hindu Kush Research Institute (AKRSP Hall)

18:00-19:00 Video showing (High School Hall)

Sunday, 27th August 1995

08:00-10:30 SESSION III. CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY (High School Hall)

President: Prof. K. Kristiansen

Secretary: Major (R) Ahmad Saeed

08:00-08:25 Merits and Festal Ranks of the Kalasha Kafirs. *Max Klimburg*, Vienna

08:00-08:50 No People is an Island: The Kalasha and their Relationships to the Surrounding World. *Birgitte Sperber*, Ribe Teacher Training College.

08:50-09:15 Qughnuz and Khowar Music. *Mohammad Irfan Irfan* Chitral.

09:15-09:40 Don't Cry My Daughter: Lullabies as a Keyhole into Kalasha Culture *Wynne Maggi*, Emory University.

09:40-10:05 Folk Dances of Chitral. *Rahmat Akbar Khan Rahmat*, Chapali; Chitral.

10:05-10:30 Musk, Bezoar, and Bitumen: Materia Medica in Northern Pakistan. *Jurgen W. Frembgen*, State Museum of Ethnography, Munich

10:30-11:00 Tea Break

11:00-13:00 SESSION IV. DEVELOPMENT ISSUES (High School Hall)

President: Prince Siraj-ul-Mulk

Secretary: Major (R) A. Saeed

11:00-11:25 Chitral District: A Brief Survey of the Resources, Problems, Constraints, and Future Development. *Israr-ud-Din*, Peshawar University.

11:25-11:50 The Exploiters. *Maureen Lines*, Kalasha Environmental Protection Society.

11:50-12:15 Donor Agencies and Kalasha Development. *Babar Jamal*, Quaid-i-Azam University

12:15-12:40 Development and Self-Determination: A Kalasha Point of View. *Saifullah Jan*, Rumbur

12:40-13:00 Gender and Development: A Lesson from AKRSP. *Noor Shahidin*, AKRSP, Chitral.

15:00-17:00 SESSION V. SOCIO-ECONOMIC ISSUES (High School Hall)

President: Prof. Mohammad Yaqub Alizai

Secretary: Major (R) A. Saeed

15:00-15:25 Legitimizing Porter Regulation in an Indigenous Mountain Community in Northern Pakistan. *David Butz*, Brock University, Ontario, Canada

15:25-15:50 Trade In Chitral in the Early Twentieth Century: A Review. *Hussain Khan*, Peshawar University.

15:50-16:15 Changing Position Of Women In Yasin: From Agricultural Producers To Off-Farm Employees. *Hiltrud Herbers*, University of Bonn

16:15-16:40 A Cry for Help for Health From The Hills of The Hindu Kush. *Dr. Sardar ul Mulk*, Drosh

16:40-17:00 Development and Change in a Mountainous Transit Region. *Reinhard Fischer*, Bonn University

17:00-17:30 Tea Break

17:30-18:30 Exhibition Polo Match (Chitral Polo Ground)

18:30-19:30 Video showing (High School Hall)

Monday, 28 August 1995

08:00-10:00 SESSION VI. LANGUAGES AND LITERATURE (High School Hall)

President: Prof. Etienne Tiffou

Secretary: Major (R) A. Saeed

08:00-08:25 Indicators of Attitudes Toward Shina Dialects. *Carla F. Radloff*, Summer Institute of Linguistics/National Institute of Pakistan Studies, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad.

08:25-08:50 Some Areal Linguistic Isoglosses In the Transitional Zone Between Central And South Asia. *Bertil Tikkanen*, University of Helsinki

09:15-09:40 The Mirror of Writing. *Ruth Schmidt*, University of Oslo and Razwal Kohistani, Himalayan Jungle Project

- 09:40–10:00 Linguistic Observations on Kalashamun as Spoken Inside and Outside Present-Day Kalasha Society: Work In Progress. *Jan Heegaard and Ida E. Morch*, University of Copenhagen
- 10:00–10:30 Tea Break
- 10:30–13:00** **SESSION VII. LANGUAGES AND LITERATURE—continued; ECONOMIC HISTORY (High School Hall)**
President: Mr. M.P. Bandara
Secretary: Major (R) A. Saeed
- 10:30–10:55 Verbal Morality in Baltistan. *Etienne Tiffou*, University of Montreal, Canada.
- 10:55–11:20 Some Place Names In Chitral And Their Possible Historical Significance. *Elena Bashir*, The University of Michigan–Ann Arbor
- 11:20–12:45 Major Themes In Modern Khowar Poetry. *Ismail Wali Akhgar*, Government Intermediate College, Booni
- 12:45–12:10 Khowar Language And Culture. *Abdur Razzaq*, CADP, Chitral.
- 12:10–12:30 Trade Links in the Eastern Hindu Kush: The Chitral Route. *Hermann Kreutzmann*, Bonn University
- 12:30–13:00 Relations Between Chitral and Baltistan. *Muhammad Hassan Hasrat*, Allama Iqbal Open University, Gilgit
- 15:00–17:00** **SESSION VIII. ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES; POLITICAL HISTORY (High School Hall)**
President: Prof. Eckart Ehlers
Secretary: M. Yusuf Shahzad
- 15:00–15:25 The Conifer Forests of the Hindu Kush in Eastern Afghanistan: The Challenge of Their Conservation. *Ismael Nasri, Thierry Delobel, Jean Braud*, MADERA, Peshawar.
- 15:25–15:50 An Associate Cultural Landscape Designation For A World Heritage Site In The Karakoram Himalaya. *Nigel J. R. Allan*, University of California–Davis.
- 15:50–16:15 Resource Utilization And Environmental Degradation In Swat Valley, Northern Pakistan. *Usman Ali*, Government Jahanzeb P. G. College, Swat
- 16:15–16:40 Accounts of a Turbulent Period In the History of Chitral (1917–53). *Inayatullah Faizi*, Government Intermediate College, Booni
- 16:40–17:00 Traditional Methods Of Hunting In Chitral. *Imtiaz Hussain*, Range Officer, Wildlife, Chitral Gol National Park.
- 17:00–17:30 Tea Break
- 17:30–19:30 Meeting of Recommendations Committee (AKRSP Hall)
- 17:30–18:30 Video showing (High School Hall)
 The Importance of Preserving the Natural Environment of Chitral: an Approach to Ecotourism. *Siraj-ul-Mulk*, Hindu Kush Trails, Islamabad.
- Tuesday, 29 August 1995**
- 08:30–10:30** **SESSION IX. CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY: CULTURAL HISTORY (High School Hall)**
President: Mir Bais Khan
Secretary: Mr. Yusuf Shahzad
- 08:30–08:55 Peoples of Southern Chitral: A Survey of Some So-Far Unstudied Ethnic Groups of Northern Pakistan. Part I: The Dameli. *Augusto Cacopardo*, Is.M.E.O.
- 08:55–09:20 Peoples of Southern Chitral: A Survey of Some So-Far Unstudied Ethnic Groups of Northern Pakistan. Part II: The Palulo. *Alberto Cacopardo*, Is.M.E.O.
- 09:20–09:45 Shaikh Abdullah Khan: A Most Remarkable Man From Bumburet Shaikhanandeh. *Knut Kristiansen*, University of Oslo.
- 10:20–10:30 Baltistan As A 'Contact Zone': The Use of Space In the Negotiation of Identity. *Ken I. MacDonald*, University of Toronto, Scarborough
- 10:30–11:00 Tea Break
- 11:00–13:00** **SESSION X. POLITICAL HISTORY (High School Hall)**
President: Dr. Hermann Kreutzmann

Secretary: Mr. Yusuf Shahzad

- 11:00–11:25 Prince Sher Afzal Khan: A Misrepresented Figure In the History of Chitral. *Rahmat Karim Baig*, Government Degree College, Chitral
- 11:25–11:50 The Siege Of Chitral. *Major Muhammad Nawaz Khan*, Peshawar.
- 11:50–12:15 Maulana Noor Shahidin And His Political Role. *Amir Khan Mir*, Chumurkhun, Chitral
- 12:15–12:40 The Siege of Chitral: Socio-Economic Impacts of British Influence on the Area. *Inayatullah Faizi*, Government Intermediate College, Booni
- 12:40–13:00 Chitral 1895: Minority Historical Perspectives. *Peter Parkes*, University of Kent at Canterbury

15:00–17:00**SESSION XI. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY (High School Hall)****President: Prof. Dr. Mohammad Said****Secretary: Mr. Yusuf Shahzad**

- 15:00–15:25 Evolution of Legal and Constitutional Practices in Chitral: Lessons and Challenges. *Mohammad Shahab-ud-Din*, Advocate, Booni
- 15:25–15:50 Administrative Evolution of Chitral. *Mohammad Yousaf*, Deputy Commissioner, Chitral.
- 15:50–16:15 Historical Relations Between Ziarat Kaka Sahib and the Former Chitral State. *Mahmood-ul-Hassan*, University of Peshawar.
- 16:15–16:40 Problems of Chitral and Their Solutions. *Fardad Ali Shah*, Editor in Chief, *Hindu Kush*
- 16:40–17:00
- 17:00–17:30 Tea Break

17:30–19:00**CONCLUDING SESSION XII (High School Hall)**

Recitation from Holy Quran: *Qari Buzurg Shah*, Welcome and Vote of Thanks, Prof. Israr-ud-Din Presentation of Conference Resolution Dr. I. Faizi Concluding Remarks: Dr. Schuyler Jones General Comments: *Maulana Abdul Hamid*, Mr. Zainul Abidin (MPA) Mr. Mohammad Hussain Jan *Parwana*.

Concluding Address: Chief Guest (Dr. Mehboob-ur-Rahman, Minister of Culture, Tourism and Information, Govt. of N.W.F.P.

21:00–23:00**Mushaira (High School Hall)****Wednesday, 30 August 1995**

- 08:00–18:00 Excursion to Birir Valley for registered Conference participants. (Hosted By. Mr. M.P. Bandara)

APPENDIX C

RESOLUTIONS OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL HINDU KUSH CULTURAL CONFERENCE

The Resolutions of this conference are in continuation and amplification or modification of the resolutions of the Second International Hindu Kush Cultural Conference held five years ago.

The current conference deliberated on many facets of two interrelated issues of crucial concern to the people of the area: (1) environment in the larger sense, which includes both the natural/physical environment, and the cultural environment; and (2) development, again in a broad sense. The Conference also retains and reaffirms decisions of the previous conference related to improving the educational, intellectual, and research-related resources of the area.

The natural and cultural environment are intimately related; every culture develops in a specific natural environment. Just as when the natural habitat of an animal or plant species is damaged or destroyed, the species itself is endangered, when the physical environment which has nurtured a particular culture is degraded, the culture itself is endangered. Thus any one concerned with the preservation of a culture or cultures, must address itself to both types of issues simultaneously.

Physical/Natural Environment

Several issues of immediate concern to the people of the area have been discussed. They include the growing problem of pollution (air, water, and urban environment which has reached even previously relatively pristine Chitral. Air pollution from faulty vehicles and diesel generators is increasing; the Chitral Gol and River are increasingly polluted, since there is no means for solid waste disposal other than dumping in the River. Deforestation continues to increase, with the result that the forests of Chitral are in danger of vanishing completely.

Given this situation, the Conference urges the Government at all levels, as well as private individuals and concerned groups to take steps to:

- work toward a co-ordinated program of environmental education in the schools of the area.
- Increase efforts to develop environmental awareness in the adult population, through radio presentations on the Khowar-language program, public meetings, and in personal creative writings of local poets and writers.
- Give urgent priority to developing environment-friendly, renewable energy sources, particularly:
 - a. both small and large-scale hydroelectric power plants. Chitral has enough potential hydroelectric power to produce power far in excess of its own needs and to supply power to the rest of the country.
 - b. low-cost, simple solar technology (e.g. water heaters or cookers), which can save the country's fossil fuel and forest resources, as well as improve the standard of life of the people.
- Identify on an emergency basis, species of plants, trees, animals, and birds that are in immediate danger of depletion or extinction. The juniper tree is one such species. Not only birds that are hunted for food, but many species of smaller birds have had their range severely diminished within the last fifteen years. Work toward specific legislative measures is needed to protect these species.

Towards these ends, it is suggested:

- that a locally-based 'Environment Protection Council', consisting of concerned citizens of Chitral, be established with the role of initiating, facilitating, and co-ordinating efforts of both Government and private initiatives for environmental protection.

Cultural Environment

The cultural heritage of Chitral and the larger Hindu Kush/Karakoram region is immensely rich. It is the responsibility of the present generation to make sure that it is not degraded and lost. Toward the ends of preserving the best elements of traditional cultures and enhancing them with desirable elements of modern culture, the conference recommends:

- that the intrinsic value of regional and minority cultures be respected. This implies taking steps to ensure that indigenous expressions of cultural values not be degraded, distorted, or commercialised in the interests of tourism or sensationalism. In particular:

The present Conference reaffirms the convictions expressed in the previous Conference that:

- Historically valuable artifacts and archival resources existing in Chitral must be preserved, maintained, and catalogued. Such work could be one of the initial tasks undertaken by the Hindu Kush Research Centre being proposed in these Resolutions.
- Historical buildings and sites (including the forts, palaces, mosques, and ancient house types) should be preserved. Selected sites should be designated as protected 'National Historical buildings', under the protection of the appropriate agency.
- Archaeological sites in Chitral should be protected in the same way as archaeological sites in other parts of the country. Such sites should be identified, and responsibility assigned for their protection until such time as carefully planned research programmes for their study can be planned and implemented.

Development

Development projects must be sensitive to their impact on the physical, natural and cultural environment. The Conference urges initiators of development efforts, both governmental and nongovernmental, to incorporate an environmental and cultural sensitivity component into their planning. Local participation in the planning stages of development projects is essential.

Hindu Kush Research Institute The previous Conference urged that a multi-disciplinary research institute be established in Chitral, having the following objectives:

1. to provide an interdisciplinary base for scholars, both from Pakistan and abroad.
2. to provide a centre of attraction for young Chitrali researchers, thus enabling them to develop their interest in research and acquire research experience and skills.
3. to identify promising young Chitrali scholars, whose educational career could be furthered with advanced training in the appropriate disciplines, both in Pakistan and abroad.
4. to house a research library, in which will be collected research publications and local archival materials relevant to the region.
5. to establish a depository and preservation facilities for artifacts of material culture, eventually developing this into a museum with both preservation and educational components.

The Present Conference reaffirms this goal and resolves that to take the initial steps in bringing such an institute into being the following will be undertaken:

- **An International Association for Hindu Kush Studies** will be established. Membership of this Association will be drawn from Pakistan and abroad. Overseas members will pay a yearly membership fee of \$50 (US), Pakistani members outside Chitral will pay Rs. 500 per year, and members from Chitral will pay Rs. 200 per year. A bank account will be established in the name of the Hindu Kush Research Association and part of the subscription money utilized for recurring overhead expenditures of the Hindu Kush Research Centre being proposed in this document. Members will, in turn, be entitled to receive an annual newsletter containing information on membership, research activities in the area, and plans and activities of the Centre. Members will be invited to contribute to the newsletter. Members will also be entitled to use the postal address of the centre to receive correspondence connected with their research. In addition to regular membership, interested individuals will be encouraged to affiliate themselves with the Association in the capacity of Founder Patron, Patron, or Friend of the Association. Conference participants interested in joining the Association are requested to indicate their interest to the Chairman of the Resolution Committee.
- **A Hindu Kush Research Centre** will be established in Chitral. The Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Khowar, Chitral will appoint a Strategic Planning Committee of five members under the chairmanship of Professor Israr-ud-Din,

Chair, Dept. Of Geography, Peshawar University, to Develop a constitution including by-laws for the H.K. Research Centre. The Committee will also formulate a Strategic Action Plan, specifying the long-term objectives of the Centre, as well as year by year steps through three goals will be achieved. The strategic Planning Committee will appoint a Consultative Committee of international scholars to collaborate with the local committee and provide requested assistance. The first task of the Strategic Planning Committee will be to develop a PC-I for the Research Centre which will be submitted to the government within three months. The Anjuman will also solicit funding from sources within Chitral and undertake to develop a physical facility for the Centre.

- Resolved that scholars participating in the present Conference be requested to send copies, preferably off prints, of their relevant publications to the library of the Hindu Kush Research Centre.
- Resolved that the proceedings of the present Conference be published as quickly as possible, preferably within Pakistan.

4th International Hindu Kush Cultural Conference

- Resolved that the 4th International Hindu Kush Cultural Conference be held in the year 2000 in Chitral. The theme of this conference will be 'Culture, Environment and Development in the Greater Hindu Kush Region'.

Signed: Members of the Resolutions Committee of the Third International Hindu Kush Cultural Conference

Professor Israr-ud-Din
 Schuyler Jones
 Shahzada Siraj-ul-Mulk
 Mohammad Yaqub Alizai
 Mohammad Said
 Svend Castenfeldt
 Professor K. Haserodt
 Augusto Cacopardo
 Knut Kristiansen
 Eckart Ehlers
 Ken MacDonald
 Elena Bashir
 Inayatullah Faizi
 Maula Nigah
 Saifullah Jan
 Major Ahmad Saeed
 Peter Parkes

APPENDIX D

HINDU KUSH RESEARCH CENTRE CHITRAL

Concept Paper

1. **Name of Project:** Hindu Kush Research Centre
2. **Sponsoring Agency:** Culture Department, Government of NWFP
3. **Executing Agency:** Anjuman-e-Taraqqi Khwar, Chitral
4. **Location:** Chitral Town, District Chitral, NWFP. The proposed site for the Research Centre is on a vacant piece of Government land adjoining the already existing building which was constructed for a Chitral Museum. This plot is sufficiently large and placed in such a way that the proposed building would not detract from the appearance and symmetry of the present museum building.
5. **Brief Description and Scope of the Project**

A. Background and Justification. Background:

At the Second International Hindu Kush Cultural Conference held in Chitral in 1990, it was resolved that a Hindu Kush Research Institute should be set up in Chitral. At the Third International Hindu Kush Conference held in August, 1995, the proposal for the Hindu Kush Research Institute was revived and steps taken to make it a practical reality. In order to generate seed money for immediate expenses, the International Hindu Kush Research Association was established. Membership fees for the Association, established on a variable scale will be available for initial start up expenses for the Research Centre. (\$50.00 annually for members outside Pakistan; Pakistani members outside Chitral will pay Rs. 500 per year; and members from Chitral will pay Rs. 200 per year.)

Justification: The Greater Hindu Kush area is a region of great historical, cultural, environmental, and strategic importance. Because this region has been isolated until fairly recently, a great variety of unique cultural forms, historical survivals, and biological species have survived in this area. Now, however, because of the rapid cultural and physical changes accompanying the development process, many of these unique features of the region are being lost. In order to document the physical and cultural resources present in the area, with the goal of preserving those which should be preserved (e.g. biological diversity, unique natural environments, endangered arts and crafts, endangered languages) wide-ranging and intensive research in the area is needed. There is already a body of scholars, including both local researchers and international scholars, interested in the area, but they are scattered over the world, and the results of their research are not easily available in Pakistan, particularly in the Hindu Kush area. The Hindu Kush Research Centre would establish an information clearing-house right within the Hindu Kush itself, thus making information on the area easily accessible to local researchers, educators, students, development planners, and other interested persons. It would become a communication centre, functioning to co-ordinate research efforts in the area, bringing local resource persons into contact with researchers.

B. Project Aims

1. To establish and maintain archives of:
 - a. Books and published materials related to the region (library)
 - b. Photographic records (photographic archive)
 - c. Physical cultural artifacts (museum)
 - d. Examples of local folk art forms (museum)
 - e. Traditional local music and dance forms (tape and video archive)
2. To preserve local arts (e.g. music, wood carving, handloom weaving, specific local embroidery styles, folk dances).
3. To provide a platform for the development and implementation of the Chitral Conservation Strategy under the framework of the Sarhad provincial Conservation Strategy.

4. To function as a research home and information centre for scholars of the region, both from Pakistan and abroad.
5. To increase international cooperation in research on this environmentally, culturally, and strategically important area of the world.
6. To foster and provide a physical centre for interdisciplinary study of the area.
7. To provide an institutional base from which to develop research projects based on the perceived needs and interests of the people of the area.
8. To identify and develop promising young local scholars, who can be sent abroad for further studies in relevant fields and can develop into the next generation of Hindu Kush scholarship.

C. Project Objectives

1. Preservation of the cultural and physical richness of the greater Hindu Kush area.
2. Documentation of endangered cultural forms (e.g. arts and crafts, dance and music forms, language, folklore).
3. Documentation of endangered biological resources (e.g. indigenous crop species which are rapidly being replaced by hybrid varieties)
4. Publication of research works by local researchers.
5. Training of local researchers in field research methodology, and of artists and craftsmen in endangered arts and crafts.
6. Attraction/generation of joint international-local research projects.
7. Increased awareness among local populations of the importance of protecting the local physical and cultural environment.

D. Project Approach and Strategy:

The approach is to provide an institution which can help to co-ordinate the various research efforts—in the social and physical sciences and the arts—which are either in progress or needed in the Greater Hindu Kush region. Such research is being carried out by private individuals in Chitral, scholars from abroad, and by Government-related agencies. As a research Centre with both local and international functions, the Centre will seek funding from a variety of sources: the NWFP Government, the International Hindu Kush Research Association, private individuals, and donor agencies.

E. Project Components

1. Physical premises (building to house offices, library etc.)
2. Equipment necessary for administrative, research, and archiving functions.
3. Personnel (both paid and volunteer, expert and trainee)

F. Breakdown of Cost by Major Items

1. Initial capital expenditure: Rs 10,900,000 (10,000,000 for building; 900,000 for equipment and furniture)
 - a. Approximate total for furniture Rs. 310,000
 - b. Approximate total cost for office and archiving equipment 590,000
2. Annual recurring expenditure after completion—at initial stage: Rs. 515,000
 - a. Salaries

1 Secretary (honorary)	Nil
1 Research Officer (BPS 17)	Rs. 80,000
1 Librarian (BPS 16)	60,000
1 Steno/clerk/computer operator (BPS 5)	25,000
1 Peon (BPS 1)	20,000
1 Chowkidar (BPS 1)	20,000
 - b. Office Expenses

Stationery, postage, etc.	20,000
Telephone, electricity, water	10,000

c. Programme (research, archival, training) expenses	
Travel expenses for researchers	20,000
Honoraria for researchers	60,000
Travel expenses for artists and craftsmen	20,000
Honoraria for artists and craftsmen	80,000
Publication	100,000

6. Period of implementation

- A. Commencement: 1996 target
- B. Completion: 2000—for construction and establishment phase
- C. Duration: Indefinite, as the Centre is to be a permanent institution.

7. Cost in Rupees

A. Local	
Initial capital expenditure	Rs. 10,900,000
Annual Recurring expenditure	515,000
B. Foreign exchange component	NIL
Total	Rs. 11,415,000

8. Financing plan

- A. Federal government:
 - Rs. 5,000,000 capital expenditure requested
 - Rs. 400,000 recurring expenditure requested
- B. Donor: IUCN and other potential funding agencies to be approached
 - Total Rs. 11,415,000
 - i. Name of possible donor agency or country: (a) International Association for Hindu Kush Studies (Established for express purpose of assisting Hindu Kush Research Centre); (b) IUCN (preliminary overall aims of project held)
 - ii. Amount of technical assistance: none at initial stages; later, teachers for specialized courses in field research methodology, artifacts preservation, etc.
 - iii. Amount of capital assistance (specify whether grant or loan):
 - Rs. 5,900,000 (grant)
 - Total (ii) + (iii) Rs. 6.015 million
 - Percent of total cost 53%

9. Requirements

- i. Equipment (indicate major items and estimated cost) (See Annexure I.)
- ii. Material: not a separate category
- iii. Training:
 - a. Field: (i) research methodology; (ii) endangered local arts and crafts
 - b. Duration: to be determined
 - c. Foreign or local: Local at initial stages, foreign training for local researchers at later stage
 - A. Foreign: None at initial stages
 - B. Local
 - i. Staff training Nil
 - ii. Artisan and artist trainers and trainees Rs. 50, 000

- iv. Foreign and local experts (man months) local experts included in B (ii) above
- v. Books and journals (list): It is anticipated that many books and miscellaneous publications will be contributed by their authors and by other members of the Hindu Kush Research Association for the Centre. Further development of the library will proceed after consultation to determine an appropriate selection of professional publications.

- 10. Whether included in the Eighth Five-Year Plan and allocations: Not included so far in the Eighth Five year plan.
- 11. Whether feasibility study carried out or proposed to be carried out. Feasibility study not carried out; not proposed to be carried out because of the nature of the project.
- 12. Status of the PC-I: Draft version of the PC-I sent, through offices of D.C., Chitral to the Culture Department, NWFP Government.

ANNEXURE I. DETAIL OF FURNITURE AND EQUIPMENT REQUIRED

a. Furniture

- Office desks (5)
- Office Chairs (5)
- Library cabinets/shelving
- Filing cabinets (3)
- Student/lecture hall chairs (5)
- Work tables for library (6 large)
- Bulletin boards (5)

b. Office and archiving equipment

Computer	40,000
Laser printer	30,000
Fax machine	25,000
Photocopy machine	300,000
Overhead projector	20,000
Opaque projector	30,000
Video-camera and cassettes	40,000
Tape recorders (3) and cassettes	7,000
Television set	40,000
Video-cassette recorder and cassettes	20,000
Projection screen	5,000
Still camera	10,000
Slide projector	15,000
Stationery and miscellaneous office supplies	8,000

(Note: The project was submitted in 1996 but so far nothing has come out (ed.).)

APPENDIX E

COMMITTEES

Organizing Committee

Prof. Israr-ud-Din, chairman
Dr Elena Bashir, secretary
Dr Inayatullah Faizi, president, Anjuman-e-Taraqqi Khovar Chitral

Local Fund Raising Committee

Maj. (Rtd) Ahmad Saeed, Chairman
Zainul Abdin, MPA
Prof. Israr-ud-Din
Dr Inayatullah Faizi
Amir Khan Mir
Gul Nawaz Khaki
Prof. Rahmat Karim Baig
Mohammad Sarfraz Ali Khan
Taj Mohammad Figar
Syed Harir Shah
Takbeer Khan
Mian Mahboob Ali Shah Kakakhel

Accommodations Committee

Taj Mohammad Figar, chairman
Mohammad Irfan Irfan
Ghulam Mohiuddin

Cultural Programme Committee

Rahmat Akbar Khan Rahmat, chairman
Gul Nawaz Khaki
Maula Nigah
Shaukat Ali
Fateh-ud-Din
Iqbal-ud-Din Sahar

Food Committee

Abdul Karim, chairman
Karimullah
Saleh-ud-Din

Reception Committee-Chitral

Zainul Abdin, MPA, chairman
Mr Mohammad Yousaf (DC), Vice-chairman
Prof. Israr-ud-Din
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Proceedings of the Third International **HINDU KUSH** Cultural Conference

Edited by **ISRAR-UD-DIN**

The volume is a compilation of selected papers presented at the Third International Hindu Kush Cultural Conference held in Chitral town from 26–30 August 1995. The conference was multi-disciplinary, aiming at increasing communication not only among local and international scholars, but also among academic disciplines. The book emphasizes the geo-political as well as socio-cultural importance of the region and contains valuable recommendations for the future development of the region.

The chapters focus on themes such as environmental problems, the need to conserve forests, soil erosion etc. The potential negative environmental and cultural consequences of development projects have also been discussed, and there are recommendations for development agencies to incorporate a cultural and environmental sensitivity component into their planning process.

The volume will help to increase awareness of the fact that the natural/physical environments and cultural environments are intimately related. When the natural environment is degraded, the cultural environment is endangered.

Israr-ud-din is a retired Professor and former Chairman, Department of Geography, Applied Geography, Urban and Regional Planning, University of Peshawar. He specialized in Social Geography from the University of London in 1965 and has conducted research on habitat in the highlands of the Hindu Kush, Karakoram and Western Himalayas. He participated in different international expeditions in the Northern Areas of Pakistan and organized several national and international conferences on different themes. He also acted as Chairman, International Geographical Union Committee for Pakistan (1982–93) and was the founder Editor of *Pakistan Journal of Geography*, Peshawar (1992–98).

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